

**BULLETIN**  
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**SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES**  
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PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

**Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature**

By H. A. R. GIEB

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## SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES LONDON INSTITUTION

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### Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature

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#### IV. THE EGYPTIAN NOVEL

THE beginnings of the novel as a literary art in Egypt are so recent that the student of contemporary Arabic literature might well be excused for seeking to trace some genetic connection between its development and the earlier productions of the Syrian school of writers. But except for the possibility that the success of the Syrian novelists (whose works have been admirably described by Professor Kratchkowsky in the study frequently quoted in the previous articles of this series, and now available in a German translation<sup>1</sup>) may have encouraged the Egyptian writers to produce a class of works which would appeal to the same public, the literary movement which forms the subject of the present article has remained in general entirely independent of the Syrian historical novel. Western influences, which are very marked in the later stages, have been exercised directly, but Egyptian recreational literature continued for a long time to lean rather on classical and conventional models. It is only very slowly and hesitatingly that it has emancipated itself, and its progress in this direction has been sporadic and individual rather than the result of a steady evolution. We can, in fact, speak of a "development" of the novel in Egypt only by stretching the term "novel" to include a rather wide range of works with a fictional framework, many of which are not, strictly speaking, novels at all.

<sup>1</sup> Ignaz Kračkovskij, "Der historische Roman in der neueren arabischen Literatur," translated by G. von Mende, in *Die Welt des Islams*, Band 12, Heft 1-2, Leipzig, 1930.

The tardiness of Egypt in this field of literature, as compared with Turkey and India, the other two main centres of Islamic culture, may be traced to several causes. The general educational and literary-aesthetic factors which hindered the rise of a new type of recreational literature have been examined in an earlier article,<sup>1</sup> and the greater variety and satisfaction to be enjoyed in classical Arabic literature than in either Turkish or Urdu may also have played a part. Added to this were several special or local causes, which will be discussed more fully below. But at least part of the explanation lies in the fact that the rather narrow sections of the Egyptian public which had received a modern education were able to find for themselves all that they wanted in French (and to a lesser extent English) literature. The incentive was thus lacking in literary circles to the composition of works of a similar kind in Arabic. As the demand grew, the most natural course was to meet it by translating French and English novels, instead of setting to the ungrateful task of building up an indigenous novelistic literature, which involved the creation of an entirely new literary technique.<sup>2</sup> Bald and jejune as these translations may have been, and ill-adapted to Egyptian social and cultural conditions and literary taste, their reception showed that there was a public which appreciated them. With what skill, on the other hand, a translator of genius could adapt a European novel to a Muslim Egyptian public may be seen in 'Osmān Ḡalāl's version of *Paul et Virginie*.<sup>3</sup> The translation, though slightly abridged and shorn of its more exotic features, remains on the whole faithful to the word and spirit of the original, while the use of simple but elegant rhymed prose throughout and the replacement of the numerous philosophical reflections by short poetic pieces give it a natural Arabic flavour, which is sadly lacking in most of the contemporary and later translations.<sup>4</sup> Amidst the many hundreds of these there are, of course,

<sup>1</sup> See *Manfalūṭi and the "New Style"*, v, 2, pp 311 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The almost exclusive cultivation of the historical romance by the Syrian writers may possibly be explained by the lighter demands which it made in this direction.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-amāni wa'l-minna fī ḥadīth Qabūl wa Ward Janina*, published by Shaykh Muṣṭafā Tāj, Cairo, n.d. (but in the reign of Tawfiq, i.e. before 1892), pp. 103. On 'Osmān Ḡalāl see the first of these studies, *BSOS.*, IV, 4, p. 748, and the article of Sobernheim in *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. Muḥammad Bey 'Othmān al-Djalāl.

<sup>4</sup> The following extract may serve as an illustration of the style of this rendering and of the translator's success in adapting it, in spite of the slight deformation of the sentiment at the end. The passage is that in which the missionary priest persuades Virginia to leave her home: "Mais vous, jeune demoiselle, vous n'avez point d'excuse. Il faut obéir à la Providence, à nos vieux parents, même injustes. C'est un sacrifice, mais c'est l'ordre de Dieu. Il s'est dévoué pour nous: il faut, à son exemple, se

not a few in which the translators have adapted the original to a greater or less extent, notably the well-known translations of al-Manfalūṭī, but in spite of the brilliance of the latter's style, his versions lack the quality of 'Osmān Ḡalāl's work.<sup>1</sup> A full investigation into the character and circulation of the translated fictional literature would no doubt yield important results for the social study of modern Egypt, but for its relation to the literary problem of the Egyptian novel it is not necessary to do more at this point than to note its very large output and apparent popularity.

The characteristic tendency of Egyptian writers to remain faithful to the traditional forms and graft new elements upon them is clearly to be seen, though in a very unusual combination, in the first Egyptian romance with literary pretensions which I have traced, an early production of the famous poet Aḥmad Shawqī (1868-1932), entitled *The Maid of India*.<sup>2</sup> The traditional background of this work, however, is neither the classical belles-lettres nor the romance of the *Arabian Nights* or *Sīra* types, but the fantastic popular stories known as *ḥawādīth*,<sup>3</sup> supplemented and expanded along the lines of the historical

dévouer pour le bien de sa famille. Votre voyage en France aura une fin heureuse. Ne voulez-vous pas bien y aller, ma chère demoiselle ?" The priest is transformed, naturally, into a "Shaykh faqīh" and his argument is rendered thus (p. 44):

وأما أنت أيتها الصغيرة فلا عذر لك في السفر ولا بد من تسليمك للقضاء والقدر وإن تطيعي أمر الأتارب وإن ظلموا وإن تسلمي لما به حكموا فإن سفرك وإن كان لا أحد يرشاه فهو على ما حكم الله فلقد أنزل تعالى في كتابه العظيم على لسان نبيه الكريم قل لا أستلکم علیہ اجرا الا المودة فی القربى وإن سفرك إن شاء الله لنعم العقبى أفتعصين الله ما أمر أم تسلمين للقدر

<sup>1</sup> See the exhaustive and penetrating criticism of M.'s translation of *Paul et Virginie* by E. Saussey: "Une adaptation arabe de 'Paul et Virginie'," in *Bulletin des Études orientales de l'Institut français de Damas*, Tom. 1 (Paris, 1932), pp. 49-80. It does not appear that M. based his translation in any way on that of 'Osmān Ḡalāl; cf. his version of the passage quoted in the preceding note, ap. Saussey, p. 71. For a general characterization of the work of recent translators see Tahir Khemiri and G. Kampffmeyer, *Leaders in contemporary Arabic literature*, pt. i, (Leipzig, Cairo and London, 1930), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Riwayāt 'Adhrā'al-Hind 'aw Tamaddun al-Farā'ina limunshī'ihū 'ā-da'f* Aḥmad Shawqī (Alexandria: Maṭb. al-Ahrām, 1897), pp. 150.

<sup>3</sup> See on these Maḥmūd Taymūr, Introduction to *Ash-Shaykh Sayyid al-'Abīf* (Cairo, 1344/1926), pp. 39-40; revised German translation by G. Widmer, *Die Welt des Islams*, Bd. 13 (Berlin, 1932), 9 ff., and especially pp. 44-6. This valuable introduction gives a survey of the development of the novel and short story in Arabic literature, both medieval and modern. Particularly noteworthy are the analyses of the styles and powers of characterization of the writers mentioned, coming from the pen of one of the most talented and successful of modern Arabic authors.



novel. The story is frankly preposterous, not so much in plot as in the portentous supernatural machinery of magicians and sorcerers invoked on nearly every page. But it inherits from its popular ancestry a keen instinct for movement and adventure which offers some compensation, and where the supernatural is not too forcibly obtruded there is real pleasure to be got out of the vivid narrative. To its other parent, the historical novel, it owes its quasi-historical setting, which, as the expression of a new sense of pride in the greatness and glory of ancient Egypt, is worthy of notice. The feature, however, which gives this romance its special literary interest is that it is written with all that mastery of language and verbal artifice which has gained for Shawqī his outstanding place in modern Arabic poetry. The rhymed prose in which much of it is composed is of the most elaborate kind, the rhymes often recurring four or five times (more solemn passages, such as prayers and invocations, are generally rhymed throughout), and interspersed with long or short pieces of original verse, and one can only regret that so much virtuosity could not find better materials on which to expend itself.

While Aḥmad Shawqī's romance has remained a solitary *tour de force*, a much more successful attempt was made a few years later to adapt to the new requirements the literary genre known as *Maqāmāt*, familiar to students of medieval Arabic literature as its nearest approach (at least in the domain of belles-lettres) to the novel.<sup>1</sup> The *maqāma* in its traditional form continued to be cultivated right down to the end of the nineteenth century, notably by Nāṣif al-Yāziḡi and 'Abdallāh Pashā Fikrī,<sup>2</sup> but with these and other writers of the same school it still moved within the old circle of established themes, and had but little connection with the life and problems of the age. Totally distinct from this was the new function of social criticism, to which the *maqāma*-form, more or less modified and simplified, was now applied by several Egyptian writers in a series of works which constitute one of the characteristic types of Egyptian literary production in the decade prior to 1914.

The earliest and best work of this group, and the one which approaches most closely in conception and treatment to the novel in

<sup>1</sup> See Brockelmann's article "Maqāma" in *Encyc. of Islam*; also L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris, 1922), p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> See *BSOS.*, IV, 4, pp. 750 and 753. Fikrī Pāshā's famous *Maqāma Fikrīya*, which is a short story, already illustrates the widening scope of the *maqāma*.

the strict sense, is the well-known and still popular *Ḥadīth 'Īsā'bnī Hishām* of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylḥī (1858-1930),<sup>1</sup> already referred to in a former article in this series.<sup>2</sup> In this work too (as in all the others of its kind to be mentioned shortly) the supernatural is invoked, as the thread of the narrative hangs upon the experiences of a Pāshā of Muḥammad 'Alī's time who rises from the grave and finds himself, to his confusion and astonishment, in an unfamiliar and Europeanized Cairo. By means of this device the author is enabled to deal in turn with different aspects of the social life of his time, depicting it in lively dialogue, comparing it with the past, and criticizing its falsity and aping of the worst European standards. Such a work lacks, of course, as Maḥmūd Taymūr has remarked,<sup>3</sup> the essential characteristics of the novel, namely development and plot, but succeeds to a remarkable degree in the delineation of character. In its original form the work was unfinished, ending abruptly in the middle of an episode. The fourth and last edition rounded off this episode rapidly, and added a short second part (*ar-rīḥla ath-thāniya*), in which the scene is changed to Paris at the time of the Great Exhibition in 1900, and the evils of westernization are attacked at their source. Even at the end of this, however, the Pāshā is not safely relaid in his grave, and there are suggestions in the course of the book that the author had forgotten the scene with which his narrative opens.

It is less the story itself and its moral than its brilliant style and power of description that have won for it a deserved reputation. It forges together all the best characteristics of the *maqāma* prose with a modern smoothness and humour. The rhyming prose of the narrative

<sup>1</sup> The Muwaylḥis came of a mercantile family of Sayyids, and Muḥ.'s great-grandfather was *sar-tujjār* of Egypt under Muḥ. 'Alī. Muḥammad studied in al-Azhar and Ismā'īl's *madrasat al-anjāl*; he joined the party of 'Arābī Pāshā, and afterwards assisted Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī in Paris in the journal *Mir'āt ash-Sharq*. After spending some time in Constantinople, where he published al-Ma'arrī's *Risālat al-Ghufrān* and other early Arabic literary works from MSS. there, he returned to Egypt and engaged in journalism (in *al-Akrām*, *al-Mu'ayyad*, etc.), and subsequently held a post in the Ministry of Awqāf until his retirement in 1915. A number of side-lights on his career will be found in the *Diaries* of Wilfrid Scavenius Blunt (see Index, s.v. Mohammed Moelhi). His father, Ibrāhīm Bey, was also a man of literary attainments, and published a volume of essays under the title of *Mā huwāku* (Muqata'at Press, 1896). See also *al-'Aqqād*, *Murāja'at*, p. 173. *Ḥadīth 'Īsā'bnī Hishām* was originally published in parts in the journal *Misāl ash-Sharq*; 1st collected ed. Maṭb. al-Ma'arrīf, 1324/1907; 4th ed. Maṭb. Miṣr, n.d. (c. 1928-1930).

<sup>2</sup> *BSOS.*, V, 2, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to *Ash-Shaykh Sayyid al-'Abīl*, p. 42; tr. Widmer, *W.I.*, xiii, pp. 47-8.

sections (which, by being put in the mouth of that incomparable master of Ḥarīrian *saj'*, 'Isā b. Hishām, openly challenges his creator) is skilfully broken up by dialogue in simple modern language, which does not disdain at times the colloquial idiom, even though the dialogue itself occasionally develops into lengthy explanatory monologue. The *saj'* likewise is a skilful blend of ancient and modern,<sup>1</sup> by which the impression of archaizing is avoided and the reader is left free to enjoy what is in effect a very original and lively work, which can afford to bear comparison in style with al-Manfalūṭi and far outdistances him in depth and range of feeling.

Of the other works which follow al-Muwayyihī in applying the *maqāma*-form to the function of social criticism, though without his humanity and lightness of touch, two may be mentioned here. The first is by Shawqī's rival in the firmament of Egyptian poetry, Muḥammad Ḥafīẓ Ibrāhīm (1871-1932), issued under the title of *Layālī Saṭīḥ*.<sup>2</sup> The framework and plan are simple; a number of persons on successive evenings bring some grievance against the prevailing state of things in Egypt, and to each in turn a mysterious voice addresses a discourse in rhymed prose with occasional verse, analysing the causes of his grievance and pointing out the remedy. Gradually, however, the plan of the book changes, until the greater part of it is taken up with a series of conversations in plain unrhymed prose, in which the original scheme is completely lost from sight. The work was warmly received in Egyptian literary circles,<sup>3</sup> but it is interesting to observe that already voices were raised in criticism of the use of *saj'* in such productions.<sup>4</sup>

The *maqāma* plan is more strictly adhered to in the second work, *Layālī'r-Rūḥ al-Ḥā'ir*, by the publicist and playwright Muḥammad

<sup>1</sup> E.g., the dirty fingernails of a painter are كالأكحل عقلت بها المرآود أو كخطوط الحداد على صنجات الجرائد (4th ed., p. 411).

<sup>2</sup> *Layālī Saṭīḥ li-munsh'ihi Muḥammad Ḥafīẓ Ibrāhīm* (Maṭb. Muḥ. Muḥ. Miṭr., Cairo, n.d. [1907]), pp. 128. Cf. M. Taymūr, loc. cit., p. 42; Widmer, p. 48. For the legendary and half-mythological character of Saṭīḥ, see *Encyc. of Islam*, s.v. On Ḥafīẓ Ibrāhīm, see the study by M. Kurd 'Alī in *as-Siassa*, weekly ed., 20th and 27th October, 1928, and *al-Hilāl*, xi, 10, and xli, 1 (October-November, 1932), where the reader will find some account of the personal experiences which influenced him in his selection of material for this book.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *al-Manār*, xi, 7 (August, 1908), p. 530; Zaydān, in *al-Hilāl*, xvi, 10 (July, 1908), p. 583, refers to its اللسان الجديد في اللغة العربية.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Muqtabas*, vol. iii, 9 (October, 1908), p. 598.

Luṭfi Ġum'a.<sup>1</sup> But it is a *maqāma* without rhymed prose, and the influence of the Syro-American school of writers is strongly marked, especially in the form of composition known as *Shi'r manḥūr*, or free verse. The interlocutor in this work is a disembodied spirit, as the title suggests, and the greater part of his discourses is devoted to criticism of Egyptian social conditions. Zaydān justifiably draws attention to its beauty and elegance of phrase, which, it must be admitted, somewhat outweigh the depth of the ideas it expresses.<sup>2</sup>

In all these works we can trace a cumulative effort to evolve a new type of literary production which would satisfy the requirements of a new reading public, which should bear some relation to its problems and outlook, be readily intelligible, and above all rouse its interest and appeal to its imagination. But they did not, in fact, meet the problem successfully. Their appeal was too literary and appreciated only by a small class of educated readers; instead of opening new horizons and serving as an antidote to the cares of life, they

<sup>1</sup> Cairo, Maṭb. at-Ta'rif, 1912, pp. 192. The work is enthusiastically reviewed by Zaydān in *al-Hilāl*, xx (1912), pp. 551-5. For other early works of the author see Sarkis, *Dict. Biog.*, coll. 1692-3 (very incomplete). His plays are criticised by Muḥammad Taymūr in the collected volume *حبات النشيلة*, pp. 94-103, and a later book of his entitled *تاريخ فلاسة الاسلام* in *as-Siassa*, weekly ed., 29th October, 1927, by Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Khuḍayrī, who declares it to be plagiarized from S. Munk's *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe* (Paris, 1859). On his most recent work entitled *الشهاب الراسد* (Cairo, Maṭb. al-Muqtataf, 1926, pp. 324), in reply to Tāhā Ḥusayn's work on pre-Islamic poetry (see *BSOS.*, V, 3, p. 457), see Professor Ignaz Kratchkovsky's article "Tāhā Ḥusayn o doislamskoi poëzii arabov i ego kritiki" in *Bull. Ac. Sciences URSS.*, 1931, pp. 604-7, and M. Kurd 'Alī in *RAAD.*, vii (1927), pp. 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> To the same class as these works, though distinct in inspiration and to some extent in style, belongs also the celebrated treatise entitled *ابن الانسان* (Cairo, Maṭb. al-Ma'arif, n.d. [1911], pp. 272), composed by Shaykh Tanṭāwī Ġawharī and offered to the International Congress of Peoples, which met in London in 1911. The interlocutor in this book is a celestial spirit, and the subject is the wider one of human progress and fraternity. The author avoids the use of rhymed prose, but has retained the traditional balanced and antithetical style. Although this is one of the works which do most honour and credit to modern Arabic literature, and deserves to be made the subject of an independent study, it is unnecessary to do more than refer to it here, since it falls outside the scope of the present article. It has, moreover, already been analysed and made known to wider circles by D. Santillana (*RSO.*, iv, pp. 762-773) and Baron Carra de Vaux (*Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, v (Paris, 1926), pp. 281-4), preceded by a description of the first part of the author's remarkable commentary on the Qur'ān, now complete as far as Sūra 49 in twenty-two volumes (Cairo, Maṭb. Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Halālī, a.h. 1341- ). See further the author's own comments on the above-mentioned work in vol. xxii, pp. 239-247.

concentrated attention precisely on those cares, and, worst of all, their object and tone was too frankly didactic. The medieval view of literature as an intellectual luxury or vehicle of edification was shared by them all—the adapters of the classical tradition as well as such translators as ‘Osmān Ḡalāl and al-Manfalūṭī. The Syrian novelists themselves were not entirely exempt from it. Even the writers of the numerous hodge-podge of novellettes, whose works have long since been consigned to a merited oblivion, were obsessed by, or proclaimed their adhesion to, this moral and educational aim.<sup>1</sup> The contemptuous attitude of the medieval scholars to the popular romances and tales seemed still to govern the outlook of literary circles in Egypt, and did more than anything else to delay the development of the novel as an Arabic literary art.

Thus the first real Egyptian novel crept into life anonymously and little noticed by the learned.<sup>2</sup> Its author, Dr. Ḥusayn Haykal, then a young and ambitious advocate, was unwilling to acknowledge its paternity, lest it should stand in the way of his career. *Zaynab* broke away decisively in language, style, subject, and treatment from anything that had gone before in Arabic literature. It bore no relation to the historical novels of Zaydān or the philosophical novels of Farah Anṭūn, but, as its title implies, set out to portray the social life of the Delta in a series of episodes centred on the fortunes of a peasant girl. The story itself can be briefly told. *Zaynab*, a beautiful and sensitive girl, after an innocent flirtation with an educated youth (Ḥāmid), son of the village landlord, falls in love with a youth in the village (Ibrāhīm), but is married by her parents to his friend (Ḥasan). She remains loyal to her husband, but the conflict between love and duty preys upon her health, and when Ibrāhīm is drafted into the army the bitterness of her loss brings on consumption, of which she dies. A subsidiary theme is introduced by the relations between Ḥāmid

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., the introduction to *Riwayāt Nihāyat al-Gharām ‘an Falāt al-Minya*, a dull and rather primitive type of novelette by Muḥ. Sādiq al-‘Antabī, apparently a Syrian Christian, (Cairo, Maṭb. Khadīwiya, 1905):—

ليس الغرض من تأليف الروايات سرد الحكاية لتتسلل بها الأفكار ويخرج القارئ منطبعاً في ذاكرته هذا الموقف الترامى إنما يجب أن تكون النصيحة وجهة الكاتب ينشأ في خلال كتاباته لتبيل الأدواق السلية المستحسن وتبعد عن القبيح.

<sup>2</sup> *Zaynab. Manāẓir wa-‘akhlāq riṭīya. Biḡlam miṣrī fallāḥ*. (Cairo, Maṭb. al-Jarīda, n.d. [1914]). My copy has 416 pages, but has possibly lost the last sheets, as the second edition (Maṭb. al-Jadīd, n.d. [1929], pp. 286) has the equivalent of four pages more. On Haykal Bey see *BSOS*, V, 450–6; Khemiri and Kampfmeyer, *Leaders*, i, 20–1; Widmer, 48–9.

and his cousin, a town-bred girl, and his disappearance when his hopes of marriage with her are frustrated. The plot is, on the whole, too thin to sustain four hundred pages of type, and the book has other defects as a novel, which will be discussed immediately. *Zaynab*, however, is not only the first effort of a young man, but the first effort of a young literature, and must be judged accordingly. Such details as may be open to criticism are of little importance compared with the fact that the effort was made, and that a new and, in its setting, original kind of literary production was added to Arabic literature.

The construction of the novel is interesting from two aspects, the psychological and the descriptive. The plot is evidently designed with a view to the study of the reactions of certain typical Egyptian characters in face of adverse circumstances. It does not entirely succeed, since the characters themselves are not sufficiently complex (except that of Hāmid, who undoubtedly reflects to some extent the author himself) and the dramatization both of persons and incidents is rather weak on the whole.<sup>1</sup> The result is that the psychological comment has generally to be supplied by the author himself, and is set out rather in text-book fashion in the first person plural.

The intervention of the author is still more marked in the descriptive element. In his introduction to the second edition Haykal Bey recalls the circumstances under which he composed the book. As a student in Paris, overcome by strong home-sickness, he deliberately set himself to recall every aspect of country life and of nature in Egypt. This effort of affectionate recollection betrays itself on nearly every page by lengthy descriptions of natural scenery—sun, moon, stars, crops, streams, and ponds—sometimes rising to lyrical eloquence and dignity, but cumulatively distracting and oppressive. Every action, every scene, is accompanied by similar descriptive asides, which inevitably cause the narrative to drag painfully at times. Trifling episodes, without significance for the story, are often introduced simply, it would seem, as a peg on which to hang another descriptive interlude, and here and there sentences, overloaded with trivial photographic detail, lose shape and substance. But it must not be forgotten that to Egyptian readers such passages of description convey much more than they do to any outsider, and that in their direct æsthetic appeal lies one of the main reasons of their appreciation of the work.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for the characters of the two women the article by K. V. Ode-Vasil'eva, "Otrazhenie byta sovremennoi arabskoi zhenstchiny v'novelle," in *Zap. Koll. Vostokovedov*, v (Leningrad, 1930), pp. 300-301.

More integral to the plot of the novel are the sociological excursions which it contains. It is inevitable that the causes of the maladjustments and final tragedy should be traced back to their origin in the social habits of the people. The novel is dominated throughout by an insistence on the evils created by "outworn customs", but the social criticism is seldom allowed to obtrude in the same manner as the psychological and descriptive passages. This more natural effect is obtained by the device of representing it through the eyes and reflections of the character of Ḥāmid, an educated young man of liberal and reformist tendencies, strongly under the spell of Qāsim Amīn and the social reformers, though the author occasionally reverts here too to the text-book idiom. The organization of the family and seclusion of women form naturally the main theme of his social criticism, but not the exclusive theme. Amongst other aspects of Egyptian life which he criticizes are the faulty type of education, divorced from the realities of life,<sup>1</sup> the type of country doctor—this half-humorously<sup>2</sup>—and more bitterly the impostors who trade on the credulity of the peasantry as Shaykhs of the *ṭuruq*.<sup>3</sup> His nationalist feeling is implicit, rather than explicit, but occasionally finds outward expression, especially in regard to the humiliation of military service under the control of the foreigner.<sup>4</sup>

No less remarkable than the general character of the novel is the style of its composition. Its basis is the ordinary modern literary style, but substantially modified both in vocabulary and syntax. The influence of the colloquial idiom of the Delta, on the one hand, is seen in the abruptness of the sentences and transitions and in many details of usage<sup>5</sup>; that of French, on the other hand, in the long and complex sentences, with the principal clause interrupted by numerous

<sup>1</sup> 1st ed., p. 19; 2nd ed., pp. 22-3.

<sup>2</sup> 1st ed., pp. 401-403; 2nd ed., pp. 283-4.

<sup>3</sup> 1st ed., p. 322; 2nd ed., pp. 229-230.

<sup>4</sup> 1st ed., pp. 293, 296; 2nd ed., pp. 209, 211.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. *abā* retained in oblique cases; fondness for participles governing the accusative; tendency to omission of relative conjunction (*alladhī*, etc.); the ungrammatical use of the oblique case of the dual (e.g., *وعلى مقربة منه ثوريه* p. 408; *قد بنى على النجرساعتين* p. 275; both corrected in 2nd ed., pp. 287, 187). There can be little doubt that these offences against literary usage, together with the type of sentence illustrated in the following note, were partly responsible for the negative attitude adopted towards it by the literary public on its first appearance. Moreover, the novelty in literary style of many details of usage and vocabulary has been blurred at this distance of time by the fact that they have come to be more and more extensively used in contemporary writing.

subordinate clauses and apocopes.<sup>1</sup> The impression which it leaves on the whole is rather tortured, and corresponds to the admission made by Haykal Bey himself of the obstacles which he experienced to the expression of his thought in Arabic.<sup>2</sup> In regard to the vexed question of the idiom to be employed in the dialogue, he struck out boldly for the use of the colloquial dialect when the conversation is between the peasantry, while the educated characters, on the other hand, speak in modern literary idiom.

It will be clear from what has been said that the imaginative element in *Zaynab* is more limited than in the average modern European novel, and that the various sentimental and intellectual components, which together constitute the personal element, tend to predominate over the narrative. It is admitted also by the author in his preface to the second edition that behind many of its peculiar features lie the influence and example of the modern French psychological novel.<sup>3</sup> But unless it can be shown that this influence has been so strong in detail, as well as in method and style, as to make the work in effect an adaptation from the French, it is impossible to deny to *Zaynab* the credit of being the first Egyptian novel, written by an Egyptian for Egyptian readers, and whose characters, settings, and plot are derived from contemporary Egyptian life.

Although on its first appearance in 1914 the book attracted little notice, it apparently met with appreciation from an increasing circle of readers.<sup>4</sup> Its republication in 1929 was the result of a public demand, stimulated by several factors, amongst which may be included the strengthening of that national self-consciousness which it already foreshadowed, the literary eminence attained by the now confessed author, and the adaptation of the book as the subject of the first cinematograph film produced in Egypt.<sup>5</sup> On this occasion it naturally

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the sentence beginning *مد الظلام روافه*. 1st ed., p. 37; 2nd ed., p. 34; or that beginning *ولم تكن إلا لحظات*. 1st ed., pp. 89-90; 2nd ed., p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages quoted in the third article of this series, *BSOS.*, V, 3, p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> It would scarcely serve any useful purpose to attempt to trace out its origins in detail. Dr. Rudi Paret, in a private letter, suggests that an interesting comparison might be made between *Zaynab* and Th. Fontane's *Effi Briest*, but the comparison could hardly go beyond general situation and atmosphere, and it is not likely that Fontane entered into Dr. Haykal's course of reading in Paris.

<sup>4</sup> Already in 1927 I found great difficulty in procuring a copy.

<sup>5</sup> It was adapted and produced by the Ramsis Film Co. of Egypt in 1929, having been selected as the only novel amongst the works of "two hundred or more writers" which was worthy of consideration (see the article by the technical producer, Muhammad Karim, in *as-Siassa*, weekly ed., 17th August, 1929, p. 7).



became the subject of numerous articles and critiques, mostly laudatory<sup>1</sup>; but of much greater importance for the problem of the development of the novel in Egypt is a series of articles by Haykal Bey and Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh ‘Inān, which appeared in the weekly edition of *as-Siassa* early in 1930.<sup>2</sup>

How is it, asks Haykal Bey, that modern Arabic literature shows such a strange poverty and weakness in the field of the novel and the story, although Egyptians possess a natural talent for story-telling? Several reasons have been put forward: lack of imaginative staying-power, the difference between the idioms of literature and of conversation, the slackness of Egyptian writers; but none of these is the true cause, though the second reason given may possibly play a small part. He then suggests four contributory causes: (1) the relatively high proportion of illiteracy in Egypt, which prevents any real appreciation on the one hand, and offers inadequate material recompense to the writer on the other; (2) the lack of support from the upper classes and the wealthy, perhaps because they are not encouraged to give support by the women (in this connection he recalls the part played by women in seventeenth and eighteenth century France, and the value of the encouragement and patronage of women in old Arabic literature); (3) the persistent and public depreciation of leading men in Egypt by their rivals and inferiors; (4) the pre-occupation of the people with political and economic questions, and consequent tendency of writers to serve political rather than literary aims. The net result of all these causes is to hinder writers from the necessary specialization and long-maturing preparation, the necessity of which in novel-writing is not yet realized in Egypt.

‘Inān in turn agrees with the general tenor of this analysis, but insists that the second of Haykal Bey’s four causes is the most important. The real key to the development of the novel lies in the social position of women. The part played by women in stimulating the old Arabic poetry has no relation to their encouragement of the novel, whose material basis is found only in a society in which women play

<sup>1</sup> The most interesting of these, in view of what follows, are the two long articles by al-Māzinī in *as-Siassa*, weekly ed., 27th April and 4th May, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> 22nd February (pp. 3-4); 1st March (p. 10); 8th March (pp. 3-4). On Muḥ. ‘Abd. ‘Inān see Khemiri and Kampffmeyer, *Leaders*, pp. 22-3. The question of modern literary tendencies in Arabic and of the novel in particular is discussed *ad nauseam* in every production of the Arabic periodical press, but it would neither be possible nor profitable to analyse all these views here. The three articles dealt with here stand out from the rest, as having been written by authors with practical experience, and as facing the problem frankly and fully.

an important part and which is permeated by their influence, especially in dictating standards of morals and manners. For lack of this influence the old Arabic literature, like medieval European literature, moves in a narrow field and is lacking in fineness of feeling and emotion. In modern Arabic literature this narrowness still persists, since the social standards remain unchanged. *Zaynab* is an exception which proves the rule, since its success is due to the relative freedom enjoyed by women in the conditions of life in the Delta. He refuses therefore to share Haykal Bey's optimism; under present conditions the Arabic novel can only be maimed, limited, and individual, and is unable to offer any true representation or interpretation of the emotions and the character of social life. There can be no future for it in the modern literary revival so long as Muslim life remains in its traditional mould.<sup>1</sup>

This article produced a reply from Haykal Bey in which he abandoned the arguments based upon external causes, which he had previously adduced, and went straight to the psychological root of the matter in an article which deserves to be read with the most sympathetic attention. The real weakness of the short story and the novel in Egypt, he asserts, corresponds to the failure to get the most out of life, and goes back to the lack of any sound training of the emotions. The finer emotions cannot come to flower in a social life in which feeling is blunted to a point at which the physical desires take the place of any higher sentiment in the human soul. No art which does not spring in the mind of the artist from love for some aspect of life can possibly be a flourishing art. The development of the instinct of love to a human emotion in the higher sense demands a long and arduous training, for which one or even many generations may not suffice. Even charity and sympathy in their more developed social aspects are still rare in Egypt; love still remains close to the primitive instinct, and the existence of a finer ideal is hardly thought of or even imagined. Finally he seeks the reason for this defective training of the emotions in the absence of educative influences in the home, and in the character of the old type of education, which was purely vocational, not humane.

<sup>1</sup> استطعنا ان نقطع بان المجتمع الاسلامى لا يمكن، متى بقى تطوره ونقدمه محصوراً في المبادئ الاسلامية الخالدة أو في التقاليد التي كانت أنرا لهذه المبادئ. ان يمد كتاب القصص العربي يوماً بمادة واسعة او غريبة كالتى يقدمها المجتمع العربي الى كتاب العرب، أو ان يغدو الأثر الذى يفسحه للمرأة ذات يوم وحياً للفن أو للخيال.

Such arguments could not pass, of course, without meeting a considerable current of opposition from different quarters. One of the more obvious and pertinent criticisms will be illustrated a little later in dealing with al-Māzini's novel *Ibrāhīm al-Kātib*. But it is scarcely surprising that the most fundamental criticism came from the ranks of the classically-educated. Why all this talk about novels? Arabic literature got on very well in the past without them, and the craving for the novel is simply another instance of that insane imitation of the West which has wrought such havoc in the foundations of Eastern life. The Western novel, with its false and meretricious glamour, and its incompatibility with the traditional standards of the East, has exercised a debasing and destructive influence on Egyptian social life—why should she nurse the serpent in her bosom? This opposition, in more temperate and reasoned form, may be illustrated from a recent article by Dr. Zakī Mubārak.<sup>1</sup> Accepting the argument that the novel will not come into existence in Arabic literature until women have a recognized social position, he condemns the writers of Arabic stories as belonging "to the lowest class of literary writers", lacking all literary training and independence of thought, and mere spongers on foreign literatures. Worse still, they mislead the youth into despising other forms of literature. But, in fact, true literature, by which is meant a truthful and artistic appreciation of life, may find expression in other forms as well, such as a *risāla* or *qaṣīda*. Arabic literature is not to be judged by French or English literature, but by the temperament of its own people, and by its success in expressing their minds, visions, and desires. The journalistic literature of Egypt even now illustrates many sides of their intellectual, spiritual, and emotional crises, and is only hindered from fuller discussion by the censorship of the government and the reactionaries. But there is another side to the question: as heirs of the past "it is our duty to look at the past when we think of the present", and while moving on from the ancient styles and methods, to give due attention to their legacy of literature, which is often deeper and more valuable than "the empty froth thrown in the face of modern literature".

But however instructive such discussions may be for the purpose

<sup>1</sup> حائتا الأدبية: *al-Ma'rifa*, i, 11 (March, 1932), pp. 1326-8. The article is written in reply to a pessimistic article by Dr. Ṭahā Ḥusayn under the same title in the special number of the journal *الدنيا المصورة*, 10th January, 1932, in the course of which he quotes a casual remark made by the present writer on the subject of the Egyptian novel.

of elucidating the various opinions actually held and laying bare the social and intellectual background of contemporary Egyptian literature, that literature itself—and herein it proves its vitality—has not waited upon their issue, but has taken its own independent way. The existence of the "middle-class reader" is a fact which, ignored as it may be in discussion, demonstrates its reality by creating a demand which has somehow to be satisfied. To invite his attention to the *Iqd al-Farīd* and the works of the Golden Age is to offer him a stone instead of the bread he wants and will have; if the writers in his own tongue will not supply him with it, he will continue to import it from abroad, however indigestible it may be in the view of his doctors. The article, essay, or *risāla*, and even, it is to be feared, the average *qaṣīda*, is either too solid or deficient as a stimulus to the imagination; it lacks above all the essential quality of living interest, and of all these only the poem offers anything that can enter into the imaginative heritage of the people.

The problem, in essence, has very little to do with deliberate imitation of the West. It is a problem conditioned by the natural consequences of an increasingly wide extension of primary education. For the similar problem in Europe the solution has, to a great extent, been found in the novel, and if Arabic writers find themselves unable to put forward any other satisfactory solution (and neither the magazine article nor the literary essay is a satisfactory solution), then no course is open to them but to fall back, provisionally at least, upon the Western solution. The idea that there should be anything derogatory to the dignity or self-respect of a people in the transference of a particular kind of literary production from without into their own literature would be indeed a strange extension of chauvinistic extravagance, and it has still to be shown that either Turkish or Indian literature has lost in depth and fidelity by the introduction of the novel. Hence it is that the novel and the story have been steadily driving their roots into the field of Egyptian letters, however ungrateful the soil or ungracious the welcome. But for the full development of the novel one essential condition is adaptation to its environment, and here lies, so far as the recent history of the Arabic novel is concerned, the main difficulty.

Leaving aside the social factors discussed above, the Arabic novelists and story-writers were confronted with a further problem, already referred to at the beginning of this article, that, namely, of creating a modern novelistic technique. Of the earlier writers al-Manfalūṭī

and Ġurġi Zaydān illustrate different approaches towards a solution, the one by the colour, the other by the simplicity, of his style. But neither touched the central difficulty, that of presenting a realistic representation of contemporary social life, in vocabulary, forms of expression, and especially in dialogue. This task was now taken up and experimented with by a group of writers of short stories, beginning with Muḥammad Taymūr (1892-1921).<sup>1</sup> The general study of the works of these writers, apart from the fact that they constitute one of the most interesting orientations of modern Egyptian literature, is thus essential for following up the development of a new technique, but such a study would overstep the limits of the present article.<sup>2</sup> For our purposes it must suffice at present to examine briefly their handling of one of the most crucial problems, that of the idiom of dialogue.

Here again the problem is not one which is peculiar to Arabic literature, but has its analogies both in an earlier stage of most Western European literatures and in those of all countries in which the ordinary speech of daily social intercourse has not yet become standardized under the influence of the literary usage. The question at issue is whether the dialogue is to run the risk of appearing artificial and stilted by being expressed in the literary idiom, or whether it is to aim at realism at the expense of the æsthetic dislocation involved in using one idiom for narrative and descriptions and another for dialogue. The first alternative is that adopted in all the early novels, not only the translated novels (where indeed it was quite natural), but also in those of the Syrian writers, with the result that they give even the Western reader the same impression of formality and affectedness which he finds in the early novels in his own language. *Zaynab* was the first work of fiction, to my knowledge, in which the dialogue was

<sup>1</sup> See the biography by his brother Maḥmūd in the Introduction to vol. i of his collected works, entitled *وميض الروح* (Cairo, Maṭb. al-ʿIṭimād, 1922), pp. 11-38; Cheikho in *al-Machriq* (1926), pp. 862-3; further the Introduction to *الشيخ سيد الميضي*, p. 45; Widmer, p. 52. The following section of the latter Introduction contains a list of the principal recent writers of short stories in Arabic, to whom must be added—and that in the first place—Maḥmūd Taymūr himself; for him see Widmer, pp. 3-9, and the literature cited there on p. 8. Two of Muḥ. Taymūr's stories (Nos. 2 and 7 of the collection entitled *ما وراء العيون*), translated into English by the poet Aḥmad Rāmī, are contained in the last chapter of *Egypt in Silhouette*, by Trowbridge Hall (New York: Macmillan, 1928), together with two sketches by Manfalūṭi, an essay by 'Aqqād, and poems by 'Aqqād, Shawqī, Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, and Rāmī himself.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the article of Mme. Ode-Vasil'eva cited above, p. 2, n. 1.

phrased in the colloquial idiom. The same striving after realism influenced also the writers of short stories, at least to begin with, and in the first edition of Maḥmūd Taymūr's collection entitled *Ash-shaykh Ġum'a*, for example, the dialogue is also in colloquial Egyptian. But there has gradually grown up a tendency to adopt a compromise, by graduating the speech of the characters from pure literary to pure colloquial idiom according to the education and station of the speakers, and, further, even in the case of the former, to avoid in general words and phraseology of too literary a stamp, in favour of simpler and more colloquial turns of phrase.<sup>1</sup> By this means the impression of naturalism is maintained, at a very slight sacrifice of realism, and it is in fact no great task for the reader, if he so desires, to transpose the written symbols in many cases into the spoken forms. We may, however, expect at no very distant date to see this problem solve itself, both by the general extension of primary education and still more through the influence of the Egyptian broadcasting stations.

It remains only to inquire how far the problems, needs, and aspirations to which we have referred have been met in the most recent examples of the Egyptian novel. As may be gathered from the discussion summarized above, these are very few indeed if we are to take into account only genuinely original productions of a certain literary value.

The most prolific and also, according to Maḥmūd Taymūr, the most popular Arabic novelist of the present day is Niqūlā'l-Ḥaddād,<sup>2</sup> editor of the journal *As-Sayyidāt wa'r-Riḡāl*, in which most of his works were originally published serially. Although himself Syrian, the tone and feeling of his writing is markedly Egyptian, much more so than that of most other Syrian publicists. To judge by his historical novel *Firawnat al-'Arab 'inda't-Turk*,<sup>3</sup> he possesses the feuilleton-writer's gift of keeping the reader's interest on the stretch by rapidity of movement and frequent dramatic climaxes, but his plot is loosely constructed

<sup>1</sup> In the second edition of *Ash-shaykh Ġum'a* (Cairo, Maṭb. as-Salafiya, 1345/1927) the dialogue has been revised in accordance with this method. See on this subject the Introduction to this edition and Widmer, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to *الشيخ سيد المبعوط*, pp. 46-7; Widmer, p. 53, where the titles of his principal works are cited. He is known also as a translator of sociological works.

<sup>3</sup> Published originally in 1922-3; issued in one volume, Maṭb. Yūsuf Kawwā, n.d. The scene is laid in Constantinople during the war of 1914-18. This was intended as the first volume of a series, the second of which appeared later under the title of *Ġam'iyyat 'ikhwān al-'ahd*.

and the figures lack characterization, and it is questionable whether he has any contribution to make, either in style or treatment, to the literary development of the Egyptian novel.

Much greater literary interest attaches to another historical novel, the first strictly Egyptian work of its kind, entitled *Ibnat al-Mamlūk* ("The Mamlūk's Daughter"), by Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd.<sup>1</sup> This work does not seem to be in any sense dependent upon the type of historical novel written by Zaydān, and represents in some respects an advance upon him. The heroic element gives way to a more subdued realism, and the story is not wrapped round historical events, but placed in a historical setting, the period selected being that of the struggle of Muḥammad 'Alī and the Mamlūks between 1805 and 1808. The course of historical events is fitted naturally into the background, and not forced upon the reader's notice; even the most important military action during this period, the English expedition to Alexandria and its defeat at Rosetta in 1807, is only referred to briefly in two or three lines, although the hero, a young Arab refugee from the Wahhābis in Arabia, is represented as having taken part in the struggle. Although the book does not succeed altogether in avoiding the stiffness of the older historical novels, there is more life and movement in the characters, and it holds the reader's attention right down to its tragic conclusion.

The most recently published, and in every respect the most important, Arabic novel since *Zaynab* is the long-awaited work of al-Māzinī, issued in 1931 under the title of *Ibrāhīm al-Kātib*.<sup>2</sup> According to the author's statement in the Preface, the novel was written partly in 1925 and finished later on in 1926,<sup>3</sup> then thrown aside, and a portion of the second half was hurriedly rewritten during printing owing to the loss of the original manuscript, which may explain a certain unevenness referred to below. The Preface deals also in an interesting manner with the questions discussed above. In regard to the language of dialogue, al-Māzinī rejects the colloquial idiom as lacking flexibility of expression and not being sufficiently stabilized, whereas the literary

<sup>1</sup> Cairo, Maṭb. al-Itimād, 1928, p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> *Riwayāt Ibrāhīm al-Kātib biqalam Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir al-Māzinī* (Cairo, Maṭb. at-Taraqqī, 1350/1931), pp. 384.

<sup>3</sup> The greater part thus belongs to the period during which his new style was still in process of formation, and is earlier than the sketches collected under the title of *صندوق الدنيا* (Cairo, Maṭb. at-Taraqqī, 1929), pp. 320. See further *BSOS.*, V, 3, 460-4; Khemiri and Kampfmeyer, *Leaders*, 27-9.

idiom is daily acquiring greater flexibility and polish. He also criticizes the views of Haykal Bey as to the obstacle offered by Egyptian social life to the creation of the Egyptian novel. Such a view assumes, wrongly, that the Western novel is the only possible model for the novel; but why should there not be an Egyptian novel, possessing its own distinctive character? The social life of Egypt offers no obstacle to any writer with the requisite capacity for imagination. Moreover, granted that the emotion of love is felt and conceived of in Egypt in a manner different from that in the West, why must this be a fatal difficulty, or why even must the emotion of love be the mainstay of the novel? Such a limitation is "sheer hysteria, neither more nor less"

The novel itself does not wholly fulfil the expectations aroused by these arguments. Not that it is defective from the point of view of plot, development of situation and characters, and other technical aspects; in these respects it is certainly the best original novel in Arabic to my knowledge. There is the same lightness of touch, the same humour, sometimes subtle, sometimes more on the surface, the same rather defiant cynicism,<sup>1</sup> which, as already remarked in the preceding study, distinguishes al-Māzini's work from that of all other contemporary writers in Arabic. The narrative moves rapidly and easily, the dialogue is crisp and natural, and the social criticism and philosophical implications of the story are implicit rather than explicitly expressed.<sup>2</sup> But it is not, except for its characters and setting, an Egyptian novel in the sense which al-Māzini himself appears to postulate. The hero, who gives his name to the work, is entirely a Westernized creation, in whom few Egyptians would be likely to recognize themselves—perhaps the publisher has some justification for claiming, in spite of the author's disclaimer, that the identity of names between hero and writer is not entirely fortuitous. The novel itself is Western in feeling and ideas as well as in literary background, and the subject round which it revolves is a psychological study of the emotion of love in its Western rather than its Egyptian conception. Even the purely external features of form and style confirm this

<sup>1</sup> The reader can already guess something of his spirit from the dedication: "To her for whom I live, on whose behalf I strive, and with whom alone I am concerned, willy-nilly—my self."

<sup>2</sup> E.g. in reference to magical spells and the like, "... in spite of his Azharite education . . . he had no belief in all that" (p. 241).



impression, such as the frequent use of Western images and phrases,<sup>1</sup> and comparative absence of the corresponding Arabic phrases, and, most curious of all, the practice of heading each chapter with a verse from the Bible. The phrasing itself diverges in many details from the normal usages of literary Arabic, though without doing actual violence to the genius of the language. There is, however, a certain difference in tone and subject between the first and second halves of the book. The former moves entirely within the framework of Egyptian social life, and in its harmonious blending of humour and sympathy could come only from the pen of an Egyptian writer. The latter depicts another atmosphere in much harder tones, and the colour gradually fades out, as if the author's style were affected by the closing in of the shadows upon his hero.

Without denying, therefore, the imaginative originality of the author, the literary parentage of *Ibrāhīm*, like that of *Zaynab*, is obviously to be sought in the Western novel. But the rather sentimental prototypes of *Zaynab* are not the sort of production which would appeal to al-Māzinī, whose inclinations are altogether towards a robuster view and more realistic presentation. In this case, his habit of literary reminiscence<sup>2</sup> gives a clue to the origin of at least part of the conception, and points directly to M. P. Artzybashev's *Sanine*. The plot and development of *Ibrāhīm al-Kātib* are (it should be noted) entirely different from those of Artzybashev's story, but the character of Ibrāhīm has certainly borrowed something from that of *Sanine* (though what in *Sanine* is romantically portrayed as the result of natural training is in *Ibrāhīm* the outcome of a matured philosophy), and one scene in particular is practically a literal translation of the climax of the Russian novel.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g. "a 'Homeric' sight" (p. 147); "his words were like . . . pearls cast before swine" (p. 375).

<sup>2</sup> This free adaptation of episodes or methods from well-known books is characteristic of al-Māzinī's work (see for example the reminiscences of Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad* in his travel sketches entitled رحلة الحجاز—originally published by him as Special Correspondent for *al-Siasea*—signalized by 'Umar Abu'n-Naṣr in *al-Ḥadīth*, vi, 5 (Aleppo, May, 1932), pp. 359-366) but appears to me in no way to detract from his literary craftsmanship.

<sup>3</sup> *Sanine* was translated into Arabic († by al-Māzinī himself) from the discreetly abridged English version (by P. Pinkerton, 1915) and published *en feuilletton* under the title of ابن الطبيعة. I have not seen this Arabic translation, but a detailed comparison between phraseology and episodes from it and from al-Māzinī's novel will be found in an article in *al-Ḥadīth*, vi, 3 (Aleppo, March, 1932), pp. 194-201, by the 'Irāqī novelist Maḥmūd Aḥmad (for whose writings see M. Taymūr, tr. Widmer, p. 53).

Thus the Egyptian novel, in the work of its two chief representatives, still falls short of the ideal which they, along with others, have visualized. The link between technical competence and Egyptian inspiration has yet to be satisfactorily forged. So long as this is absent the mass of readers in Egypt will continue to gather up the crumbs which fall from the tables of others—unless, indeed, the writers of Egypt succeed in creating some entirely new literary form, a much harder task, of which there is no indication at present. So far from the novel serving as the stalking-horse of Western “materialism”, I can conceive of no effective barrier to the flood of Western literary influences in Egypt but the development of the truly Egyptian novel, and perhaps we may yet see a Department of Journalism and Novel-writing at the University of al-Azhar.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTES TO BSOS., V, pp. 445-466

p. 450, n. 1: The editor of the *Journal of the Oriental League* is the well-known publicist, ‘Alī ‘Abd ar-Rāziq (on whom see Khemiri and Kampffmeyer, *Leaders in Contemporary Arabic Literature*, pp. 9-10).

p. 453: Dr. Haykal’s Egyptian patriotism is expressed in another fashion in the introduction to his collected biographies, entitled *تراجم مصرية وغربية* (Maṭb. as-Siyāsa, 1929; cf. Khemiri and Kampffmeyer, p. 22, note e)—an eloquent piece of special pleading, in which he defends Egypt against the charge of having passively submitted to a succession of foreign conquerors.

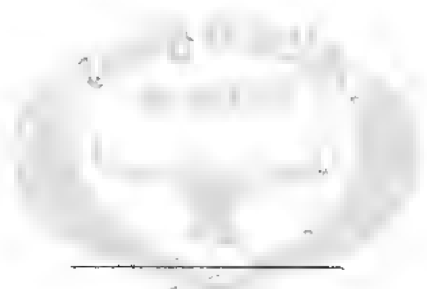
p. 457, n. 4: On the controversy between Dr. Ṭahā Ḥusayn and his critics on the subject of pre-Islamic poetry, see now the analysis published by Professor Kratchkowsky cited above, p. 7, n. 1.

p. 458, n. 4: As Dr. Ṭahā Ḥusayn’s autobiographical work *al-Ayyām* has now been made available in an English translation (*An Egyptian Childhood*, trans. by E. H. Paxton. London: Routledge, 1932, pp. viii + 168), supervised by the author himself, there is little to be gained from devoting a special study to it, as I had originally intended. A comparison and study of the relationship between this work and the biographical novels of Dr. Dayf and F. J. Bonjean, noted on p. 459, n. 1, would, however, form an interesting subject.

p. 464, n. 4: The work and personality of Dr. Shiblī Shumayyil

have at last been rescued from the semi-oblivion which seemed to surround them, by J. Lecerf: "Šibli Šumayyil, métaphysicien et moraliste contemporain" in *Bull. des Études Orientales*, i, pp. 152-186 and 209-211.

p. 465: On Salāmah Mūsā, as on most of the writers dealt with in the course of this article, cf. now the biographical and literary data collected by Khemiri and Kampffmeyer in the very useful publication quoted frequently above.



## The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldūn's Political Theory

By H. A. R. GIBB

IT seems an odd coincidence that within the last three years there should have appeared four different studies devoted to the work of Ibn Khaldūn, considering that in the half-century following the issue of de Slane's translation of the *Muqaddima*,<sup>1</sup> apart from von Kremer's study<sup>2</sup> and a few short articles drawing the attention of a wider circle of students in various countries to its significance, it was not until 1917 that the first monograph on the subject was published by Dr. Tāhā Ḥusain.<sup>3</sup> This work, like most of the earlier articles, dealt primarily with the sociological aspects of Ibn Khaldūn's historical theory, and the same interest predominates in all but one of the three or four articles published since 1917. Of the latest studies it may be said that, though still giving prominence to the social aspect, they cover as a whole a rather wider ground. Dr. Gaston Bouthoul, indeed, limits himself in his title<sup>4</sup> to Ibn Khaldūn's "Social Philosophy", but the contents of his essay overleap these bounds, especially the first thirty pages, devoted to a very suggestive analysis of the personality and intellectual outlook of the historian. Professor Schmidt's tractate<sup>5</sup> is in the nature of a survey of the field; he assembles and examines the views of earlier writers on different aspects of Ibn Khaldūn's work, but does not put forward any synthesis of his own. Lastly, the two recent German works of Drs. Kamil Ayad<sup>6</sup> and Erwin Rosenthal<sup>7</sup> mark a return towards the more strictly

<sup>1</sup> *Les Prolegomènes historiques*, Paris, 1863-8.

<sup>2</sup> A. von Kremer, *Ibn Chaldūn und seine Kulturgeschichte der islamischen Reiche*, S.-B. Ak. Wien, 1878. Full bibliographies of the other articles will be found in any of the works mentioned below.

<sup>3</sup> Tāhā Ḥusain, *Étude analytique et critique de la philosophie sociale d'Ibn Khaldoun*, Paris, 1917.

<sup>4</sup> Gaston Bouthoul, *Ibn Khaldoun, Sa Philosophie sociale*, Paris (Geuthner), 1930, pp. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Nathaniel Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun, historian, sociologist, and philosopher*, New York (Columbia U.P.), 1930, pp. 68.

<sup>6</sup> Kamil Ayad, *Die Geschichts- und Gesellschaftslehre Ibn Haldūns*, 2tes. Heft der "Forschungen zur Geschichts- und Gesellschaftslehre" hrsg. v. Kurt Breysig, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1930, pp. x + 209.

<sup>7</sup> Erwin Rosenthal, *Ibn Khaldūns Gedanken über den Staat*, Beiheft 25 der Historischen Zeitschrift, München and Berlin (R. Oldenbourg), 1932, pp. x + 118.

historical thought of the *Muqaddima*, and the latter in particular is the first monograph to be devoted exclusively to Ibn Khaldūn's political theory.<sup>1</sup> The two books differ considerably in plan. Dr. Ayad, after a long and philosophical introduction on the general trends of Islamic cultural and intellectual development, displays a remarkable critical faculty and acuteness of observation in the analysis of Ibn Khaldūn's historical method, and concludes by examining in outline his social theory. Dr. Rosenthal on the other hand prefers to let Ibn Khaldūn explain himself, and describes his own work as "a modest attempt to present the historian with the material from which to construct a picture of Ibn Khaldūn's view of the State, by means of as accurate a translation as possible of the most important passages in his *Muqaddima* in which he analyses the theory of the State, together with an historical interpretation limited strictly to the text".<sup>2</sup>

In view of these admirable and very serviceable books it would be an unnecessary task to attempt to traverse the whole field of Ibn Khaldūn's political thought here. The object of the following remarks is solely to draw attention to a point which appears to the writer to be fundamental for any critical study of Ibn Khaldūn's thought, but which has been consistently overlooked or even misrepresented in most, if not all, of the works already cited. (For purposes of discussion

<sup>1</sup> Mention may also be made here of the Special Number issued by the Arabic journal *al-Hadith* of Aleppo in Sept., 1932, to celebrate the sixcentenary of Ibn Khaldūn's birth. The articles, which are all from the hands of leading Arabic scholars of the present day, are somewhat unequal in value, but demonstrate the very keen interest shown in his work in modern Arabic circles. A note of dissidence is, however, introduced by the encyclopaedist Farid Wāḡdī, who in a brief and rather unsatisfactory article argues that the *Muqaddima* is a work neither of sociology nor of the philosophy of history.

<sup>2</sup> The necessity for a revision of de Slane's somewhat loose translation (indispensable as it still is) has long been known to Orientalists, and it is one of the merits of R.'s book that, with some assistance from Professor Bergsträsser, he provides a much more literal and accurate version of the passages translated, so far as I have tested it. Some errors remain, however: e.g. p. 41: "... hat den Namen Königtum, und es ist sein Sein, das sie beherrscht" (*tusammā 'l-malakata wahīya kawnuhu yamlikuhum*); p. 97: "und auf jede einzelne von ihnen (diesen Künsten) grosse Sorgfalt zu verwenden" (*li'tta'annuqi fī kulli wāḥidin panā'i'u kathīratun*). Doubtful words or readings are responsible for some errors; p. 23: 'I suspect the word *'umūmiyyatun* rendered as "die Bevölkerung (?) " to mean something like "complex of tribal relationships"; a few lines further on "unterstützen sie", which makes nonsense in the context, is due to an apparent error of *ma'ūnatun* for *ma'ūnatun* ("source of expense"); p. 57: "einen Genuss aus dem Streit machen (?) " has arisen from a misreading *bi'l-khalāqi* for *bi'l-khalāqi* ("enjoyment of worldly happiness").

it will be convenient to illustrate the argument more especially from the two last-named German works.) The general explanation of the deficiency referred to is to be sought in a certain tendency to exaggerate the independence and originality of Ibn Khaldūn's thought, which in turn arises from a misapprehension of his outlook, especially in its relation to religious questions.

The true originality of Ibn Khaldūn's work is to be found in his detailed and objective analysis of the political, social, and economic factors underlying the establishment of political units and the evolution of the State, and it is the results of this detailed analysis that constitute the "new science" which he claims to have founded. The materials on which his analysis is based were derived partly from his own experience—a point rightly emphasized in all these works—and partly also from the historical sources to his hand relating to the history of Islam, which he interpreted with a striking disregard of established prejudices. But the axioms or principles on which his study rests are those of practically all the earlier Sunni jurists and social philosophers. Dr. Ayad is at some pains to argue that a fundamental difference exists between Ibn Khaldūn's first principles as to the origins of society and those of his predecessors (pp. 165-6); the latter start from a global conception of "human society" (*al-mujtama' al-insānī*), whereas he starts from a dynamic conception of "human association" (*al-ijtimā'*). But apart from the evidence against this assumption to be found in the typical passage which will be quoted shortly, Dr. Ayad has almost immediately to admit (p. 168) that Ibn Khaldūn simply took over their "utilitarian" arguments, "although his conception does not wholly agree at bottom with their views." This admission is fully borne out by Ibn Khaldūn's own explanation, that the difference between the subject of his book and the observations of his predecessors lies in the fact that their statements were "not argued out as we have argued them out, but simply touched on by way of exhortation in a belletristic style", and served only as general introduction to works of an ethical character.<sup>1</sup> While they in pursuance of their objects have been content to summarize the historical process in general terms, he has made it his business to explain the mechanism in detail, since his object, which he admits is of subsidiary importance (*thamaratuhā . . . da'ifa*), is solely to establish criteria for the "rectification of historical narratives". In doing so, of course, he introduces many conceptions which find

<sup>1</sup> Muqaddima to Bk. i (Quatremère i, 85).

no place in their outline sketches, but are not in any way in contradiction to them.

Yet both Dr. Rosenthal and Dr. Ayad assert the contrary. The former remarks (p. 9) that it should be particularly emphasized that Ibn Khaldūn "on the basis of his own observations" recognizes that kingship can come about without any divine investiture or aid, and regards this (p. 12) as "an indication of independent thought, free of all theological restraint". Dr. Ayad is even more emphatic. Noting that Ibn Khaldūn does not make prophecy a prerequisite for human association, he adds (p. 114), "This proposition of Ibn Khaldūn's is openly directed against the Muslim theologians, who describe any human life as impossible without prophetic guidance," and repeats the observation (p. 169) in reference to Ibn Khaldūn's argument against the exaggerated postulates of the "philosophers".<sup>1</sup>

If, however, we examine the actual phraseology of the Muslim theologians, we shall find that it does not bear out these assumptions. To take an extreme case I shall quote the relevant passage from a work of the kind referred to by Ibn Khaldūn and written by one of the protagonists of the strictest orthodox views, Ibn Taimiya (d. 728/1328), two generations before him. This passage, which forms part of the general introduction to his treatise on the Censorship,<sup>2</sup> runs as follows:—

"None of mankind can attain to complete welfare, either in this world or in the next, except by association (*ʿitīmā'*!), co-operation, and mutual aid. Their co-operation and mutual aid is for the purpose of acquiring things of benefit to them, and their mutual aid is also for the purpose of warding off things injurious to them. For this reason it is said that "Man is a political being by nature". But when they unite together (*jama'ū*) there must of necessity be certain things which they do to secure their welfare and certain other things which they avoid because of the mischief which lies in them, and they will render obedience to the one who commands them to the attainment of those objects and restrains them from those actions of evil consequence. Moreover, all mankind must of necessity render obedience to a commander and restrainer. Those who are not possessed of divine books or who are not followers of any religion (*man lam yakun min ahli'l-kutub'il-ilāhīyati walā min ahli dīnin*) yet obey their kings in regard to those matters wherein they believe

<sup>1</sup> First Muqaddima to Bk. i, section 1 (Q. i, 72).

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Ḥisba f'l-Islām* (Cairo, Mu'ayyad Press, 1318 H.), p. 3.

that their worldly interests lie, sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly." If this passage is compared with the Introduction to Book i, section 1, of the *Muqaddima*, or such a restatement as Book iii, chapter 23,<sup>1</sup> or the still more illuminating passage in Book v, chapter 6,<sup>2</sup> it will be seen that Ibn Khaldūn does little more than expand these ideas and give them greater precision by introducing his conception of *ʿaṣabiya*.

This example leads up to the second question—how far Ibn Khaldūn deserves to be credited with the freedom from religious bias or pre-occupations which both these writers ascribe to him? Granted at the outset that he aims at describing the phenomena of political life as he sees them to exist, and that on the basis of these empirical observations he does in fact describe them objectively and dispassionately, with a remarkable grasp of the essential characteristics of political power, the stages of its evolution, and the intricate inter-relations of the State with all aspects of human civilization. His "materialism", "pessimism", or "fatalism" has been remarked by all his commentators, on the ground that he never puts forward suggestions for the reform of the institutions which he describes so minutely, nor considers the possibility that they may be modified as the result of human effort and thought; but accepts the facts as they are and presents the cycle of states and dynasties as an inevitable and almost mechanical process. Dr. Ayad remarks, for example (p. 163), that he makes no attempt to justify history, that his principles are not theocentric (p. 97), and that he holds, "in blunt opposition to the Muslim theological view," to the doctrine of causality and natural law in history (p. 143). Further, he emphasizes (pp. 51-3) his treatment of religion—"simply as a weighty cultural phenomenon and an important socio-psychological factor in the historical process", while admitting that he remained a sincerely convinced Muslim. Similarly, Dr. Rosenthal insists more than once that Ibn Khaldūn holds firmly to the doctrines of the *Sharīʿa*, and that by religion he has in view the religion of Islām exclusively, yet it is one of the outstanding features of his theory that he treats religion "as no more than one factor, however important it may be" (p. 58). "Religion (he proceeds) is an important factor also in the autarchic State, but it does not alone give its content to the State, not even to the Islamic State. It is, like every phenomenon, liable to changes, at least so far as its degree of intensity and the realization of its demands are concerned. . . . The law of the State is derived from religion, but

<sup>1</sup> Q. i, 337-8; translated in Rosenthal, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Q. ii, 290, ll. 9-18



the State abstracts itself in practice from the whole compass of its validity and follows its own aims. These, however, are determined by power and lordship and extend to the wellbeing of the citizens, primarily in this world, within the body of the State. . . . Human need and human effort have founded the State as a necessity, and it exists for man. The help of God lightened his work, the divine ordinance directed him to the best way, the word of God urged him on and supported his impulse towards conquest and power. But it is not *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* that the State exists, but rather for the protection of men and the ensuring of order" (pp. 59-60). At the same time "for Islamic thought, the formulations of the Religious Law are ideal demands, and recognized as such also by Ibn Khaldūn". These two views, according to Dr. Rosenthal, exist side by side in his work, but it is the former which is at the centre of his conceptions.

It seems to me that, in spite of the efforts made by both doctors to reconcile such a view of religion and the State with the orthodox standpoint of Ibn Khaldūn, there is an unresolved contradiction between these two statements. Ibn Khaldūn was not only a Muslim, but as almost every page of the *Muqaddima* bears witness, a Muslim jurist and theologian, of the strict Mālikī school. For him religion was far and away the most important thing in life—we have seen that he expressly calls his study a thing of subsidiary value—and the *Shar'ā* the only true guide. This means not just that Ibn Khaldūn was careful to safeguard himself in his arguments from the suspicion of unorthodoxy—still less that, as Dr. Ayad would have us believe, he "shows great adroitness in interpreting the Islamic Law in accordance with his view, and so seeks to subordinate religion to his own scientific theories" (p. 173)—but that he did not and could not introduce into his system anything that was logically incompatible with the Islamic standpoint. He was all the less likely to do so since, as M. Bouthoul (p. 17) points out, and as we shall have occasion to recall further on, he was by early training and inclination strongly attracted to logic and the rational sciences. Amongst his early works cited by Dr. Ayad (p. 17) was a treatise on logic, and it is this logical bent of his mind which supplies the key to the whole conception of the *Muqaddima*. Indeed, as Dr. Ayad shows more than once (pp. 57-8, 135, 159), in spite of his rejection of the logical systems of the metaphysicians, based as they were on abstract *a priori* ideas, his own insistence on the absolute validity of his deductions leads him at times into premature generalizations.

The explanation of his apparent reduction of religion to a secondary place in his exposition is that in his work he is not concerned with religion, i.e. Islām, as such, but only with the part played by religion in the outward course of history. The State occupies the central place, because it is the subject of his study. But a careful examination of the chapters which constitute the first three books of the *Muqaddima* will show that he uses the term religion in two different senses. On the one hand is religion in the true or absolute sense, when the whole will of man is governed by his religious conviction and his animal nature is held in check. Opposed to this is "acquired religion", a second-hand and relatively feeble thing, which saps his manhood and fails to control his animal impulses.<sup>1</sup> This distinction underlies also the chapter<sup>2</sup> "That a religious rising (*da'wa*) unsupported by 'asabiya is doomed to failure", upon which so much weight is placed by these investigators, for Ibn Khaldūn makes it quite clear that he is speaking of religious movements which have no divine commission behind them, and thus are religious only in the outward sense.

The ethical and Islamic basis of Ibn Khaldūn's thought is, however, implicit throughout his exposition, quite apart from his constant appeal to texts from Qur'an and Tradition. His doctrine of causality and natural law, which in Dr. Ayad's view stands in such sharp opposition to Muslim theological views, is simply that of the *sunnat Allah* so often appealed to in the Qur'an. Although for theological purposes it was found necessary to insist that cause and effect are not integrally connected, in so far as both the apparent cause and the apparent effect are in reality separate divine creations, yet it was accepted that God did in fact, by eternal "custom", create the appropriate "effect" after creating the "cause"; indeed, without this presupposition, the further doctrine of the special power bestowed upon prophets of "violation of natural order" (*kharq al-'āda*) would have no meaning. It may, however, be allowed that Ibn Khaldūn lays much greater stress than most Muslim writers upon the inevitable working of cause and effect as "natural law".

A similar conclusion emerges from his historical theory in the strict sense. The association of men for mutual assistance "fulfils the wise purpose of God for their survival and preservation of the species", and without it there would not be perfected "what God has willed for the population of the world by them and His establish-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. esp. Bk. ii, chap. 6, translated in R., pp. 68-9 (Q. i, 230-2), and ii, 27 (Q. i, 275).

<sup>2</sup> Bk. iii, chap. 6 (Q. i, 288-90), translated in R., p. 54.

ment of them as His vicegerents".<sup>1</sup> The institution of kingship is likewise ordained by God, whether it be good or evil,<sup>2</sup> and the *‘aṣabīya* which furnishes the mechanism whereby it is attained is itself due to the aid of God.<sup>3</sup> Thus even the civil state exists as part of the divine purpose. Ibn Khaldūn then goes on to recognize several varieties of states, classified according to their laws.<sup>4</sup> This passage is particularly worth attention, in view of the express statements of Dr. Rosenthal that Ibn Khaldūn "passes no judgments of value and prefers no form of State over another" (p. 47), and of Dr. Ayad that "he refrains *on principle* from judgments of value" (p. 123): "The state (says Ibn Khaldūn) whose law is based upon violence and superior force and giving full play to the irascible nature is tyranny and injustice and in the eyes of the Law blameworthy, a judgment in which also political wisdom concurs. Further, the state whose law is based upon rational government and its principles, without the authority of the *Sharī‘a*,<sup>5</sup> is likewise blameworthy, since it is the product of speculation without the light of God . . . and the principles of rational government aim solely at worldly interests." Opposed to both of these stands the Caliphate as the only perfect state, being based on the true practice of the *Sharī‘a*, which furthers both the temporal and spiritual interests of its subjects.<sup>6</sup>

The central position which the Caliphate or ideal state occupies in Ibn Khaldūn's thought may be supported by another argument. It has been remarked above that Ibn Khaldūn develops his thesis along strictly logical lines, and a glance at the sequence of his chapters shows that they lead up to and culminate in the Caliphate.<sup>7</sup> Having

<sup>1</sup> Bk. i, ch. 1, 1st Muqaddima (Q. i, 70-1).

<sup>2</sup> Bk. ii, ch. 20 (Q. i, 259-60).

<sup>3</sup> Bk. iii, ch. 4 (Q. i, 284).

<sup>4</sup> Bk. iii, ch. 25; translated in R., 61-2 (Q. i, 342-3).

<sup>5</sup> De Slane's translation misses the point of the phrase *min ghairi naẓari shshar‘i* inserted in Q. after *bi-muqadda's-siyāsati wa' aḥkāmihā*.

<sup>6</sup> The same judgment is expressed in a slightly different fashion in Bk. ii, ch. 20 (Q. i, 259-60), from which it is clear that Ibn Khaldūn's connotation of the term Caliphate is general and not restricted to the historical Caliphate.

<sup>7</sup> It is the chief defect of Dr. Rosenthal's otherwise admirable survey of Ibn Khaldūn's political thought that he has overlooked the logical sequence of his exposition, and by shuffling about his chapters unwittingly distorts his point of view. For example, in the section headed "The evolution of the State" the order of the passages which he has selected is as follows:—Bk. ii, ch. 15; iii, 14; iii, 17; ii, 16; iii, 15; ii, 18; iii, 11; iii, 12; iii, 16; ii, 22; iii, 2; iii, 3; ii, 4; ii, 5; ii, 23; iii, 7; iii, 8; iii, 18; iii, 10; iii, 13; iii, 47; iii, 46.

reached this point he halts to discuss in elaborate detail the organization associated with the Caliphate,<sup>1</sup> before passing on to investigate the causes of the decay of the State and its final destruction. It is in the course of this discussion that he explains the gradual transformation of the historical Arab Caliphate into an ordinary kingship,<sup>2</sup> as due to the force of *ʿaṣabiyya* amongst the Umayyad family (though not, in his view, amongst the early Umayyad rulers themselves) regaining an ascendancy over the religious enthusiasm which had restrained it in the time of the early Caliphs.

Thus it is impossible to avoid the impression that Ibn Khaldūn, besides setting out to analyse the evolution of the State, was, like the other Muslim jurists of his time, concerned with the problem of reconciling the ideal demands of the *Sharīʿa* with the facts of history. The careful reader will note how he drives home the lesson, over and over again, that the course of history is what it is because of the infraction of the *Sharīʿa* by the sin of pride, the sin of luxury, the sin of greed.<sup>3</sup> Even in economic life it is only when the ordinances of the *Sharīʿa* are observed that prosperity follows.<sup>4</sup> Since mankind will not follow the *Sharīʿa* it is condemned to an empty and unending cycle of rise and fall, conditioned by the "natural" and inevitable consequences of the predominance of its animal instincts. In this sense Ibn Khaldūn may be a "pessimist" or "determinist", but his pessimism has a moral and religious, not a sociological, basis.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ayad points out that Ibn Khaldūn denies that the Caliphate (or Imāmate) is one of the "pillars of the faith", but fails to observe that it is the *Shiʿite* doctrine that he rejects, and that in his arguments against the rational necessity of the Caliphate (iii, 26; Q. i, 345-6) he is in complete agreement with the classical doctrine expounded by al-Māwardī (p. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Bk. iii, ch. 28 (Q. i, 367 ff.); note especially *walam yaḥkari ʿtaḡhayyuru illa fī ʿl-wāziʿi ʿl-ladhi kāna dīnan thumma ʿngalaba ʿaḡabiyyatan wa-saifan* (Q. 375, 9-10). This instance brings out clearly that what Ibn Khaldūn means by "natural" development in social and political life is very different from the mechanical doctrine which Dr. Ayad regards as the outstanding feature of his theory.

<sup>3</sup> M. Bonthoul's accusation (p. 88) that Ibn Khaldūn's outlook is governed by a kind of intellectual sadism, characteristic of "mediaeval mentality", appears to me very wide of the mark. Cf. again Bk. v, ch. 6 (Q. ii, 290).

<sup>4</sup> Bk. iii, ch. 38 (Q. ii, 79).



## Notes on some Isma'ili Manuscripts

Compiled by A. S. TRITTON

From information supplied by Dr. PAUL KRAUS

THE School of Oriental Studies has bought a small collection of Isma'ili books which were the property of a Bohra mullah in India. He died about three years ago, and some of his books went to his son who had become a Christian. Having no interest in Isma'ili theology he arranged with a missionary to sell them outside India. It looks as if the library had been divided in a way typical of India, one heir getting the first volume of a work and another the second.

On the flyleaf of one manuscript is a list of books belonging to a former owner. Five of the ten are found in part in this collection. Others are the *Kitāb at-Tahāra* which is almost certainly part of the *Da'ā'im al-Islām*; the *Kitāb al-Manākib wal Mathālib*, a historical work by the kādī An-Nu'mān describing the good qualities of the prophet's family and the bad qualities of the Umayyads, including those of Spain; and the life of Al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-dīn Abū Naṣr Hibatullah, which has been summarized by Dr. al-Hamdani in *JRAS.* (1932), p. 126. The rest cannot be identified.

Little has been published about this literature. There is something about it in an article by E. Griffini in *ZDMG.*, v. 69, p. 87, and in another by Dr. Kraus in *Der Islam*, v. 19, p. 243; see also L. Massignon, "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate," in *A volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, 329 ff. The fullest account is that given in the doctoral dissertation of A. H. F. al-Hamdani, entitled *The Doctrines and History of the Isma'ili Da'wat in Yemen*, available in the library of the University of London. Besides theology they had their own history, the chief work being the *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* of the dā'ī Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. c. A.H. 860), in seven volumes.

### 1. كتاب أناس التأويل الباطن

شيخ طيب بن موسى بن ملا القماحي بن علي Copyist  
f. 148; lines to a page, 18 or 19 (short); titles mostly in red; Oriental paper; thick writing, clumsy but legible. Seventeen parts.

One of the famous books of kādī An-Nu'mān, composed before his  
كتاب تأويل دعائم الاسلام (see No. 4).

## 2. كتاب المجالس والمسائرات

Copyist مأمونجي داود . . . . in A.H. 1315; f. 145;  
lines to a page, 18 or 20.

It ends with شرح مجلس في أول ربيع الآخر preceded by the account  
of the circumcision of twelve thousand boys.

Badly written.

Author An-Nu'mān, the chief kādī of Al-Mu'izz (Massignon,  
"Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate," No. 16). The book consists  
of two big volumes, each of some four hundred pages, and deals with  
the speeches of the imāms, especially of Al-Mu'izz, which were written  
down and published by An-Nu'mān. A book of great literary value  
and undoubtedly genuine.

## 3. كتاب شرح الاخبار في فضل الائمة الاطهار

The title in the MS. is في الفضائل (١) الائمة الابار. Parts 13  
and 14.

Part 13: ذكر من قتل مع الحسين

Part 14 begins أما جعفر بن محمد. f. 80; lines to a page, 15.

At the end three pages of oddments; the miraculous stopping of  
a flood in the Euphrates by 'Alī, etc., and a little Urdu.

Author: the kādī An-Nu'mān. It is the great history of Islam  
from the Isma'ili standpoint.

The whole contains sixteen parts: 1, Muḥammad; 2-10, 'Alī;  
11-12, Khadija, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, Ḥusain; 13-14, the imāms up to  
Ja'far b. Muḥammad; 15-16, Al-Mahdī billah and the following  
imāms. It is quoted as early as A.H. 400.

## 4. كتاب دعائم الاسلام

Copyist: داود بن مأمونجي

Written A.H. 1309. في مدرسة الرئيس الباذل ملا طيب آدمجي بن  
Volume 1: ending with كتاب الجهاد. f. 250; lines to a page, 18 (one page written upside down).

The famous Isma'ili fiqh book by kādī an-Nu'mān.

## 5. ديوان

قال سيدنا الاجل داعي الدعاة المؤيد في الدين عصمة المؤمنين ووليهم ابو  
نصر هبة الله سلماني

Copyist: عبد الحسين بن ملا هبة الله رامپورى في وقت سيدنا  
برهان الدين في المدرسة آدجي فير بهائي

Written-5 Sha'bān, 1309. On the flyleaf الاول; on f. 9a  
الجزأ الاول, etc., with no divisions in the text. f. 70; lines to  
a page, 16.

Author: ابو نصر هبة الله بن ابي عمران موسى بن داود الشرازي.  
He was the chief dā'ī of al-Mustangir; his activity lasted from about  
A.H. 429 to 470 (see *Encyc. of Islam*, s.v. al-Mu'ayyad fī'l-Dīn, and  
*JRAS.*, 1932, p. 126).

He is called Salmāni because he claimed to stand to the imām  
in the same relation as Salmān al-Fārisi did to the prophet.

At the end is a poem introduced by قال ابن حماد.

## 6. مجموع الترية

Volume 1: f. 174; lines to a page, 17. The margins have been cut,  
damaging notes. Thick Oriental paper; the writing is very like No. 1.  
Early leaves badly damaged. Copyist: تاج خان روشنجي بن احمدجي.  
Marginal notes: a. 1122.

قرأت هذا الكتاب . . . على لسان ملا قاذى (؟) خان بن على بهائي ياذن  
سيدنا ومولانا ومالكنا وامرنا سيدنا كلم الله هو نسى (؟) بهائي بن  
شيخ عبد الطيب.

Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir is the author; he was *ma'dhūn* of the dā'ī  
Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusain al-Ḥāmīdī, and is praised in the *diwān* of 'Alī  
b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (see No. 7a).

The complete work consists of two volumes; it is one of the early  
compendia of Ismaili doctrine in the Yemen *da'wa*.



### Contents

The prayers ; the external form.

Mystical interpretation of the single prayers, e.g. the sunset prayer is like 'Ali the deputy.

Explanation of the prayers as a whole.

Explanation of faith.

Explanation of the pillars of faith ; begins " Know that the outer and inner meanings of the law have seven pillars, purity, prayers, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, endeavour (? holy war), and belief in the nearness of God *الولاية*. (The inner meaning of alms is that wealth in its entirety is knowledge.)

Explanation of prayer from the *Kitāb al-shawāhid wal-bayān*.

Explanation of " In the name of God the All-merciful ".

The book of the explanation of the Confession and its opposites. (Mystic letters in the names of angels, prophets, and imāms.)

On substances and accidentia, a summary from the pamphlet on the composition of the body. Perhaps from the *Iḥwān al-Ṣafā*.

From the fourth letter of the *Iḥwān al-Ṣafā* (vol. i, p. 116, Egypt).

Words on education ; by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. About the Shi'a.

Letter of *Shahriyār* b. al-Ḥasan. Answer to a question about the world corporeal and spiritual.

Letter containing the charter revealed with the good news to our lord. By Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir.

Letter of investigations. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir.

Knowledge of the body and the soul and the difference between them.

Knowledge of the four souls.

*Risālat al-Munṭabakh*, by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. abī Yazīd.

The story of 'Amlāk the Greek : begins " 'Amlāk the Greek said to his teacher Ḳustā b. Lūkiā ".

*Risālat al-Daraj*, by al-Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā.

The letter of the nine investigations.

The letter entitled *Mulḳamat al-Adhḥān wantabiḥat (?) al-Wusnān*, by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd.

Excellencies of the chief of the people and his miracles including the story of the camels.

Letter on definitions and writings from the *Iḥwān al-Ṣafā*. Begins : " The prophets are ambassadors of God to his creatures ; the learned

are the heirs of the prophets; the wise are the best of the learned. It is said that seven laudable qualities are in the wise."

Section on geometry.

*Risālat tulūfat al-ṭālib wa ummīyat al-rāqib*, that is *risālat al-dāl'*: by 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Walīd.

*Tarbiyat jāmi'at mufīdat.*

## 7. TWO TRACTS IN ONE VOLUME

### (a) رسالة جلاء العقول وزبدة المحصول

Author: والد الجميع على بن محمد بن الوليد الاقف

Copyist: عبد الحسين بن ملا هبة الله. 10 Jumādā 1, 1313.

f. 36; lines to a page, 17.

Blanks left for titles: sections noted in the margin by another hand.

Note: في وقت داعى الله العلى سيدنا ومولانا ابي الطيب محمد برهان الدين: نجل الداعى الاجل سيدنا ومولانا عبد القادر نجم الدين.

The author is one of the most famous dā'īs of the later Isma'īlī da'wa in the Yemen. He died 27 Sha'bān, 612. An earlier book *رسالة مختصر الاصول* was a criticism of the sects from an Isma'īlī standpoint. This one is a constructive complement to the earlier.

### Contents

Chap. 1: في الكلام على التوحيد والخلقة الجسمانية

Chap. 2: في الكلام على الخلقة النفسانية

Chap. 3: في تسلسل الولادة الدينية

### (b) رسالة زهر بذر الحقائق

Author: السلطان حاتم بن ابراهيم الحامدي

Copyist as (a). 21 Jumādā 1, 1313.

f. 13; lines to a page, 17.

Note on flyleaf: وقرات هذا الكتاب الشريف عند الحد الفاضل: الشيخ عبد العلى بن الحد الاعظم.

The author died 16 Muḥarram, 592. He was aided in his duties as dā'i by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (see No. 6) and 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid (see No. 7a), the second succeeding him in office.

The book deals in eighteen chapters (مسائل) with all kinds of philosophical and theological questions.

### 8. كتاب الازهار ومجمع الانوار الملقوطة من بساين الاسرار

Part 1, f. 81; lines 16; 3 tables; red lines round some pages.

Part 2, f. 82; lines 16 or 18. Written في عصر سيدنا عبد الحسين  
حسام الدين بن طيب.

Part 3, f. 88; lines 16. Written في مدرسة فير بهائي.

Written in A.H. 1309; ugly writing.

Author: حسن بن نوح البهروحي. He lived in the first half of the tenth century A.H. Of Indian origin he came to Yemen and studied with the dā'i Ḥasan, son of the historian and dā'i Idris 'Imād ud Dīn. The book, which has seven parts, is partly an autobiography and partly extracts from older Isma'ili writings.

### 9. رسالة البيان لما وجب

#### من معرفة الصلاة في نصف شهر رجب

No name of author.

Written in A.H. 1296 or 1299.

Copyist: الطيب على ملا حيو بهائي

f. 121; lines to a page, 7 or 8. Titles in yellow.

Three chapters:—

1. في ذكر شهر رجب الكريم والمعنى الذي اخص فيه بالتعظيم وذكر  
شهر شعبان وشهر رمضان.

2. في اية معنى امر الامام لام داود بصيام الثلاثة الايام البيض من  
شهر رجب.

3. في معنى الصلاة وقراءة القرآن والدعاء ومعرفة ما فيها من الفضل  
والبيان.

## 10. مجموع مسائل الفقه

Author perhaps عبد الحسين بن ملا هبة الله.

Written A.H. 1329.

f. 61 (1 to 39 European paper, 40-60 Oriental). Some of the European paper and all the Oriental with its margins is written diagonally. Perhaps different hands.

f. 1. Traditions.

f. 5. *Fetāwā*, beginning:—

سأل الشيخ شجاع الدين شمعون بن محمد الغوري الهندي  
اجاب بدر الدين حسن بن ادريس بن الحسن البدرى الشرفى القرشى  
الانفى داعي اليمن والهند والسند.

At the end ninety rules about marriage.

The *fetāwā* deal with marriage, divorce, and kindred matters.

## 11. كتاب تربية المؤمنين

Copyist: عبد الحسين بن ملا هبة الله. Written at Jubbulpur, A.H. 1347. f. 304; lines to a page, 17 or 18.

الجزأ الاول من كتاب تربية المؤمنين يتلوه الجزأ الثانى منه بالتوفيق على  
حدود باطن علم الدين من كتاب تأويل دعائم الاسلام.  
المجلس الاول من الجزأ الاول.

A blank page is left and the second section (النصف الثانى) begins with الدفون والقبور. The volume ends in the seventh part with الجنائز.

Another part of the same work.

Incomplete at both ends, f. 111; lines to a page, 13; Oriental paper, big coarse writing.

Begins المجلس السابع من الجزأ التاسع

Ends المجلس العاشر من الجزأ الحادى عشر

Deals with pilgrimage, ending with فوات الحج.



## A Qaṣida on the Destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols

By JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI

(PLATE I)

HARDLY ever has Islām survived a more disastrous and more mournful event than the destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols of Hūlāghū Khān in the middle of the month of al-Muḥarram of the year 656/January, 1258. The Mongol conqueror, after having subdued the Assassins, turned against the capital of the 'Abbāsids and captured it without any resistance. The fall of the 'Abbāsid caliphate was followed by a veritable reign of terror which lasted for forty days. Baghdād was plundered during this dismal period, its entire population was massacred mercilessly with the exception of the Christians, the co-religionists of Hūlāghū Khān's wife and father. The Caliph al-Musta'ṣim and his sons fell victims to the fury of the enraged conqueror, who put them to death. And to complete the disaster, a great conflagration destroyed many parts of the city.<sup>1</sup>

But all the more remarkable is the fact that we possess only very scanty accounts of this veritable martyrdom of Islām in Arabic literary sources. The most reliable author on the history of the 'Abbāsids, Ibn al-Athīr, closes his *Al-kāmil fī-ta'rīkh* as early as the year 628/1230-1. Among the later historians "neither Abul-Faraj nor Abulfidā affords much information on this subject. Indeed, of the Mongol siege in the seventh century A.H. we know far less than we do, thanks to Ṭabarī, of the first siege in the time of the Caliph Amīn in the second century A.H." <sup>2</sup>

So far as Arabic literature is concerned,<sup>3</sup> we possess only three descriptions of some length of these disastrous days of the history of Islām. One is by Ibn aṭ-Ṭiḡṭaqā, who in 701/1301-2 wrote his famous *Al-kitāb al-Fakhrī fī-ādāb as-sultāniyya wa-d-drawal al-islāmiyya*,

<sup>1</sup> For the details see G. Le Strange, *Baghdād during the 'Abbāsid Caliphate*, Oxford-London, 1900, p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> See Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

<sup>3</sup> As for Persian literature, the following historical works contain narratives of this event: (1) The *Ṭabaqāt an-Nāsirī*, written shortly after 656/1258, is a contemporary authority on the times of Hūlāghū; (2) the *Jamī' at-tawārīkh*, Rashīd-addīn's well-known work, finished in 710/1310-11, provides a fairly clear account of the siege operations; (3) the history of Waṣṣāf, the historiographer of Ghāzān, the Ilkhān of Persia, written in 700/1300-1, contains only the data related also by Rashīd-addīn. See Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-1.

at the end of which <sup>1</sup> he describes the Mongol siege. The second is by Ibn al-Furāt, who lived one century later (died in 807/1404-5), and records the same event in his hitherto unedited *Ta'rikh ad-dawal wal-mulūk*.<sup>2</sup> The third is by adh-Dhahabī (died in 748/1348), who in his hitherto unedited and voluminous *Ta'rikh al-islām*<sup>3</sup> devotes a separate chapter to the fall of Baghdād,<sup>4</sup> which not only gives a detailed account of the event, but also includes a *qaṣīda* lamenting the decline of the glorious city.

*The Author.*—The author of this *qaṣīda* is called by adh-Dhahabī Taqīaddīn Ismā'il ibn abi'l-Yusr. His name is not to be found in any European bibliographical work on Arabic literature, because no literary work bearing this name has come down to us. In Oriental bibliographical works on Arabic literature we only find two references to this author. The one is contained in the *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* of Muhammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (died in 764/1362-3), the continuator of Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*. At the beginning of his work al-Kutubī gives a short biographical account on the author of our *qaṣīda*.<sup>5</sup> His name is accordingly Taqīaddīn ibn abi'l-Yusr Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn abi'l-Yusr, "*musnid ash-Shām*." His uncle was a scribe of the chancery of the Ayyūbid Nūraddīn, and he himself was scribe to an-Nāṣir Dā'ud,<sup>6</sup> who was also a good poet. He is characterized by al-Kutubī as being "distinguished in letter-writing, excellent in poetry and very eloquent in speaking". He was charged with the prince's chancery, with the superintendency of the cemetery, and with other administrative affairs.

Al-Kutubī's record is supplemented by a reference in as-Suyūṭī's continuation of the *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz* of adh-Dhahabī,<sup>7</sup> where we read that it was from a certain Ibn abi'l-Yusr that the grammarian Shamsaddīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abbās ibn abi Bakr ibn Ja'wān (died in 674/1275-6) learnt. As this scholar lived at the time of an-Nāṣir Dā'ud, this reference undoubtedly relates to our author, not to his father, who bore the same name of Ibn abi'l-Yusr.

<sup>1</sup> See the edition of W. Ahlwardt, Gotha-Göttingen, 1860, pp. 383-8.

<sup>2</sup> See Le Strange, op. cit., p. 343, note.

<sup>3</sup> See my paper, "*The Ta'rikh al-islām of adh-Dhahabī*," *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 815-855.

<sup>4</sup> See the MS. of the Bodleian Library (Ury), No. 654, fols. 248-250, under the title *Kā'ina Baghdād*.

<sup>5</sup> See the edition of Būlāq, A.H. 1299, vol. i, pp. 12-14.

<sup>6</sup> See the *Mukhtaṣar ta'rikh al-bashar* of Abulfidā, printed at Istanbul 1286, vol. iii, pp. 204-5, according to which an-Nāṣir Dā'ud, the son of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, died on 27 Jumādā'l-Ūlā, 656/2 June, 1258.

<sup>7</sup> See the edition of Wüstenfeld, xxi. 3.

[illegible][illegible]



Our author's excellent qualities as recorded by al-Kutubī, and in particular his talent for poetry, were certainly well known in his own time. Al-Kutubī quotes some lines from his poetical works, but does not mention any independent anthology or other work by him. This is probably due to the circumstance that his poems were read only by a limited number of courtiers and scholars in Damascus. In view of this, it is fortunate that adh-Dhahabī, who lived about half a century later, could still recover a *qaṣīda* by him and preserve it in his *Ta'riḫ al-islām*, in the narrative of A.H. 656.

*The Poem.*—It is owing to adh-Dhahabī's conscientious citation of his sources that this poem remains as the only work known to be extant of Taqīaddīn Ismā'il ibn abi'l-Yusr. Considering the care shown by adh-Dhahabī in quoting and copying his authorities, there can be no doubt that this poem also was rendered by him as accurately as possible.

Among the MSS. of the *Ta'riḫ al-islām* we possess two volumes containing our *qaṣīda*. One is in the Bodleian Library, No. 654 in the catalogue of Ury. In this MS., which was written by a hand later to adh-Dhahabī, the *qaṣīda* is contained on foll. 249-96. The other MS. is in Istanbul in the Aya-Sophia library, No. 3013, and has not been yet catalogued. As, according to Professor O. Spiesz, who has seen this MS. it is an autograph of adh-Dhahabī himself,<sup>1</sup> it is from this latter MS. that I have copied the text of the *qaṣīda*,<sup>2</sup> to which I have appended an English translation.

لِسَائِلِ الدَّمْعِ عَنْ بَعْدَادَ إِخْبَارُ      فَا وَقُوفُكَ وَالْأَحْبَابُ قَدْ سَارُوا  
يَا زَائِرِينَ إِلَى الزُّورَاءِ لَا تَفِدُوا      فَا بِذَلِكَ الْحَمَى وَالْدَّارِ دِيَارُ  
تَاجُ الْخِلَافَةِ وَالرَّبْعُ الَّذِي شَرُفَتْ      بِهِ الْمَعَالِمُ قَدْ عَفَاهُ إِفْصَارُ  
أَضْحَى لِعَطْفِ الْبَلَى فِي رَبْعِهِ أَثَرُ      وَلِلدُّمُوعِ عَلَى الْأَثَارِ أَشَارُ

<sup>1</sup> See his "Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte", *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Leipzig, 1932, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> I have to thank the obliging courtesy of the direction of the *Archaeologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, Abteilung Istanbul*, which has been so kind as to have the poem photographed from the MS. of the Aya-Sophia library and to obtain for this purpose a special permit from the Ministry of Public Instruction at Ankara. The photograph is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

<sup>3</sup> In the MS. of the Bodleian Library *الذَّارِ*.

٥ يَا نَارَ قَلْبِي مِنْ نَارِ لِحَرْبٍ وَغَى  
 عَلَا الصَّلِيبِ عَلَى أَعْلَى مَنَابِرِهَا  
 وَكَمْ حَرِيمٍ سَبَّهَتْهُ التُّرْكُ غَاصِبَةً  
 وَكَمْ بُدُورٍ عَلَى الْبَذْرِيةِ انْخَسَفَتْ<sup>١</sup>  
 وَكَمْ ذَخَائِرَ أَصْحَتْ وَهَى شَائِعَةً  
 ١٠ وَكَمْ حُدُودٍ أُقِيمَتْ مِنْ سَيُوفِهِمْ  
 نَادَيْتُ وَالسَّبْيُ صَهْتُوكَ تَجْرَهُمْ  
 وَهُمْ يُسَاقُونَ لِلْمَوْتِ الَّذِي شَهِدُوا  
 وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْقَوْمَ أَغْفَلَهُمْ  
 فَأَهْمَلُوا جَانِبَ الْجَبَّارِ إِذْ غَفَلُوا  
 ١٥ يَا لَلرَّجَالِ بِأَحْدَاثِ تَحْدِثُنَا  
 مِنْ بَعْدِ أَمْرِ بَنِي الْعَبَّاسِ كَيْلَهُمْ  
 مَا رَاقَ لِي قَطُّ شَيْءٌ بَعْدَ يَتْنِهِمْ  
 لَهُ يَبْقَى لِلدِّينِ وَالْدُّنْيَا وَقَدْ ذَهَبُوا  
 ٢٠ إِنَّ الْقِيَمَةَ فِي بَغْدَادَ قَدْ وَجِدَتْ  
 آلُ النَّبِيِّ وَأَهْلُ الْعِلْمِ قَدْ سُبُّوا<sup>٢</sup>  
 مَا كُنْتُ أَمَلُ أَنَّ أَبْقَى وَقَدْ ذَهَبُوا  
 شَبَّتْ عَلَيْهِ وَوَأَى الرَّبْعِ إِنْصَارُ  
 وَقَامَ بِالْأَمْرِ مَنْ بَحْوِيهِ زُنَارُ  
 وَكَانَ مِنْ دُونِ ذَلِكَ الْيَسْتَرِ أُسْتَارُ  
 وَلَمْ يَمُدَّ لِبُدُورٍ مِنْهُ إِنْدَارُ  
 مِنَ الْتَهَابِ وَقَدْ حَازَتْهُ كُفَّارُ  
 عَلَى الرِّقَابِ وَحُطَّتْ فِيهِ أَوْزَارُ  
 إِلَى السِّفَاحِ مِنَ الْأَعْدَاءِ دُعَارُ  
 النَّارِ يَا رَبِّ مِنْ هَذَا وَلَا أَلَمَارُ  
 مَا كَانَ مِنْ نِعَمٍ فِيهِمْ إِنْكَارُ  
 بَجَاءَهُمْ<sup>٣</sup> مِنْ جُنُودِ الْكُفْرِ جَبَّارُ  
 بِمَا غَدَا فِيهِ إِعْذَارُ وَإِنْذَارُ  
 فَلَا أُنَارُ لَوَجْهِ الصُّبْحِ إِنْصَارُ  
 إِلَّا أَحَادِ يَتُّ أَرْوِيهَا وَأَنَارُ  
 سَوْقُ لِمَجْدِهِ وَقَدْ بَانُوا وَقَدْ بَارُوا  
 وَحَدَّثَهَا حِينَ لَيْلَا قِبَالِ إِذْ بَارُ  
 فَمَنْ تَرَى بَعْدَهُمْ بَحْوِيهِ أَمْصَارُ  
 لَسَكُنَ أَتَى دُونَ مَا أَخْتَارُ<sup>٤</sup> أَقْدَارُ

<sup>١</sup> MS. انخسفت.<sup>٢</sup> MS. Bodl. الحى.<sup>٣</sup> Ibid. فهاجم.<sup>٤</sup> Ibid. في.<sup>٥</sup> Ibid. شرف لجد.<sup>٦</sup> Sic!<sup>٧</sup> MS. Bodl. اخبار.

1. The fast-flowing tears give tidings of [the fate of] Baghdād ;  
why stayest thou, when the lovers have departed ?
2. Ye pilgrims to az-Zawrā' <sup>1</sup> go not forth ; for in that sanctuary  
and abode is no inhabitant.
3. The crown of the Caliphate and the house whereby the rites of  
the Faith were exalted is laid waste by desolation.
4. There appear in the morning light traces of the assault of decay  
in its habitation, and tears have left their marks upon its ruins.
5. O fire of my heart, for a fire of clamorous war that blazed out  
upon it, when a whirlwind smote the habitation !
6. High stands the Cross over the tops of its minbars, and he whom  
a girdle <sup>2</sup> used to confine has become master.
7. How many an inviolate household has the Turk taken captive  
with violent hands, though before that curtain were many  
protecting bastions !
8. How many [youths like] full moons [in beauty] upon al-Badriyya<sup>3</sup>  
have been eclipsed, and never again shall there be a rising of  
full moons therefrom (v.l. "of the tribe or quarter" ) !
9. How many treasures have become scattered abroad through  
plundering, and passed into the possession of infidels !
10. How many punishments have been inflicted by their swords  
upon men's necks, how many burdens [of sin] there laid down !
11. I called out, as the captives were dishonoured and licentious  
men of the enemy dragged them to ravishment—
12. And they were driven like cattle to the death that they beheld,  
"The Fire, O my Lord, rather than this—not the shame !"
13. God knows that the people [of Baghdād] were made negligent  
by what they enjoyed of divine favours, wherein was  
abundance,
14. So they grew heedless of the wrath of the Almighty, since they  
became negligent, and there came upon them a mighty one of  
the hosts of infidelity.
15. Who shall aid men against calamities which tell us of that wherein  
is [for us] summons to judgment and warning ?

<sup>1</sup> Baghdād, said to be so called because one of its inner gates was set askew (*izwarra*—so *Qāmūs*, s.v., but for other explanations see Le Strange, *Baghdād*, p. 11).

<sup>2</sup> The *zunnār*, or cord waistband, was one of the distinguishing marks of Jews and Christians.

<sup>3</sup> A quarter of Baghdād near the Bāb Badr ; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-2.

16. After the capture of all the house of al-'Abbās, may no brightening illumine the face of the dawn !
17. Nothing has ever given me pleasure since their departure save Sayings of the Propbet that I pass on and Traditions of the Fathers.
18. There remains for neither the Faith nor the world, now that they are gone, any market of glory, for they have passed away and perished.
19. Truly the Day of Judgment has been held in Baghdād, and her term, when to prosperity succeeds adversity.
20. The family of the Propbet and the household of learning have been taken captive, and whom, think you, after their loss, will cities contain ?
21. I never hoped that I should remain when they had gone, but destiny has intervened before my choice.

*An Analysis.*—As regards its contents, our *qaṣīda* can be divided into three nearly equal parts. The first part (ll. 1-6), after a short invocation, describes Baghdād as a venerated centre of religion which was laid waste by the enemies of Islām, who are accused of promoting Christianity (l. 6). The second part (ll. 7-14) poetically describes the sack and plundering of the once rich city and the slaughter of its inhabitants, and hints that those terrors are a punishment inflicted by God for the heedlessness of His people (ll. 13-14). The third part (ll. 15-21) is a mournful final accord which is not unlike the "lasciate ogni speranza" of Dante: there is no hope left after the fall of the 'Abbāsids under whose rule the city flourished and the sciences were cultivated; even the poet himself had not hoped to remain alive after that veritable Day of Judgment (l. 21).

Our poem is consequently a funeral ode and belongs to a special class of *qaṣīdas*. In their development all the earliest varieties of Arabic poetry assumed the *qaṣīda*-form, and the dirge (*marthiyya*) also shared in this process. The sentiments felt at the death of the beloved were first expressed by the simple unpoetical *niyāha*, then by *saj'-verses*, of which there developed short metric sayings of some length, and finally the perfect *marthiyya* in the metric varieties of the *qaṣīda*.<sup>1</sup> Our *qaṣīda* consequently belongs to the class of the *marthiyya-qaṣīdas*.

But whereas the *marthiyya*, as a rule, laments the loss of a prominent

<sup>1</sup> See Goldziher, *Bemerkungen zur arabischen Tracerpoesie*, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. xvi, 1902, pp. 307-311.

person or a tribe, enumerating his or its qualities, our *qasīda* is a typical example of a funeral ode lamenting the fall of a city.

Our poem, nevertheless, has all the necessary requisites and characteristic features common to every *qasīda*. Short as it is—consisting only of twenty-one double verses—it is a fine piece of post-classical Arabic poetry written in elegant language, and in the *basīṭ* metre, the solemn rhythm of which is especially suited to the dirge.

But, in addition to these common characteristics of the *qasīda*, our poem also shows some peculiarities shared by the *marthiyya-qasīdas* only.

(1) The absence of the *nasīb*. Whereas in the ordinary *qasīda* the opening *nasīb* is an essential requisite, it never occurs in the *marthiyya-qasīda*, since the object of the funeral ode is quite different.<sup>1</sup> Instead of the *nasīb* there are some constant formulæ with which a *marthiyya* begins. Thus the poet sometimes refers to the tears shed on a tragic event, which is also to be seen in our *qasīda* referring to the tears of those who lament the fall of Baghdād (l. 1).

(2) The repetition of the name of the lamented person,<sup>2</sup> which is represented here by some poetical names of Baghdād, as *az-Zawrā'* (l. 2) and *Tāj al-khilāfa* (l. 3).

(3) The repetition of the same phrase at the beginning of several consecutive double-verses. This had been regarded from the beginning as a peculiarity of the *niyāha*, and, retained through its later poetical development, it was also used in the period of decadence as an archaistic rhetorical trick employed not only in the *marthiyya-qasīda*, but also in other classes of *qasīdas*.<sup>3</sup> Thus we see in our *qasīda* the four-fold repetition of the phrase *wa kam* "and how many" (ll. 7-10).<sup>4</sup>

With these characteristic features our *qasīda* is a fine *marthiyya-qasīda* from the period of decadence of Arabic literature. It is worthy of our attention for two reasons.

Firstly, it is the only hitherto known work of Taqiaddīn Ismā'īl

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 327-330, where we read that according to Ibn Rashīq in his *'Umda fī maḥāsini ash-shi'r*, he could not find any *nasīb*s in the *marāthi* with the exception of a *qasīda* by Durayd ibn as-Šimma. But even this exception is explained by the circumstance that this poem was written one year after the death of the lamented person, when the blood-ransom for his sake had been fulfilled already, so that the poet could employ a *nasīb* to express his other feelings with the deceased person.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 313-14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 314-320.

<sup>4</sup> The same *wa kam* is repeated by Abū Nuwās thirteen times in a *qasīda* (Diwān, ed. by Iskandar Asaf, Cairo, 1893, p. 140). See the note in Goldziher, op. cit., p. 315.

ibn abi'l-Yusr and a specimen of post-classical Arabic poetry written in the refined style of the court-poets.

Secondly, it is to our knowledge the only poem lamenting the fall of Baghdād and is an excellent poetical expression of the contemporary sentiment felt at the fall of the 'Abbāsids and at the tragedy of their capital. Despite the decadence of the last 'Abbāsids, their prestige was still so great throughout the Muslim world that even the court-poet of the then flourishing Ayyūbid dynasty in Damascus could not help lamenting that with them the splendour of Islām had passed away and that after the capture of the Prophet's family he could not hope either to remain alive. His presentiment was justified, because one generation later, in 699-700/1299-1301, his own city, Damascus, and the Ayyūbid empire were invaded by the same Mongols who, after destroying the "crown of the caliphate", swept over all the Muslim Orient.



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## Early Arabic Printing at the Cape of Good Hope

By S. A. ROCHLIN

A THOROUGH and scientific treatment of the historiography of the African Muslim peoples and institutions south of the Zambesi is a long-felt and eminent want. As yet, this particular field of research has hardly been explored, and its results, if collected and evaluated, would add tangibly to our contemporary knowledge of Oriental penetration in lands where Europeans have founded new homes and fostered a vitalist conception of Occidental civilization.

Especially in South Africa, with its thousands of Muslim devotees adding weight to the daily and serious problems of the country, such a survey should be encouraged for, as the most erudite of South African historians—the late Dr. George McCall Theal—recalled in an interview before he left London (*vide Cape Times*, February, 1926), the more he had delved into the manuscripts at Lisbon and at the Vatican, the more convinced he had become that the Arabic historiographers and geographers were worth the study of the Cape historian. More fittingly has the late Sir Thomas Arnold expressed this conviction: "Very little notice has been taken of these Muslims by European travellers, or even by their co-religionists until recently." (*The Preaching of Islam*, London, 1896, p. 284.)<sup>1</sup>

Prompted by this motive, this small contribution to Islamica essays to reveal another facet of the growth of Muslim society in South Africa. I attempt to trace the one or two efforts made to introduce Arabic printing at the Cape of Good Hope as well as the

<sup>1</sup> The case is otherwise when one searches the range of Africana for references by European travellers (from the early days of the D.E.I.C. until our times) to local Muslims, who are more popularly called "Cape Malays"—a name which has been applied broadly to the co-religionists of various races who came from the Eastern seas, India, Ceylon, Eastern Africa, and whose oldest section came from the Malay Archipelago. Much material exists, but it has not yet received adequate attention. It is clear that Sir Thomas Arnold did not have the opportunity to conduct such a search. In his *Preaching of Islam* (second edition, London, 1913, pp. 350-2), he gives a short history of this people. Anent them the brilliant series of articles on "Vertolkings aan die Kaap in Maleis en Portugees" and "Maleise en Portugeuse Relikte aan die Kaap van Vandag", which appeared in the Cape Town Afrikaans weekly, *Die Huisgenoot*, between May and November, 1930, and written by Professor Dr. J. L. M. Franken, repay scrutiny for linguistic purposes. Cf. "Two Cape Town Catechisms" in the *Moslem World* (New York, October, 1925), and S. M. Zwemer's *Across the World of Islam* (New York, 1929, p. 252) for present day instances.

broader non-Islamic causes which necessitated this movement.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, it must be taken into consideration that typography was introduced only recently into the Arabic-thinking world,<sup>2</sup> and this aspect, too, cannot be left out of our picture.

Before proceeding with my main case, I desire to point out this fact (for it, too, has some bearing on our discussion), that Qur'ans were available for local religious purposes<sup>3</sup> some time before 1806—the year which saw the final conquest of the Cape of Good Hope by the British—and so helped to spread the knowledge of matters

<sup>1</sup> No full-sized history of local printing has been compiled. Neither A. C. G. Lloyd in *The Printing Press: First Production in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1910), nor Sydney Mendelssohn in his authoritative *South African Bibliography* (London, 1910), throw any light on our subject. Dr. R. A. Nicholson's *A Literary History of the Arabs* (second edition, Cambridge, 1930) does not, of course, mention it at all.

<sup>2</sup> For example, in Persia, c. A.D. 1816–17 (*The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia: Partly Based on the Manuscript Work of Mirza Mūhammad 'Alī Khān "Tarbiyat" of Tabriz*, by E. G. Browne (Cambridge, 1914, p. 8)) and in Constantinople about 1727 (*Encyc. of Islam*, s.v. Turks, iv, 912a; cf. *A History of the War in Bosnia*, trans. from the Turkish by C. Fraser, London, Oriental Trans. Fund, 1830, p. 884).

<sup>3</sup> It may be of interest to note that Old and New Testaments in Arabic lettering were sent to the Cape from Holland for transmission to the East. Cf. *Kaupse Archiefstukken Lopende over het Jaar 1778*, door K.M. Jeffreys, M.A. (Cape Town, 1926, pp. 497, 499); "Ontvangen met 'de Behemoth' den 27th Dec., 1778." J. S. Meyson in his *The Malays of Cape Town* (Manchester, 1855, p. 8) states that in "1820–1 a number of distinguished Arabs, from the Island of Johanna in the Mozambique Channel, visited the Colony. They were kindly received by the Government, and were hospitably entertained by the Malays, whom they further instructed in the faith and practice of Islam, and with whom they (the Malays) have since corresponded, sending them also supplies of the Koran and other books."

Also, I may refer to the presence of two Muslim authors at the Cape sometime during the eighteenth century, seeing, as far as I am aware, that as yet no presentable account of their careers have been published, and Mendelssohn does not index their volumes in his *South African Bibliography*. They, too, know Arabic, and are, perhaps, the first of their co-religionists to have penned something regarding the Cape. (1) *Shigurf Namahi Velaat, or Excellent Intelligence Concerning Europe, being the Travels of Mirza Itesa Moddeen*, translated from the Original Persian MS., etc., by J. E. Alexander (London, 1827). G. E. Buckland in his *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London, 1906, pp. 217–18), writes thus, *inter alia*: "Itisam-ud-Din (?) . . . about 1766–8 accompanied Captain Swinton to Europe as *munshi*, on a mission to deliver Shah Alam's letter to George III: he was the first educated native of Bengal to visit England and describe his journey; returned after nearly three years' absence to India: wrote the *Shigurf nama*; or 'Wonder Book'; a popular work in India: he was careful and painstaking in his observations." Cf. H. G. Koenig's *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1894, p. 186). (2) *The Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa, and Europe during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803*, written by himself in the Persian Language, and translated by Charles Stewart (London, 1810, 2 vols). According to the *British Museum General Catalogue*, vol. i, p. 246, Abu Taleb Khan edited the works of Hafiz (in Persian, 1791). The best biography of him (to my mind) is to be found in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle* (Paris, 1843, vol. i, pp. 85–7).



devotional among them. Zwemer writes thus: "Another name in the early history of Islam in South Africa is that of Abdullah Abdu-Salam, a later convict who, when he received his liberty, called the Moslems together, and instructed them in their faith. He knew the Arabic Koran by heart, and is said to have written out the whole of it from memory. This first copy of the Cape Koran is a treasured possession in the Moslem community. He died at the age of ninety-five, and many of the faithful visit his grave on Fridays, and his tombstone which, although well kept, bears no inscription. His descendants became prominent men in the Moslem community of South Africa. One of them is head of a dervish order." (*Across the World of Islam*, pp. 245-6). Alas, there is no definiteness about the local edition of the Qur'an, and no trustworthy written evidence exists regarding the scribe ever having performed such a labour.

The first notification of an attempted introduction of Arabic printing in this country appeared in this wise:—

"Among the publications recently received in the South African Public Library is a work entitled *Roostum Zaboollee and Soohrah*" and in the *Appendix* to this volume we observe an English version of the *Hidayut-ool-Islam, or a Guide to Faith and Practice, being the Book of Common Prayer of the Moohummudans*: Translated from the Arabic, Persian, and Hindoostanee languages, by W. T. Robertson, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Establishment. We understand that this gentleman, who is at present in Cape Town, intends to get the original Text printed in the Arabic character, together with his translation into English, and a version into the Dutch tongue, for the benefit of the Malay Moslims throughout the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. It was his intention, we believe, to have printed the work at this place—but, as none of the local presses can supply Oriental type, he proposes to superintend the printing of the Text, together with English and Dutch translations, on his approaching return to Calcutta. It is self-evident that a Book of Common Prayer, in a language understood by the community of Malays in this Colony, must prove valuable and acceptable as well as useful and instructive.

"Debased, depraved, ignorant, and self-willed as the Malays of Cape Town are, and as little inclined to encourage the sanguinary and sensual dogmas of the Arab imposter, we are nevertheless glad to discover any method by which the unexceptionable portions of his creed may be known to his followers in this quarter of the world." (*The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, 1830, vol. i, No. 2, p. 18.)

Thus, it can be easily evidenced that Christian missionary effort was responsible for the proposal to initiate the above venture. For the propagation of Muslim beliefs among the non-Christian blacks had excited attention, and the contemporary newspapers and official

documents give a clue to this tendency.<sup>1</sup> "The Malays, who are supposed to amount to nearly three thousand," opines the anonymous author of the *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (London, 1823, p. 68), "carry on their devotion in rooms and halls fitted up for the purpose, and occasionally in the stone quarries near the town. One of their imans is said to be a learned man, well-learned in the Hebrew and Arabic tongues, and in Al Coran, which he chants with taste and devotion. It must be acknowledged with shame and sorrow that Mahommetanism makes great progress amongst the lowest orders at the Cape. But where there is the greatest zeal, there will be the most effect."

On the whole, the viewpoint of the European public respecting them seemed to be favourable, the proviso being that the Muslims should act in a law-abiding manner towards themselves and the state. Commenting on the effect upon non-whites of the publication of the famous 50th Ordinance, the most representative journal of the day—*The South African Commercial Advertiser*, 27th December, 1828—writes editorially:—

"As to the public worship of the Mahomedans, although it was tolerated, no Proclamation of Law, as far as we know, was ever issued in this Colony, by which it was sanctioned or recognized! Perfect toleration was however one of the few praiseworthy principles of the old system.

"Thus we have seen, that an industrious and peaceable class of inhabitants, whom an enlightened policy would have cherished and perfected, were, up to July 3, 1828, treated with the utmost harshness and ignominy. Their marriages were declared unlawful, and their issue degraded. They were refused admission to the rights of Burghership. They could not hold landed property nor remain in the Colony, though born there, without special permission and ample security. They were placed under the arbitrary control of the Burgher Senate and Landdrosts—compelled to perform public services gratuitously—punished at discretion with stripes and imprisonment—unable to leave their homes without a Pass—their houses entered and searched at pleasure by the police. They were liable to arrest without a warrant—and yet they were Taxed up to the lips, like the other Free inhabitants.

"Since their Emancipation, their conduct has been most exemplary, and on some occasions their promptitude in rendering assistance in case of Fire—no longer compulsory—has called forth the public approbation of the Head of the Police Department. Many of them are men of the most estimable character, inoffensive in their demeanour

<sup>1</sup> Consult G. McC. Theal's *Records of the Cape Colony*, vol. xxviii, pp. 36-8; vol. xxxv, pp. 138 ff.

and humane and generous in their dispositions. And the whole class may be considered as a most valuable addition—the fruit of the late Ordinance—to our effective and improving Population.”

But this orientation of feeling became intensified after 1838—the final year of the Abolition of Slavery at the Cape. Needless to declare, the Cape Malays rejoiced in their new status as citizens of the land. Under such auspices, they continued to thrive numerically and spiritually.

This was the spirit which prevailed when the second introduction of Arabic typography (this time a successful affair) was announced :—

“Under the title of ‘Cape Genius’ the *Volksblad* contains the following account of a Mahommedan Catechism in Arabic, printed in Cape Town: ‘We have received to-day the first number of a Malay Catechism, *Gablomalien*. The printer of the work is Mr. M. C. Schongewel (Greenmarket Square). It is entirely in the Arabic language, and in every way reflects great credit on the printer, its execution being very good. The work particularly deserves our attention and admiration, as the printer had to set the very difficult letters himself, which is not only a very troublesome task but a tedious one, too. It will consist of twenty numbers, and will be published from time to time. We have often had occasion to admire the beautiful specimens of Lithography executed by Mr. Schongewel, and we would wish that that gentleman present a copy to the South African Museum, in order that the public also may be enabled to put a proper estimate on his ability.’” (*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 26th July, 1856.)<sup>1</sup>

Yet further concern in the matter did not wane. The nineteenth century witnessed another notable effort made in this direction. At Constantinople, in 1877, the Turkish Ministry of Education issued an Arabic-written publication in the Cape Malay dialect to serve as a handbook of the principles of the Islamic religion.<sup>2</sup> Since then several minor attempts have been made to organize Arabic

<sup>1</sup> No copy of this work appears to be extant. It is worth while, at this juncture, to mark this statement of Dr. T. H. Hahn in *An Index of the Grey Collection at the South African Public Library* (Cape Town, 1884, p. 362): “Arabic MSS. Lessons read from the pulpit before the prayers, Friday of Lobberang (Cape Malay name for *Eid-ul-Fitr*, S.R.). Probably written at the Cape. 8vo.” Owing to the great distance between Cape Town and Johannesburg, where the present study was written, I have not been able to examine these MSS.

<sup>2</sup> M. J. de Goeje, “Mohammedanische Propaganda” in *Nederlandsche Spectator*, No. 51, 1881. For further Turkish interests in the Cape Malays, vide *The Mussulman Population at the Cape of Good Hope*, by Maximilien Kollisch, Directeur du Journal International *Les Deux Mondes* (Constantinople, 1867).

typographical endeavours on a firmer basis, but this latter development is outside of the purview of this study.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apropos the above subject, on all accounts, the best Arabist who resided at the Cape during the nineteenth century, and who helped to awaken concern in the Cape Malays through the medium of his missionary endeavours, was Dr. John M. Arnold, a Church of England minister. His *Ishmael or a Natural History of Islamism, and its Relation to Christianity* (London, 1859), was well thought of. At any rate, Thomas P. Hughes in his *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1898, pp. 237, 242) considers Arnold's *Islam and Christianity* (London, 1874), a first-rate work. Locally, it is difficult to discover further biographical details respecting him. The *Dictionary of National Biography* contains no reference to his labours.



## Graeco-Indian Notes

By OTTO STEIN

### 1. PRAMNAI

IN one of the contributions to the volume of Indian Studies presented to Professor Rapson (*BSOS.*, vi, 2, pp. 285 ff.), Dr. L. D. Barnett criticizes the explanation of the term Pramnai in Strabo's *Geogr.*, xv, 1, 70 (C. 719), given by Mr. E. R. Bevan (*CHI.*, i, 421). Instead of the identification of the Pramnai with the *prāmāṇikas*<sup>1</sup> Dr. Barnett proposes to see in the word a Sanskrit *prājña*. I must confess not to be convinced by the explanation of Dr. Barnett, neither from the point of view of an antagonism between *brāhmaṇas* and sectaries, who, "opposed to Aupaniṣada Brahmins, and to Brahmins generally"; "endeavoured by means of a carefully disciplined and studiously harmless life to attain to *prajñā*, practical cleverness, skill in grasping the principles of their crude creed, and in adjusting their conduct to its Procrustean demands"; nor from the philological point of view.

Against the former exists the main argument in the absence of a decisive proof in literature. The only passage, quoted in that connection, *Bhagavadg.*, xvii, 14, loses its value already from the character of this work as well as from the too general meaning of the word, but also from the adduced parallel in Aśoka's *RE.*, iv. For this reason, the unknown use of a sectarian term *prājña*, it is difficult to understand how the Greek author, whose assertion must not be based on an Indian informant but rather, as shown by his description, on his own observation, perhaps not correctly reproduced by Strabo, might have come to know such a word.<sup>2</sup> For the linguistic side of the question Dr. Barnett has to have recourse to so many alterations, the least of which is not the supposed reading of *πραγναι*, *πρακναι* and

<sup>1</sup> Already suggested by A. Weber, *Monatsberichte d. Preuss. A. d. W.*, 1871, p. 627.

<sup>2</sup> There was a school of agnosticism (*ajñānavāda*), but of a school of *prajñāvādin* nothing is known in the time to which Strabo's source may belong. For the former, see F. O. Schrader, *Ueber den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddha's*, Strassburg, 1902, S. 46 ff.

its confusion with *πραμναι* on account of the "often almost indistinguishable"  $\kappa$  and  $\mu$ , that one can hardly follow him.

The notice in Strabo goes back to the time either before or after Megasthenes. For the former view can be adduced the introductory passage in the foregoing para. 69 (C. 718), referring to the *συγγραφείς*; one would believe that by the term the historians of the Macedonian time are meant,<sup>1</sup> while the mention of the Ganges has to be taken into consideration, and the para. 72 f., following those under discussion 70 f., quote later sources, like Artemidoros (first century B.C.), or allude to later events, like the embassy of "Poros" to Augustus. As shown below, the parallelism between the passage in 70 and other places of Strabo's compilation can hardly be overlooked. The *Pramnai* are divided into three groups: (1) living in the mountains; (2) naked; (3) secular and wandering.<sup>2</sup> Of the first it is said that they use skins of deer, wallets filled with roots and drugs, pretending to practise medicine by means of sorcery, magic spells, and amulets; the second group are living, as the name indicates, naked, almost in the open air, practising abstinence during thirty-seven years, as has been mentioned in para. 59 (C. 712); there are women present without having intercourse with them; the members of this group are admired specially. Those of the third group live either in the towns or up country, are dressed in white linen, putting on the skins of fawns or deer. The parallelism between this passage and some other relations of the Macedonian historians make it hardly doubtful that also Strabo's excerpt in para. 70 goes back to a source, bringing in another form an account of the religious men of India of the time of Alexander's invasion.

<sup>1</sup> The historians of Alexander's campaign in India are titled as *συγγραφείς* in xv, 1, 9 (C. 688) and 68 (C. 717); where Strabo quotes a special author he confronts to him the assertion of "the others" or of "some", meaning by that, very likely, the *συγγραφείς*. Thus in 24 (C. 695), *οἱ μὲν περὶ Ἀριστοβουλον*; in 34 (C. 702) he mentions *ταῦτα μὲν οἱ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεύσαντες λέγουσιν*; in 45 (C. 706) he speaks of *Μεγασθένης . . . καὶ ἄλλοι*; by *ἄλλοι* in 30 (C. 699) he refers to stories told in Arrian's *Anab.*, v, 21, according to Jacoby belonging to Ptolemaios (*Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, ii, D, p. 477 ad Onesikritos 21 = *F. Gr. Hist.* 138 F 35); "some" are referred to in 28 (C. 698): *φασι δ' εἶναι τινες . . .* By the term *συγγραφείς* obviously the historians of Alexander's campaign are meant by Arrian, *Anab.*, vi, 11, 2, dealing with the king's wounded in the battle against the Mallas.

<sup>2</sup> *πολιτικούς καὶ προσχωρούς*; the words are explained in 71 by *κατὰ πόλιν ζῆν ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀγρούς*; it seems that these *Pramnai* were a kind of wandering priests; for an English translation see H. L. Jones in the Loeb Classical Library, vol. vii, of Strabo p. 123, 125, "City" and "Neighbouring" *Pramnae*.

Strabo, xv, 1, 70 f. (C. 718/19). cf. with :

Φιλοσόφους τε τοῖς  
Βραχμάσιν ἀντιδιαίρουνται  
Πράμνας, ἐριστικούς τινας  
καὶ ἐλεγκτικούς

τοὺς δὲ Βραχμᾶνας  
φυσιολογίαν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν  
ἀσκεῖν, γελωμένους  
ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὡς ἀλαζόνας  
καὶ ἀνοήτους.

τούτων δὲ [sc. Πράμνων]  
τοὺς μὲν ὀρεινοὺς καλεῖ-  
σθαι, τοὺς δὲ γυμνήτας,  
τοὺς δὲ πολιτικούς καὶ  
προσχωρίους.

τοὺς μὲν ὀρεινοὺς δοραῖς  
ἐλάφων χρῆσθαι, πῆρας  
δ' ἔχειν ρίζων καὶ φαρμάκων  
μεστάς, προσποιουμένους  
ιατρικὴν μετὰ γοητείας καὶ  
ἐπωδῶν καὶ περιάπτων.

"Ἄλλην δὲ διαίρεσιν ποιεῖται \* περὶ  
τῶν φιλοσόφων, δύο γένη φάσκων,  
ὧν τοὺς μὲν Βραχμᾶνας καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ  
Γαρμᾶνας. [Megasthenes fg. (Schwan-  
beck), xli, 4 = Strabo, xv, 1, 59  
(C. 712).]

Νέαρχος δὲ περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν οὕτω  
λέγει τοὺς μὲν Βραχμᾶνας πολιτεύ-  
εσθαι καὶ παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς  
βασιλεῦσι συμβούλους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους  
σκοπεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν φύσιν . . .  
[Nearch., *F. Gr. Hist.* 133 F 23 =  
Strabo, xv, 1, 66 (C. 716).]

ἔφη δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ φύσιν  
πολλὰ ἐξετάσαι καὶ προσημασιῶν ὁμ-  
βρων αὐχμῶν νόσων . . . [Onesikrit.  
*F. Gr. Hist.* 134 F 17 = Strabo, xv,  
1, 65 (C. 716).]

τὰ δὲ περὶ φύσιν τὰ μὲν εὐθήθειαν  
ἐμφαίνειν φησὶν . . . περὶ πολλῶν  
δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὁμοδοξεῖν . . .  
[Megasth., xli, 15 f. = Strabo, xv, 1, 59  
(C. 713).]

περὶ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων λέγων τοὺς  
μὲν ὀρεινοὺς αὐτῶν φησὶν ὑμνητάς  
εἶναι τοῦ Διονύσου [Megasth., xli,  
1 = Strabo, xv, 1, 58 (C. 711).]

διατρίβειν δὲ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἐν  
ἄλσει πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ ὑπερβολῇ  
συμμέτρῳ, λιτῶς ζῶντας ἐν σπιτάσιν

καὶ δοραῖς [Megasth., xli, 8 = Strabo, xv, 1, 59 (C. 713).]

καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Νέαρχος λέγει ὅτι συλλελεγμένους ἀμφ' αὐτῶν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ιητρικὴν σοφώτατοι, καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅστις δηχθείη ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν φοιτᾶν τοῦ [τὴν Roos] βασιλέως. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νούσων τε καὶ παθέων ιητροὶ ἦσαν. οὐ πολλά δὲ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσι πάθεα γίνεται, ὅτι αἱ ὥραι σύμμετροί εἰσιν αὐτόθι· εἰ δέ τι μείζον καταλαμβάνοι, τοῖσι σοφιστῆσιν ἀνεκοινοῦντο· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐδόκεον ἰῆσθαι ὅτι περ ἰήσιμον. [Nearch., *F. Gr. Hist.* 133 F 10a = Arrian. *Ind.*, xv, 11 f.]

ἐπιβδούς δὲ περιφοιτᾶν ἰᾶσθαι πεπιστευμένους, καὶ εἶναι σχεδόν τι μόνην ταύτην ιατρικὴν· μηδὲ γὰρ νόσους εἶναι πολλὰς διὰ τὴν λιτότητα τῆς διαίτης καὶ τὴν αἰνίαν· εἰ δὲ γένοιτο, ἰᾶσθαι τοὺς σοφιστάς. [Nearch., *F. Gr. Hist.* 133 F 10b = Strabo, xv, 1, 45 (C. 706).]

. . . τὴν δὲ βοήθειαν ῥαδίαν εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ρίζων καὶ φαρμάκων. [Aristobul., *F. Gr. Hist.* 139 F 38 = Strabo, xv, 1, 45 (C. 706).]

Τοὺς δὲ Γαρμᾶνας . . . μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑλοβίους δευτερεύειν κατὰ τιμὴν τοὺς ιατρικοὺς καὶ ὡς περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον φιλοσόφους, λιτοὺς μὲν μὴ ἀγραύλους δέ, ὀρύξῃ καὶ ἀλφίτοις τρεφομένους, ᾧ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς πάντα τὸν αἰτηθέντα καὶ ὑποδεξάμενον ξενία· δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ πολυγόνους ποιεῖν καὶ ἀρρενογόνους καὶ θηλυγόνους διὰ φαρμακευτικῆς τὴν δὲ ιατρείαν διὰ



σιτίαν τὸ πλεόν, οὐ διὰ φαρμάκων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· τῶν φαρμάκων δὲ μάλιστα εὐδοκιμεῖν τὰ ἐπὶ χρίστα καὶ τὰ καταπλάσματα, τὰλλα δὲ κακουργίας πολὺ μετέχειν. [Megasth., xli, 20 f. = Strabo, xv, 1, 60 (C. 713).]

μὴ ἀκριβοῦν δὲ τὰς ἐπωτήμας πλὴν ἰατρικῆς. [Onesikr., *F. Gr. Hist.* 134 F 24 = Strabo, xv, 1, 34 (C. 701).]

τοὺς δὲ γυμνήτας κατὰ τοῦνομα γυμνοὺς διαζῆν, ὑπαιθρίους τὸ πλεόν, καρτερίαν ἀσκοῦντας ἦν ἔφαμεν πρότερον μέχρι ἑπτὰ [ἔτων] καὶ τριάκοντα· γυναῖκας δὲ συνεῖναι μὴ μυγνυμένας αὐτοῖς· τοῦτους δὲ θανυμάζεσθαι διαφερόντως.

οἱτοι γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται οἱ σοφισταί, τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος, ἐπὴν ὁ ἥλιος κατέχη, ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσι καὶ τοῖσιν ἔλεσιν ὑπὸ δένδροισι μεγάλοισιν. [Nearch., *F. Gr. Hist.* 133 F 6 = Arrian. *Ind.* xi, 7.]

Νέαρχος δὲ περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν οὕτω λέγει . . . συμφιλοσοφεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναῖκας, τὰς δὲ διαίτας ἀπάντων σκληράς. [Nearch., *F. Gr. Hist.* 133 F 23 = Strabo, xv, 1, 66 (C. 716).]

Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τῶν ἐν Ταξίλοις σοφιστῶν ἰδεῖν δύο φησί· . . . καρτερίαν διδάσκειν· . . . ἐπιτιμώμενον δ' ὑπὸ τῶν λέγειν ὥς ἐκπληρώσειε τὰ τετταράκοντα ἔτη τῆς ἀσκήσεως . . . [Aristob., *F. Gr. Hist.* 139 F 41 = Strabo, xv, 1, 61 (C. 714).]

Τοὺς δὲ Γαρμῶνας τοὺς μὲν ἐν τιμοτάτους ὑλοβίους φησὶν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ζῶντας ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις . . . ἀφροδισίων χωρὶς . . . ἀσκεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦτους καὶ κείνους καρτερίαν τὴν τε ἐν πόνοις καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιμοναῖς . . . συμφιλοσοφεῖν δ' ἐνίοις καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεχομένας καὶ αὐτὰς ἀφροδισίων. [Megasth., xli, 22, 24 = Strabo, xv, 1, 60 (C. 713 f.).]

cf.: ἔτη δ' ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα  
οὕτως ζήσαντα . . . [Megasth., xli,  
10 = Strabo, xv, 1, 59 (C. 712).

τοὺς δὲ πολιτικούς οὐκ  
δουίτας κατὰ πόλιν ζῆν  
ἢ κατ' ἀγρούς, καθημέ-  
ρους<sup>1</sup> νεβρίδας ἢ δορκάδων  
δοράς.

<sup>1</sup> γν. II. καθημένους; καθημέ-  
ρους; ἐνημμένους, s. H. L. Jones'  
ed. and transl., ad loc.

ἐσθῆτι δὲ Ἴνδοι λινέῃ χρέονται,  
κατάπερ λέγει Νέαρχος, λίνου τοῦ ἀπὸ  
τῶν δεινδρέων . . . [Nearch., F. Gr.  
Hist. 133 F 11 = Arrian. Ind., xvi, 1.]

ἄλλους δ' εἶναι τοὺς μὲν μαντι-  
κούς καὶ ἐπωδούς καὶ τῶν περὶ τοὺς  
κατοιχομένους λόγων καὶ νομίμων  
ἐμπείρους, ἐπαιτοῦντας κατὰ κύμας  
καὶ πόλεις. [Megasth., xli, 23 = Strabo,  
xv, 1, 61 (C. 713/4).]

cf.: τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλον χρόνον κατ'  
ἀγορὰν διατρίβειν, τιμωμένους ἀντὶ  
συμβούλων . . . [Aristob., F. Gr. Hist.  
139 F 41 = Strabo, xv, 1, 61 (C. 715).]

There is nothing which could let us see in those medical, naked, and linen-dressed mendicants a special school of philosophers. From a philological, or rather graphical, point of view, however, this view is corroborated. In Strabo, 59, (C. 712) and 60 (C. 713), the MSS. read, as far as the editions show, unanimously *Γαρμανας*, some *Γερμανας*. In 73 (C. 720) the man who committed religious suicide in Athens is called *Ζαρμανοχηγας*, *Ζαρμανοχανης*; occurring in the form *Ζαρμαρος* (v.l. *Ζαμαρκος*) in Dio Cassius, liv, 9, 10, again. Every handbook of Greek palaeography<sup>1</sup> shows the shape of Π (= π) with the shortened right vertical line. The uncertainty either in Strabo's manuscript already or in his copyist's text, in addition to their ignorance of the meaning of the word, explain sufficiently that *Πραμνας* is nothing else but a mistake for *Γραμνας*. Substituting, as in the other passages in Strabo, the initial Σ, just that form gives the best Greek equivalent for the Indian *śramaṇa*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gardthausen, *Griech. Palaeographie*, 2. Aufl., ii Taf., 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> As *śramaṇa* explained also by Geden *ERE*, ii, 88a; Stein, *Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, xv, 319, 321. In majuscule characters the alterations are easily to be understood:

ΠΑΜΝΑΣ (or more likely: ΓΑΜΝΑΣ)

ΓΑΜΝΑΣ

ΣΑΜΝΑΣ (ΣΑΡΑΜΑΝΑΣ, ΣΑΡΜΑΝΑΣ)

## 2. KAMPAṆA

Since Sir Aurel Stein's first note <sup>1</sup> on the word *kampana*, published by Boehtlingk, it looks as if the last chapter of the history of this word has not yet been written. The discovery by Professor Liebhich <sup>2</sup> and the want of an epigraphical proof of the occurrence of the word pointed out by him, on the one hand, the partial complication of the question arisen by just these passages in inscriptions on the other hand, may justify the following lines.

First, however, it seems necessary to perustrate once more those passages in the *Rājatar.*, from which the meaning "camp" or "army" comes to light without any possible doubt.

The verse, vii, 365,

*yo hy ambarādhikāryāśjindurājasya kampane |*  
*rājñā Vijayamitraḥ sa kampanādhīpatiḥ kṛtaḥ ||*

has been translated by M. A. Stein thus: Vijayamitra, who had been superintendent of clothing during Jindurāja's chief command (*kampana*), was made by the king commander-in-chief. No doubt, as to be seen from the career of Jindurāja, who got the *kampanādhīpatā* in vii, 267, *kampana* means here "chief command (of the army)". From vii, 887, *dvāre cakāra Kandarpaṃ Madanaṃ cāpi kampane*, the meaning "chief command" is evident; in vii, 1319, the office of a commander-in-chief is expressed by *kampane mahattamaḥ*, literally "the first in the command"; Tilaka, who is mentioned in viii, 180, among the *kampanādyadhikārasthāḥ*, i.e. the highest officers, like those of chief command and the like (cf. vi, 259: *kampanādhikarmasthānādhikārīṇaḥ*), appears in viii, 575, again in a śloka, alluding to the derivations from the root *kamp*, with which *kampana* seems to be connected in Kalhana's view <sup>3</sup>:—

*Kākaṇṭhasya tu Tilakaḥ kṣmābhujā dattakampanaḥ |*  
*ninye prakampamahitān prakampana iva drumān ||*

and is called again in viii, 599: *kampanāpati*. viii, 960, the phrase: *rājā . . . vyadhāt . . . Harṣamitraṃ kampane* is used as above *cakāra kampane*, or in viii, 1046. A peculiar idiom is met in viii, 1623 f.:—

<sup>1</sup> *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., philos.-hist. Kl.*, 49, 1897, S. 138, No. 14; M. A. Stein, *WZKM.*, xii, 1898, pp. 67 ff., anticipating his note to the translation of *Rājatar.*, v, 447.

<sup>2</sup> *Streitberg-Festgabe*, Leipzig, 1924, S. 230 ff.; *BSOS.*, vi, 431 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In Walde-Pokorny's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, i, 350, s.v. *kamp*—the old Indian root *kamp* is connected with Latin *campus* and Greek *καμπή*.

matveti tadadhikārānanyebhyas tīrnam ārpayat ||  
 rājasthānāt srajaṃ Dhānyam Udayaṃ kampanād api |  
 ajigrahannarapatih . . .

*kampana* occurs, as to be seen from the passage vii, 1362b :—

na ko'pi kampanaṃ bhūpān mantri trāsāturo 'grahīt

in masculine or neuter gender, probably the latter, to which the locative and ablative-forms (*kampane*, resp. *kampanād*) may belong ; in all these passages the meaning "chief command" fits well.<sup>1</sup> The compounds *kampanādhipati*, etc., could be explained as *kampana* + *adhipati* ; on the other hand, there is found unanimously in v, 599 ; vii, 399, 923 ; viii, 599, 627, 665, 1659, 2420, 2868 (dual) the form *kampanāpati*. Conceding the possibility that this *ā* of the fugue is due to the metre, as it stands in the last-but-two syllable of the second pāda (× × × × ~ — ~ ~) as in viii, 652, where the word occurs in the corresponding position of the second hemistich, there is the instance of viii, 685 :—

vivikṣin Devasarasaṃ kampanāpatinā tatah |

In the corrupt verse of the Lokaprakāśa,<sup>2</sup> iv, 3, *kampanāpati* is found by the side of *kampano* (masc.). The inference seems to be : *kampana*, masc. or neut., means the "command, chief command (of the army)", while *kampanā*, fem., means the "army".<sup>3</sup>

In the *Mhbh.*, ii, 4, 225, occurs a king Kampana, whose name is made intelligible by the words : *satataṃ kaṃpayāmāsa Yavanān eva yaḥ* |.<sup>4</sup> This, however, is not the single instance of such a name, containing *kampa* or *kampana*. Thus Kampa or Kampana I, whose nephew was Cikka-Kampanna-Oḍeyaru, the son of Bukka I, belonged to the Vijayanagara dynasty of the fourteenth century A.D. ; the nephew's

<sup>1</sup> It is, as observed by M. A. Stein, loc. cit., analogous to *dvāra* from *dvārapati*, an abstract noun from *kampanādhipati*, *kampaneśa*, *kampanāpati*, etc. But see the remarks above.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Stud.*, xviii, p. 373 ; cf. Index, s.v., p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> Only in *Rājatar.*, viii, 1430, occurs the title of an officer, *kampanōdgrāhaka*. One would suggest that it was his duty to find out a suitable place for the camp, perhaps also to stake out and to erect some quarters within the encampment. Could this suggestion—based on the meanings of the root *grāh* + *ud*—be proved, then this passage would be the only place where *kampana* occurs in its original meaning "encampment".

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Weber, *Ueber die Königsweihe (Rājastūya)*, Abh. Preuss. A. d. W., 1893, S. 127, n. 2. That the Greeks knew the Indian terms for "camp" and "army" is shown by Hesychius's glosses : βασιλῆως παρ' Ἰνδοῖς τὸ στρατόπεδον. βασιρπος. δὲ στρατός ; cf. Gray and Schuyler, *Amer. Journal of Philology*, xxij, 1901, p. 196 f.

name appears also as Vira-Kampana-Uḍaiyar, or Kumāra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar<sup>1</sup> (in South India inscriptions: Kambanna). The Gaṅga-Pallava king, Vijaya-Kampa-(vikrama)varman,<sup>2</sup> seems to have a name denoting his bravery and military success; he is called sometimes only Vijayakampa, which looks like a name: he, whose camp or army is victorious.<sup>3</sup>

A more decisive occurrence of the word *kampana* seems to be ll. 16-17 in the inscription of the Yādava king, Rāmacandra,<sup>4</sup> from the year 1286 (?) A.D., who is called *ari-rāya-jagajhampa-kampanācāryya*. The reading, as far as can be concluded from the Kanarese text on p. 374, is correct<sup>5</sup>; there are, however, some parallel passages in inscriptions, which raise doubts, further, the reading is dependent on the explanation of the foregoing expression *jagajhampa*.

In a record of the Śilāhāra Chittarājadeva of Northern Konkana from Śaka 948 = A.D. 1026<sup>6</sup> the ruler is called *tyāga-jagaj-jhampī*<sup>o</sup>, translated by Fleet (p. 266) "who excels in the world in liberality". In his nephew's, Anantadeva's, inscription from Śaka 1016 = A.D. 1094,<sup>7</sup> the formula has been enlarged to *tyāgajagajjhampajhampadācāryya*<sup>o</sup>, as in a Kādamba inscription of Vijayāditya (Śaka 1080 = A.D. 1158),<sup>8</sup> translated by K. P. Pathak (p. 274): "who was unsurpassed in the world in liberality." Differing only in the suffix of *jhampā*<sup>o</sup>, by reading *jhampalācāryya*, the phrase occurs in another Goa-Kādamba king's inscription, by Śivachittavīrapermādideva, of A.D. 1174,<sup>9</sup> rendered by Fleet as "the firm resting-place of the Jhampalāchārya, renowned for liberality". The other variation, *ari-rāya-jagajhampa*, is met in

<sup>1</sup> In Kanarese Oḍeyar, Voḍeyar, in Tamil Uṭaiyār, an honorific plural of Oḍeya, meaning lord or master, is a title of kings of many South Indian dynasties, like of the Cola, Vijayanagara, as the present ruler of Mysore is named Wodeyar IV. For their inscriptions, see *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. Nos. 459 f., 462-4, 474; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, xv, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. Nos. 656-8, 1070; cf. viii, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vii, p. 193, 196; the common formula in inscriptions is *vijayaskan-dhāvāra*, see Jolly, *ZDMG.*, 44, 1890, S. 353; the name of the Sena king, Vijayasena, is of the same kind and meaning.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, vii, 1, Honnali Taluq. No. 17 (transcribed text, p. 282, English translation p. 161); cf. Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 74 f.

<sup>5</sup> Not so in the preceding l. 16, where instead of the transcript p. 282, "lakṣmī-haraṇa stands in the Kanarese text: *lakṣmī-koṅkana*". "ācāryya occurs in l. 15 in the phrase: *Telungarāyāsīhāpanācāryya*".

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 263, l. 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, ix, 1880, p. 35, l. 61.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, xi, 1882, p. 273, l. 11; the reading here is "jhampajhampā".

<sup>9</sup> *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, No. xxvii, p. 296, l. 11; *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. No. 254; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 251, n. 1.

the Mutgi inscription of the Kalacurya ruler Bhīllama from A.D. 1189.<sup>1</sup> Two inscriptions belong to the time of the Kādamba king, Vīra-Jayakesīdeva; one, from A.D. 1199,<sup>2</sup> offers this reading:—

*tatastāga(!) jagajjhampajjhampañācāryadhuryatām {*  
*bibhradabhrāpta(!)kīrttiḥ Śrī Jayakesinrpo 'bhavat ||*

the other<sup>3</sup> reads more simply: *tyāga-jhagajjhampajjhampañācārya*. The correct spelling occurs in its second variation, *ari-rāya-jagajjhampa*, in the Mamdāpūr inscription of the Yādava Kanhara from the Śaka year 1172 = A.D. 1250,<sup>4</sup> translated by the editor, L. D. Barnett, "a *jagajjhampa* to hostile kings."

There have been proposed three explanations for *jhampa*, *jhampin*, or *jhampaṇa* (*jhamapaṇa*, *jhampaḷa*): who excels, who was unsurpassed; resting place of Jhampalācārya; and a *jagajjhampa*. Neither a lexicographer nor the Pandits<sup>5</sup> are able to give any hint to understand the word; Fleet himself referred to the root *jhamp* "jump"<sup>6</sup>; it is obvious that a meaning, wanted in the passages of the inscriptions quoted above, could not develop from that root *jhamp* or the noun *jhampa*. On the one hand, *jhampañācārya* sounds much like *kampañācārya*; on the other hand, it is hardly probable that the former compound could be separated from the other forms, *jhampa*, *jhampin*, *jhampaṇa*. It is difficult to say whether it is due only to a clerical error that not in the phrase alone *jhampaṇa* alternates with *kampaṇa*, but also in Hemacandra's *Abhidh.*, 1470, the v. l. for *jhampā* reads *kampā*; and e.g. in the *Hitopadeśa* (ed. Peterson), p. 68, l. 18, *jhampa* is replaced in the oldest Nepalese MS. by *sampa* (cf. Notes, pp. 56 ad 68, 18); finally there is a Nallāla grant of the Gaṅga king, Durvinīta,<sup>7</sup> mentioning in line 28 Tumburu, Nārada, Bharata, Revā, and Kambalācārya, the masters in the arts of music, dancing in theory and practice; but the last of them has nothing to do with the mysterious *jhampañācārya*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, xv, p. 36, l. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 242, l. 5; *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. No. 261.

<sup>3</sup> *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., loc. cit., p. 304, transl. p. 307, l. 8; the date is A.D. 1201; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. No. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, xix, p. 23, l. 19; for the king's name cf. Fleet, *Dynasties*, p. 73, s.v. Krishna.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 301, says in the note: "The expression '*jagajjhampa*' is not understood by the Pandits, but it is current among the lower orders, who use it as a cry of approbation to one who has conquered at wrestling or other games."

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1924*, p. 70.

The word *jhampāṇa* seems to have been unknown already to the composers of the inscriptions, or, at least, they did not know the exact meaning; and as there is no other help one must have recourse to linguistics. *jhampāṇa* looks from the first glance like a Prākṛit word; in Prākṛit *jha* corresponds to Sanskrit *kṣa*,<sup>1</sup> e.g. *jhijjai-kṣīyate*; therefore one had to assume a Sanskrit root *kṣamp*. In Hemac., *Pkt. Gr.*, iv, 161, occurs *jhampai* in the meaning *bhram* "wander", and some other words derived according to Pischel from a root *kṣap*. The root *kṣap* or *kṣamp* means *kṣānti*<sup>2</sup>; *jhampāṇa* = *kṣa(m)paṇa* would be "abstinence", a word that really exists but is out of place in the phrases of the inscriptions, specially in *arirāyajagajjhampā*. The P.W. shows a second *kṣapaṇa*, to be derived from a root *kṣap*, being a causative to *kṣi*, *kṣā*, "destroy." *jhampāṇa* owes its inserted *m* either to the following *lahial* or to the analogy of the other root *kṣap* or *kṣamp* and its derivations. And no other meaning but "destroy" fits better the context of the phrase *arirāyajagajjhampā*, "a destroyer of the world of hostile kings." In the other phrase, *tyāgajagajjhampā-jhampāṇācārya*, the sense may be: a master in destroying (i.e. conquering)<sup>3</sup> as a destroyer (i.e. conqueror) of the world in generosity. The different spellings (*jhampin*, *jhampāda*, *jhampala*, *jhumpana*) show the word or the phrase to be obsolete or somehow strange; perhaps °*jhampāṇa*° in that latter phrase is simply due to the foregoing °*jagajjhampā*°, and the correct reading would be shown by Rāmacandra's inscription: *arirāyajagajjhampā-k a m p a ṇ ācārya*, denoting the king as a master of the chief command (of the army), as destroyer of the world of hostile kings. Is this explanation right, then there is the epigraphical proof of *kampāṇa* in the sense found in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Perhaps *kampāṇa* should be read also in the other inscriptions and accordingly translated.

The word *kampāṇa* in inscriptions is not limited to this use. Curiously enough, *kampāṇa* in its second sense, "district," is met in records of nearly the same time, nay, in some of the same inscriptions in which *jhampāṇa* was found. The record of the Western Cālukya Someśvara Trailokyamalla from A.D. 1054, l. 7,<sup>4</sup> uses the form

<sup>1</sup> Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, § 326.

<sup>2</sup> See B. Liebich, *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akademie der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1920, "Der Dhātupāṭha," S. 40 and 66 s.v. *kṣap* and *kṣamp*.

<sup>3</sup> For both these possibilities, destroying and conquering, the use of the word among the people (see p. 64, n. 5) becomes intelligible.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, xix, 1890, p. 272.

*khampaṇa*, while his Bankāpūr inscription from 1055-6<sup>1</sup> gives in l. 34 the usual form *kampaṇa* sc. Nidugundage twelve, i.e. the modern Nidagundi (Needgoondē, Neergoondē), "four miles towards the south-south-west from Shiggaon, the headquarters of the Bankāpūr tāluka of the Dhārwar District, Bombay" (*Ep. Ind.*, xiii, p. 12). To the same year as the latter inscription belongs that of the Cālukya Gaṅgapermānaḍi Vikramāditya VI, son of Someśvara, while the Kādamba Great Chieftain Harikesarideva was his subordinate; the latter with his wife and religious colleges granted to a Jain temple some land in the very Nidugundage twelve, which was a *kampaṇa* of the Pānungal (modern Hāngal) Five-hundred, in the year Śaka 977 = A.D. 1055-6.<sup>2</sup> Twenty years later falls the record of the Western Cālukya Someśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla and his feudatory Gaṅgapermānaḍi Bhuvanaikavīra-Udayādityadeva from Śaka 997 = A.D. 1075-6,<sup>3</sup> mentioning the Mugunda (modern Didgur) twelve, which was a *kampaṇa* of the Banavase District (in North Kanara). The joint rulers, the two brothers Śivacitta Paramardin and Viṣṇucitta Vijayārka II, of the Kādambas of Goa, left a record from the year A.D. 1169-1170, where<sup>4</sup> the *kampaṇa* Kālagiri in the Palasī District (*deśa*) is mentioned. From the former of the two brothers comes the double inscription (in Nāgarī and Kanarese characters) of the year A.D. 1174,<sup>5</sup> where the *kampaṇa* Degāṃve in the Palāsīka District occurs. In the year dated A.D. 1204 are the two Belgaum inscriptions of the Raṭṭa ruler Kārtavīrya IV of Saundatti and Belgaum, one of them<sup>6</sup> bringing in l. 36 the Koravaḷḷi *gaṃpaṇa* in the Kuṇḍi Three-thousand District; from Kalhoḷi comes another inscription of Kārtavīrya, dated A.D. 1204, in which the Kurumbetṭa *gaṃpaṇa* is found<sup>7</sup>; the same ruler's inscription from Bhōj,<sup>8</sup> dated four years later, A.D. 1208, brings once more the Koravaḷḷi *kampaṇa*, to be identified, according to Fleet (p. 244), with one of the modern places named Kurvolee and the like, probably with that which is situated twenty miles north-west of Athnī in the Belgaum District. The Saundatti Kanarese inscription of the time of the Raṭṭa Lakṣmideva II, from A.D. 1228, mentions the

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, xiii, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, iv, 1875, p. 203, in the form *kampaṇa*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209, l. 33 f.

<sup>4</sup> *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 279, l. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 289, l. 34; p. 291, l. 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, xiii, p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. x, p. 226, l. 55.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, xix, p. 247, l. 100.



city Sugandhavati (the modern Sāvandatti or Saundatti, chief town of the Parasgad tāluka of the Belgaumi District) as the chief town of a *kampana*.<sup>1</sup> In the Mamdāpūr inscription<sup>2</sup> of the Yādava Kanhara, quoted before, of A.D. 1250, occurs not only the term *jagajjhampa*, but also in l. 61 the *kampana* Kuṛumbetta again, which "seems to be the village styled Kurbet . . . Shindi Kurbet . . . Kooreebet" (Bombay Presidency).

Both the terms, *jagajjhampa* as well as *kampana*, are found in inscriptions from A.D. 1026, resp. 1054, till A.D. 1250, resp. 1286, belonging to the dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, as they have been named by Fleet. It appears quite natural to look for a Kanarese etymology for them. Neither, however, such an authoritative expert as the late Dr. Fleet, nor the Pandits of his time were able to give even the meaning of the former word. For the latter term Fleet<sup>3</sup> himself suggested<sup>4</sup> the convertibility with *bāḍa*, a *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *vāṭa* "enclosure, road, mud wall or hedge surrounding a town, site of a building, house, and as used in the inscriptions it means according to the context either a town or a circle of towns formed into an administrative post". And in another place he tries to give an etymology, too: "I have shown that '*kampana*' is a convertible term with '*bāḍa*' in its second meaning of a circle of towns constituting an administrative post. . . . '*Kampana*' is probably another form of the Canarese '*kampaḷa*, *kampiḷu*', a cluster, heap, assembly, multitude."<sup>5</sup> For the first assertion, it is correct so far that *kampana* must be something like an administrative unity; but for its convertibility with *bāḍa* it must be remarked that it occurs side by side with the former in inscriptions. Thus *Ind. Ant.*, xix, p. 272, l. 7, where *bāḍa* must be a bigger administrative circle than *kampana*; in other inscriptions<sup>6</sup> by *bāḍa* or *vāṭa* the head village of a *kampana* is meant. For the second assertion, that *kampana* may be another form of *kampaḷa* or *kampiḷu*, there exists, it is true, the analogy of *jhampaṇa* = *jhampaḷa*, but

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. x, p. 267, l. 54; p. 268, l. 60. For the correct date see Fleet, *Dynasties*, p. 83; Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. No. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, xix, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 276, n. \*: "The meaning of the word '*kampana*' is not certain, but, from its use in other inscriptions, it appears to denote 'a circle of villages'."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. x, p. 280 f., n. 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, iv, p. 211, n. ‡; cf. also *ibid.*, xix, p. 274, n. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 268, l. 34 = p. 291, l. 44; cf. vol. x, p. 280, n. 37; *Ind. Ant.*, iv, p. 209, l. 34. There is in Sanskrit inscriptions another term for village, *pāṭaka*, about which and *vāṭa* see *Ind. Ant.*, li, 1922, p. 74.

other forms like *jhampāḍa*, *jhumpāṇa* occur also, partly due to the interchange of *ḍ* and *ḷ*, partly to the correct spelling being unknown; therefore we find *khampāṇa* and *gampana*, changes of spelling easily understood, but nowhere *kampāḷa* or *kampīḷa*. It is nothing but another suggestion, accruing, however, from the foregoing remarks, to connect *kampāṇa* of those inscriptions with *campus*, *κᾶμπον* again. From both the meanings, from the original "camp" as from the Indianized "chief command", the semantic derivation of "administrative unity" is possible; as the "camp" was a district staked out, including the army and all its accessories, being a town for itself, so it could be applied to the civil administrative terminology. And from the meaning "chief command" it is not difficult to arrive at that of a civil, political, and fiscal office, the district of which got the name *kampāṇa*.<sup>1</sup>

As stated above, the term occurs between A.D. 1054 and 1286, and Kalhaṇa's literary activity falls into the twelfth century A.D. also. Whether there was a connection between Kaśmīr and the Kanarese dynasties,<sup>2</sup> and where the term took its origin, these questions cannot yet be decided. The probability that *kampāṇa* is really a Kanarese word, as suggested by Fleet, and spread over up to Kaśmīr, is a slight one, already from the reason that from the meaning "administrative unity" the development of the meaning "army, chief command" is hardly to be understood. And, on the other hand, to separate the two words at all seems, on account of their semantic and chronological affinity, less likely than to see in them a—perhaps independent—development of a heritage, the testator of which is known, but not his direct heirs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If it is allowed to compare modern institutions, one may remember the close connection between political districts and the recruiting of the army, the distribution of regiments according to administrative circles.

<sup>2</sup> Such a connection like that indicated by *Rājat.*, iv, 152 ff., narrating Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa's *divijaya* into the country of the Karmāta princess Raṭṭā (I, cf. the dynasty of the Raṭṭas), is out of place from the chronology of the king, which has, however, to be separated from the time of the author Kalhaṇa.

<sup>3</sup> Only here in the notes a place may be given to the Sanskritization of Greek *κᾶμπλος* by *kramēla(ka)* (*BSOS.*, vi, p. 432 f.). In the *Rājatar.*, iii, 227; v, 39, the rocky hillock Kramavartā is rendered by the gloss of A, as *Kāmelanakōḥa*, identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the present Kāmelankōt. Without entering into a discussion on the real significance of the latter place, this comparison is at least a further instance of the mutual connection between Skt. *krama* and what may be called a tertiary Prākṛit *kam-el*. For references see M. A. Stein, *Rājatar.*, transl., vol. ii, p. 292 (also Gurupūjākaumudī, S. 77, *JASB.*, lxiv, 1896, p. 334 f.).

## Iranian Studies II

By H. W. BAILEY

### I. *Kavāt*

1. A passage of the tale of Husrav and the Page (*Pahl. Texts*, pp. 29-30, in Unvala's edition, § 30) may form the starting-point for a discussion of *kavāt*. It has not so far been fully translated.

*siṭṭikar framāyēt pursūt ku hač ān i pat aṣṣart nihēnd gōšt-ē katām xʾaštar*

*gōβēt rētak ku anōšak bavēt ēn and hamāk gōšt xʾaš ut nēvak gāv ut gōr ut garāzn ut varāz ut uštr <i> kavātak gautar i ēvak-sālak ut gāv-mēš ut gōr i katakīk ut hūk i katakīk.*

𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲, GrBd. 96<sup>1</sup>, 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲, in both cases with *scriptio plena* of the alef, is NPers. *garāzn*, *garāz* 'deer, mountain-ox', Oss. (Digor.) *γāvanz*, (Iron.) *qvaen* 'Hirshkuh' (Miller, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, p. 36), B.Sogd. *γʾwzn* 'cerf', *ŠCE*. 151, 354, Avestan *gavasna*.

𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 *gautar*, NPers. *gaurdar* 'calf, fawn'. Here is possibly a compound *\*gari-taru-*, *\*taru-* being connected with B.Sogd. *trwʾk* (*Gram. Sogd.*, i, 134) 'jeune', Avesta *tauruna-*, Pahl. *\*tarūk* 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 (cf. Tavadia, *Šāyast ne Šāyast*, 2<sup>2</sup>). The same suffix is probably to be seen in Pahl. *kapōtar*, NPers. *kabūtar* 'pigeon' (Horn, *GIP.*, i, b, 169, supposed *-ar-*), since the intervocalic *-t-* of NPers. *kabūtar* suggests *\*kapōta-taru-*, cf. Pahl. *pattūkīh* in Pāz. *patūr*; NPers. *kōtāh* (Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. *stav*).

𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭲 *kavātak* in the context clearly means 'young, small'. It can be related to the root *kav-* of Av. *kutaka-*, Pahl. *kōtāk*, Arm. Lw. *kotak*, NPers. *kōdak*, and Pahl. *kūk*, *kūč*, *kūčak* 'small' (see *BSOS.*, vi, 599), NPers. *kūčak*. The whole passage is then clear.

'Thirdly he condescends to ask, Of that which they put into gelée, which meat is the more delectable? The page says, Live for ever! <sup>1</sup> All these meats are delectable and excellent, of ox and wild ass and deer and wild boar and young camel, the calf of one year, the buffalo, the domestic ass and the domestic pig.'

2. The opening paragraph of the same text (*Pahl. Texts*, p. 27, Unvala, § 1) reads:—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. NPers. *nōša la-zī* (Šāhnāma).

*ērān vīnārt-kavātīk rētak-ē vāspuhr* <χ<sup>o</sup>as ārzūk> *nām dast*  
<pat> *aḡar-kaš pēš i šāhān šāh ēstāt.*

*rētak* is used (1) of young children.

Škand-Gumānik-v.čār (Pāzand), 11<sup>111</sup>: *ēi ka mardum aβā kam-dānašni u kam-χardr pasīca šēr u gurg aβarē χaraβastar čandašq tuva ō rēdaqa āβastqn i χ<sup>o</sup>ēš andar nē hēlend.*

‘Since if men, with their little knowledge and small understanding, even so do not, as far as they are able, allow lion and wolf and other beasts into the dwelling-place of their young ones’ (*āβastqn*,<sup>1</sup> Skt. transl. *gosthāna-*, is Pahl. *ōstān*).

Ibid. 14<sup>30</sup>: *u han fāvarē šas saδ hazār mard fad ež zani u rēdak i aβarnāē ež † Asarāsarq † andar viyāβan aβazaδ.*

‘And on another occasion six hundred thousand men besides women and young children of the Israelites were slain in the desert.’

(2) Of schoolchildren.

School Dialogue, § 1, Antia, *Pāz. Texts*, 73, l. 1 (cf. Junker, *Heid. Akad.*, 1912; Darmesteter, *Journ. As.*, 13, 355 et seq.).

*χ<sup>o</sup>ēškārī rēdaqa* ‘the duties of children’.

(3) Of the young of fish.

*GrBd.*, 152<sup>12-13</sup>: *ut hamāk χrafstr <i> āpīk i āpus ku ān vāng ašnavēnd rētak bē \*apakanēnd* (= *Ind. Bd.*, ed. Justi, 45<sup>6-7</sup>).

*GrBd.*, 154<sup>9</sup>: *ut hamāk χrafstrān <i> āpīk i> āpus rētak bē <apa> kanēnd.*

‘And all pregnant creatures of the waters when they hear that voice cast out their foetus.’

(4) Of young men.

The Armenians borrowed *eritasard* (Hübsch., *Arm. Gr.*, p. 148):—

Exod. 10<sup>9</sup>: *eu asē Mousēs. eritasardauk handerj eu cerovk merovk ertipovkē kai léγει Μωυσῆς, σὺν τοῖς νεανίσκοις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις πορευόμεθα.*

*eritasardakan.*

2 Tim. 2<sup>22</sup>: *ail y-eritasardakan çankout'eançn paxir, τὰς δὲ νεωτερικὰς ἐπιθυμίας φεῦγε.*

Al-Ta'ālibī uses *rēdak* ريدك (*Ghurur Akhbār Mulūk*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 705), which is NPers. *rīdak*, *raidak* ‘iuvenis imberbis, famulus gratus et formosus’. In this sense Pahl. *rētak* is used in Husrav ut *Rētak-ē*. In the *Frahang i Pahlavik* occurs *rētak* ‘youth’.

<sup>1</sup> For Pāz. β ω = v, cf. *aβazaδ*, *dīβ*, *gīβ*, and for ā = a cf. *āβāišni*.

servant', beside *rasīk* (*raθīk*) with the same meaning. The Pāzandist, indeed, reads *rēdak* for *rasīk* in *Mēnōkē xrat*, 29<sup>4</sup>: *rasīk i apurnāy ut žan ut stōr ut ātaχš pat pānaktar ut nikīrišntar apāyēt dāštan*. Pāzand: *rēdak i aβarnāē*. *Mēnōkē xrat*, 39<sup>37</sup>: *ut en III pat gukās nē patgīrišn žan ut rasīk i apurnāy ut bandak mart*. Pāzand: *in se pa guwāh ne padīrešn zan u rēdak i apurnāi u banda mard*.

*rasīk* (*raθīk*) is NPers. *rahī*; Firdausī, *Yūsuf u Zulaikḥā* (ed. Ethé, l. 235):—

بود آن زمان حشمت من رهی  
که بر من بدین کار فرمان دهی

*rahī* is explained as *γulām u banda u čakar* (Vullers). Its etymology has remained obscure. It probably means 'attached to the palace', since in *raθ-* (Pahl. *rs-* beside NPers. *rḥ-* proves either *rs-* or *rθ-* as the 'source') I would see the Avestan *raθa-* in *raθa-kairyam*, Turfan Mid. Iran. *rḥ*, *rhy*, corresponding as Junker pointed out (*OLZ.*, 29, 876–8, 1926) to the Turkish Manichaean use of *ordu*. The Chinese 日月光明宮 (Waldschmidt u. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, p. 49) 'The Light Palaces of Sun and Moon' is similarly convincing. The attempt to derive Mid. Iran. *rḥ* from *raθa-* 'chariot' and then to translate 'ship' is arbitrary and due to the supposition that the *lucidae naves* of the Western Manichaean tradition must be represented here. But for ship we have quite clearly *nāv*.

*āsēd giyānān ō im nāv rōšn* (M. 4, b. 5).

*bar-mān vazurg uδ nāv čē amāh grīvān* (Walds. u. Lentz, loc. laud., 96, l. 17). Cf. also Turfan Mid. Iran. *nāvāz* (*ibid.*, p. 113, iii recto, 2a) and *nāvāzān* (*ibid.*, p. 117, l. 18). The sun and moon were conceived under two distinct images by the Manichaeans of the East, as palace and ship. The description of the *rhy* in M. 98 (Salemman, *Manich. Studien*, p. 16; Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, p. 30) is clearly a palace.

Hence, in all the passages with 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 in *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, ed. Henning, 1932, the word should probably be rendered 'palace'.

Pahl. 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥, GrB., 210<sup>11</sup>, Dd., 30<sup>2</sup>, 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥, DkM., 618<sup>21</sup>, 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥, DkM., 806<sup>2</sup>, NPers. ری (Markwart, *Šahr. Er.*, p. 112, note 5) have the meaning 'chariot'.

Al-Ta'ālībī (loc. cit., p. 705) characterizes the *rēdak* thus :—

ومنها زيدك خوش آرزو وكان غلاماً من أبناء رؤساء الدهاقين مختصاً  
بخدمة ابرويز

The *dēhkāns* we know as the squires of villages.

The *rētak* are further associated by Minūcihrī with the cup-bearers (ed. Kazimirski, 27, v. 18) :—

شاه باش وی ستان از ریدکان وساقیان  
ساقیان سیم ساعد ریدکان سیم ساق

Similarly, in the *Kārnamak*, *rētak* is used of the young Ohrmazd when, aged seven, he plays polo before the King.

In our present passage of the *Husrav ut Rētak-ē* I understand *vāspuhr* as an adjective (cf. *Stāyēnītārīh* i *Sūr Āfrīn*, *Pahl. Texts*, p. 157, l. 2, *pus i vāspuhr*), since the name *xwāš-āržūk* (= Al-Ta'ālībī (خوش آرزو) had probably dropped out. Christensen incidentally (*L'Empire des Sassanides*, p. 93) mentions the pages at court and on p. 99 the presence there also of the sons of the nobility.

An excellent example of the institution of pages at an Oriental court is afforded by the book of Daniel, cap. 1<sup>st</sup> et seq., doubtless the Persian court was the model, as suggested by the use of the Persian word *prtm*; OPers. *fratama*- 'foremost' :

*vj'mr hmlk l'špnz rb srysyv lhb'y' mbny ysr'l vmzr' hmlvklh vmm  
hprtmyn yldym 'šr 'yn-bhm kl-m'vm vlvby mr'h vmšklgyn bkl-hkmh  
vyd'y d'i vmbyny md' v'sr kh bhm l'md bhykl hmlk vllmdm spr v'svn  
kšdym.*

Rendered by the Septuagint :—

καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβιεδρι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχιεunuχῷ ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν νύων των μεγιστάνων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων νεανίσκους ἀμώμους καὶ εὐειδεῖς, καὶ ἐπιστήμονας ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ, καὶ γραμματικούς καὶ συνετοὺς καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ ἰσχύοντας ὥστε εἶναι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ διδάξαι αὐτοὺς γράμματα καὶ διάλεκτον χαλδαϊκην.

The same archieunuch is then in v. 7, 9, 10 called *šr hsrysym*, though the Greek translation has ἀρχιεunuχος and the Armenian *nerkinapet* in each case.

It was the custom, therefore, for the pages to be given into the charge of the chief eunuch, who supervised their education.

*vīnārt-kavātīk*.

I would take this word as an adjective formed from a compound \**vīnārt-kavāt* of the same type as *kart-spās*, so in *Dd.*, 36, 17, *kart-spāsān ahraβān* 'the servant righteous ones', and *aburt-framānīh* 'disobedience' (*Kārnāmak*, 15<sup>22</sup>, ed. Antia); Pāz., *Škand GV.*, 11<sup>249</sup>, *aburd-farmānī*; Turfan Mid. Iran. (South. dial.) *zdzgh*, epithet of Āz (Henning, loc. cit.), Avestan *adərətō, tkaēša-*, Skt. *kṛtādeśa*.

The adjectival *-īk* is illustrated by the form *škand-gumānīk*, derived from the old type of compound with present participle as first member, the type in OPers. *vinda-farnā*, hence \**skand-gumān* < \**skanda-vimāna-*, and Pāzand *aniyōχš-andarē* (*Škand GV.*, 12<sup>37</sup>).

*vīnārtian* is abundantly attested in Pahlavi, Pāzand, and Turfan Mid. Iran. The phrase *dārāy ī dēn vīnārāy ī ardāvān* (F. W. K. Müller in *Festschrift Thomsen*, 1912, T. ii, D. 135 et seq.) 'upholder of the faith, organizer of the righteous (= the Electi)' indicates the sphere of the word, 'to organize, put in order, administer.'

*vīnārt-kavātīk* may then be translated 'connected with the institution of the youths', since *kavātak*, as indicated above, has the same meaning as *rētak* 'young creature, youth'.

*dast* <pat> *aḍar-kaš*. I read *aḍar-kaš* because the word is written as a compound *دستوار* (cf. also *hačadār-zamīk* *هچادارزمو* 'subterranean', *Mēnōkē-χrat*, 62<sup>15</sup>, ed. Andreas, p. 69, l. 6, Pāzand *azər.zamī*), comparing *Artūy Vīrāz Nāmak*, 2<sup>21</sup>, *ut pas avē Vīrāz pēš ī māzdešnān dast pat kaš kart ut av avēšān guft*. It is the attitude of respect before a superior: Vullers (s.v. *کشی*) has *دست در بغل کردن*. Cf. Av. *aḍairi kašaeībya*.

*ērān* may perhaps have here the adjectival meaning 'of Persia', that is, of the Court; the state being the king.

The whole may then be rendered 'a page of noble family, by name *Khvaš-āržūk*, of the "Institution of the Pages of Persia", stood before the King of Kings with his hands at his sides'.

3. The word *kavātak* is to be found in another Pahlavi passage, of great interest, in that it preserves the only trace of a particular legend of King Kavāt, Av. Kavāta. The passage is found in *GrBd.*, 231<sup>13</sup>-232<sup>1</sup>, and translations have been attempted by West, *SBE.*, v, 136, Herzfeld, *AMI.*, i, 149-150, note, and Christensen, *Les Karyanides*, p. 71. I would propose the following transliteration and interpretation:—





At the beginning of the third century we have Syriac *ʿtrpkn*, and fifth century *ʿdrbygn*, Arm. *Atrpatakan* (HAG., 23), *Atrpayakan* (for *-t > -y-*, cf. *bazpayit* and NPers. *māya*, Pahl. *mātāk*) 'connected with Atropates', Gr. *Ἀτροπαρηνή* (Strabo, xi, 13). *Vaspuṛakan* was the name of a large Armenian province; Pahl. *vāspuhrakān* 'connected with the *vāspuhr*', cf. *DkM.*, 380<sup>15</sup>, *vāspuhrakānīh*. Here belongs also Arm. *ahekanī* 'the ninth month' and *mehekanī* 'the seventh month' (cf. also *mihṛakan*, *mṛhakan*, Georg. *mihṛakanī*), in which the possibility of a compound must be ruled out. As to the *e* in *ahekanī* and *mehekanī*, a detailed discussion of the Iranian vowels in Armenian loanwords is still needed. It may be said at least that it is not possible to deduce *-ya-* from *-e-* (*-ekan* is found also in *dahekan* and *šahekan*, *šayekan*) and the first syllable of *mehekanī* is clearly not a Vṛddhi form of *miθra-* (not even with *ē* by Umlaut from *ā* since we have *a-* in *ahekanī*), as *vāspuhrakān* shows (*ā* < *āi*).<sup>1</sup>

A word of the third century is also Turfan Mid. Iran. *š'vuhrg'n*, the name of the book Māni dedicated to Šāpūr I, in Arabic called الشاورقان, الشارقان.

An even earlier occurrence is the *rois* Μιθρακάους of Strabo, xiv, 9, 530 (quoted by Clemen, *Fontes hist. rel. Persicae*, p. 32); Pahl. مہرگان, DkM., 402<sup>21</sup> (Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 53, wrongly quoted *IndBd.*, 33<sup>s</sup>, ed. Justi, where *Mihryān* is the name of the first woman), Pers. مهرگان ‘the feast of Miθra’.

Similar to *aspañjākan* as regards the value of the suffix is Arm. Lw. *vačarakan* 'merchant', Pahl. *vāčarakānīh* 'trade', Pāz. (*Škand* GV., 4<sup>26</sup>) *vāzargana* 'merchants', NPers. *bāzārgān*. Here belongs probably also *āmārahān* 'calculator', *DkM.*, 403<sup>1,6,8</sup>: *ōsmār*

<sup>1</sup> A similar Vṛddhi formation is probably Pahl. *vāčār*, Arm. Lw. *vāčār* 'market', Georg. *vač'ari* 'merchant', which belongs to *vi-čār* as found in Av. (Yt. 6<sup>54</sup>) *pasušača staorāča upairi zam vičaranta mašyūča bizagra*.

Yt. 13<sup>156</sup> *pravaśāyō xšnuṭō ayantu ahmya nmāne*  
*xšnuṭō vīčarontu ahmya nmāne.*

*vāḥar* < \**vāḥāra* is the place 'associated with moving to and fro, with traffic', cf. on *kāradāk* below. Kirmānī *viṣār* (I am indebted for the word to Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer. During my stay in Persia this year I found *vāḥār* used in Gaz.) may possibly have preserved a form without Vrddhi. Marr's etymology in *Zap. Vest. Otd.*, vii, p. 13, is baseless.

Here I would also place *Av. varḍayana-* 'a look-out' as a *Vrddhi* form to \**vi-dayana*, in preference to the view of Wackernagel (*Studia Indo-iranica*, Ehrengabe für W. Geiger, p. 227 et seq.).

*i āmarakān*, *DkM.*, 402<sup>12</sup>. Compare also Arm. Lw. *bazmakan* translating *ἀνακελεύεσθαι* of Matt. 26<sup>7</sup>, and *Nixorakan*, Benveniste, *REA.*, ix (1929), p. 5 et seq. There is another suffix, with similar meaning, *-van-*. Horn, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, i, b, 172, has *zaruān ātōrbān pulvān*, though he does not recognize *-vān* as a living suffix in NPers. But *-van*, common in Avestan and Sanskrit, appears in Mid. Iran. as either *-v* from the nom. sing., so Pahl. *artāy*, Turfan Mid. Iran. *ardāv*, Sogd. *ʿrtʿv*, on Arm. Lw. *azniv*, Turfan Mid. Iran. *bʿmyr*, see *BSOS.*, vi, 954; or as *-vān* from an oblique case. It is found in Pahl. *kāravān* 𐭪𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭥, *DkM.*, 283<sup>12-23</sup>, Pahl. *Texts*, 4, l. 2 (*Aβiyākār i Zarērān*) *kāravān i Ērān-šahr*, with the adj. *kāra <v>ānīk*, *DkM.*, 284<sup>2</sup>, Arm. Lw. *karavan*, Pāz. *kāravān* (*Škand Gv.*, 4<sup>25</sup>). In the Dēnkart passage *kāra <v>ānīk-mēnišnīh* is set in opposition to *māništak-mēnišnīh*. The *kāravān-ēvarzīk marlōmān* (ibid., 283<sup>12, 23</sup>) 'men belonging to the register of the caravan' are the *kāradākān* of *Mēnōkē xrat*, 4<sup>6</sup>, see below. The same suffix *-van* is found in Aram. *nštvn* (cf. Schaefer, *Iran. Beit.*, i, 265) *\*ništavān-*, and Oss. (Digor) *nistavān*, (Iron.) *nystuān* 'Auftrag, Empfehlung, Testament' (cf. Vilenčik, *Doklady Akad. Nauk. SSSR.*, Series B, 11). Hence it is unnecessary to alter Pahl. (*Mēnōkē xrat*, 37<sup>23</sup>), TD. 𐭪𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭥, K. 𐭪𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭥, Pāz. *spanžānāi*, as B. Geiger proposed, *WZKM.*, 1930, p. 196, n. 1, to *\*spanžakānīh*. It is better to read *spanžavānakīh*. I would connect here also Turfan Mid. Iran. *dʿhvʿn*, probably *\*dāhvān* 'giver, liberal', comparing *rʿt-* of the corresponding Sogdian text with Pahl. *rāt*, NPers. *rād* (cf. *Minūcihrī*, i, 29, *kaf i rād i to*) 'liberal', hence *\*dāha-vān*. With this Sogd. *rʿt-* should be compared *rʿtōk* in the Sogdian name of the Mother of Life *rʿm rʿtōkī byyy*: *rātūx* 'bountiful'. Schaefer (*Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, p. 157) has *Rām-ratūx* (probably for *rātūx*). The etymology (*apud* Walds. u. Lentz, loc. cit., p. 127, note 1) is unacceptable. The word *dʿhvʿn* supplies also the explanation of Arm. Lw. *dahamounk*, gen. pl. *dahamanč* 'gifts, offerings' with *-man-*, cf. Turfan Mid. Iran. (North and South Dialects) *dysmʿn* 'structure'. The *\*vstyvʿn* of *Mēnōkē xrat*, 2<sup>69</sup>, Pāz. *ōstīv*, can be explained as *\*ava-sti-van* (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. *\*ōstēvān*), beside *ōstīkān*. Possibly also Pahl. *dyvʿn*, NPers. *divān*, Arm. Lw. *divan* is *\*diβī-vān-*, in which, owing to the long syllable following, *-iβīv-* has become *i*, in contrast to the *dpyvr* (Gem inscription), Pahl. *dpyr*, Arm. Lw. *dpir*, NPers. *dabīr*

from \**diβi-var-* with following short syllable. Pahl. *dip* 'document' is in *Māviyān i hazār Dāstastān* (Bartholomae, *Zum sasan. Recht.*, iv, 14). The *i* of Arm. *divan* (contra Hübs., *AG.*, s.v.) does not necessarily presuppose *ē* (although this would be possible if we suppose \**diβavān*, -*iva*- > *ē* > *i* early), since the name *divān* is probably of the Sasanian period (cf. the tale in Ibn Khaldūn, *Notices et Extraits*, Texte, vol. ii, p. 16).

ويقال ان اصل هذه التسمية ان كسرى نظر يوما الى كتاب ديوانه وهم يحسبون مع انفسهم كانوا محادثون فقال ديوانه اى محابين بلغة الفرس

and at that period Iran. pretonic *ē* appears in Arm. Lws. mostly as *tr* (*e*): *Eran*, *Peroz*, *Šeroy*, *Řevan*, *Vsemakan*, *Čenastan*, but *Nivšaporuh*, *Gilan* (and *Gelan*); whereas *ī* is *i* in *hamširak*, *Širin*, *Viroy*, hence also in *ostikan*, *rahvīray*, *azarmiduxt*. Then *apeniaz* with *e* and *ia* is Sasanian in contrast to the earlier loanword *apirat*. If then Arm. *divan* is a loanword of Sasanian times, Pahl. *dip*'n should probably be read *divān* with *ī*.

*v* can be written also by 𐭪 as shown by 𐭪𐭭 *vāvar*, NPers. *bāvar*, Arm. *an]vaver*; 𐭪𐭭𐭭 *avērān*; Jud.-Pers. 𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤁𐤏; NPers. *vīrān*; 𐭪𐭭 *nāv* 'channel', *DkM.*, 779<sup>5,6</sup>, NPers. *nāv*. 𐭪 is also found. Hence, *kāravān* is written 𐭪𐭭𐭭𐭭𐭭 and 𐭪𐭭𐭭𐭭𐭭 in *Artāy Virāz Nāmak*, 67<sup>10</sup>, 68<sup>10</sup>, 93<sup>5</sup>. This value of 𐭪 was not noticed by F. Müller, *WZKM.*, 5, 354. Pāzand has *kāravān* and *kārβān*. Arm. has also *kareuan* beside *karavan*. Here probably belongs also 𐭪𐭭𐭭𐭭𐭭𐭭 beside 𐭪𐭭𐭭𐭭𐭭𐭭 *frēčavānīh*, *frēčavānēnītak* *DkM.*, 404<sup>18</sup>, rather than with -*p*.

NPers. *pēčvān* 'twisted' seems also to belong here.

In *Mēnōkē xrat*, 2<sup>69</sup>, *yātavānak* is a possible reading of 𐭪𐭭𐭭𐭭𐭭 (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. \**ništavānak*), the Pāzand has *jadangō*, which is Pahl. *yātākōβ*.

It is accordingly possible to understand *kavātakān* as the man appointed to take charge of (*vīnārtan*) the pages. This man then fills the office of the *śr srysym*, ἀρχιευνοῦχος, Arm. *nerkinapet* of Daniel 1<sup>3</sup>. Here the pages received their education. The page *Khvaš-āržūk* boasts of his attending the *frāhangastān*. An episode of the early life of Ardašīr i Pāpakān may be compared, as given by Ṭabarī, i, 813

et seq. Gōzihr *malik* of Iṣṭaḫr had appointed the eunuch Tīrē, argbeš of Dārābgird :

فلما أتى الأردشير سبع سنين سار به أبوه إلى جزهر وهو بالبيضاء فوقه  
بين يديه وسأله أن يضعه إلى تيرى ليكون ربيبا له وأرجبذا من بعده في  
موضعه فاجابه إلى ذلك وكتب بما سأله من ذلك سجلا وصار به إلى تيرى  
قبله أحسن قبول وتبناه

*nivastak* 'allied, connected', to *ni-band-*, cf. Pahl. *patvand*, NPers. *paivand* 'connected by family', Av. *nivanda-* 'binding', Turfan Mid. Iran. *nivannišn ud paivann aviš paivast* (Henning, loc. cit., pp. 24, 27), *nbst* (Bang u. Gabain, *Turk.-Turfan-Texte*, ii, p. 15). *nivastak* is here equivalent to 'adopted'; cf. Herzfeld, *AMI.*, iv, 61, note 3, on 'adopted son' and *Dd.*, 56; 59 (inaccessible to me in the Pahlavi). Also Bthl., *SR.*, 5, 21.

*vinūt* 𐭧𐭮𐭥𐭥 is somewhat uncertain, since it is impossible so far to point out this compound *vi-nay-* in Mid. Iran. texts other than Pahlavi and possibly Turfan Mid. Iran. *gvny'g*. Cf. *DkM.*, 403<sup>4</sup>, *pat ašmēt i āsānīh andar ān yašnīhā andar kār ut ranj \*vinūt martōm patiš āsānīhēnd ut rāmīhēnd*. That compounds of *nay-* existed we know from Pahl. *ānītan* and Man. Sogd. *prny'ny* 'leader' (Walds. u. Lentz, loc. cit., pp. 76, 95). I understand as 'brought up'. The meaning 'instruct' for *vi-nay-* in Sanskrit is unfortunately not attested in early texts.

There remains the word *kēbūt*. The text has 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥. I look upon the word as a loanword from Aramaic. We have other Western (Greek or Aramaic) words in Mid. Iran., such as Turfan Mid. Iran. *dydym* δυάδυμα; NPers. 𐭢𐭣𐭥𐭥 (Lentz, *ZII.*, 4, 285); Pahl. 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥 and 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥 *kālpud*, *kālpad* 'form', Gr. *καλαπόδιον*, Arm. *kaṭapar* 'mould' (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v.), NPers. *daftar* (*dapīar* is still the usual word in the language of the Zarduštī speakers of Yazd for *kutāb*), Gr. *διφθέρα* 'prepared hide'. Ktesias (*apud* Diod., 2<sup>32</sup>, Gilmore, p. 9) has *διφθέραι βασιλικαί* of the Persian royal records. Pahl. *barbut* 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥 is first attested in Greek *βάρβιτος* 'an instrument of many strings, like the lyre', Arm. Lw. *barbout*, NPers. *barbut*, *barbat*, Arab. *barbat* (Fraenkel, *de vocabulis . . . peregrinis*). Compare also NPers. *čalīpū*, Syr. *šlyb*, Arab. *ṣalīb*. The word *kēbūt* could therefore have come from Aramaic. A word 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥

is attested in Syriac and in Mandæan with two distinct meanings and of different origin. Syriac has ܠܐܠܦ (for alef cf. ܠܐܠܦ 'silver'; Pahl. *asēm*, Gr. ἄσημον 'silver') and ܠܐܠܦ (Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*): 'cista,' of Moses' ark in Exod. 2<sup>3</sup>, and also of the ark of Noah. This is Greek κυβωτός 'coffer', used for Noah's ark in the LXX, but found long before in Hekataios and Simonides. Mandæan has ܠܐܠܦ 'saeptum' (Brockelmann, *ibid.*) cognate with Assyr. *gabūtu*, as in *gabūt alpi* 'enclosure for oxen'. Both these meanings can probably be traced in Iranian. The Pahl. *kēbūt* is 'box', in an identical use with that in Syriac where *qēbūtā* is used of Moses' ark. The second word, Mandæan ܠܐܠܦ 'saeptum', is found in Turfan Mid. Iran. ܠܐܠܦ (*apud* Henning, *loc. cit.*, p. 10) in the description of the overthrow of the monster by Adamas:

*rōy ǝ ēray rōn*  
*ǝl'ōn ša-yr andar kēvud*

'face to the southern quarter, like a lion in a trap'. For ܠܐܠܦ in place of ܠܐܠܦ there are several cases in Turfan Mid. Iran., such as ܠܐܠܦ ܠܐܠܦ (*bēm*, Gr. βῆμα; ܠܐܠܦ (Henning, *loc. cit.*), ܠܐܠܦ; and also in Pahlavi (Nyberg, *Monde oriental*, xvii, 211).

*hišt* 'put', here imperfect in meaning, 'were intending to put', for *hištan* 'to put', cf. Gāzī *vāzāšt* 'he put', *vāmāšt* 'I put', translated by Gāzīs to me by NPers. *guzāštan*. The whole passage can then be rendered:

'Kavāt, as a child, was in a box, and they intended to put him on the river. He was delivered to the "Overseer of the Pages". Uzav saw, took him and had him nursed. He brought him up as a son of his own family and gave him his name.'

So far it seems possible to go. It may later happen that a better interpretation of the text will be found, but it is, I hope, certain that *kēbūt*, *parvārt*, and *kavātak* are to be read here.

## II. *Kāradāk*

Above I have identified the *kāravān-ēvarzāk martōmān* with the *kāradākān* (*kāradahakān*), understanding by both words 'people who move about by caravan'. In the Dēnkart passage (283<sup>2d</sup> seq.) *kāra* <*v*> *ānīk-mēnišnīh* 'inclination to travel by caravan' is contrasted with *māništak-mēnišnīh* 'inclination to a settled abode'. Herein lies probably the true explanation of OPers. *kāru-* 'army',

Pahl. *kārīk* 'soldier', *kārēdār* 'battlefield', *kār-* in *kāravān* and in *kāradāk*: it is the 'mobile' contrasted with the 'settled' life. Cf. also NBal. *čarōχ* 'wanderer, vagabond'. The *kāravān i ērānšahr* (Pahl. *Texts*, 4, l. 2) is the 'train of the army of Persia'. In Draxt Asōrīk (ed. Unvala, § 18, Pahl. *Texts*, p. 11) the tree says:

*āšyān hom murvōcākān*  
*sōyak kāradākān χastak*

'I am the home of small birds, shade for the weary men of the caravans.'

In Turfan Mid. Iran. there is a Manichæan paraphrase of Matt. 25<sup>36</sup>: ξένος ἤμην καὶ συνήγαγέ με.

'ed <'> vzd<sub>h</sub> ū q'rd'g bvd hym 'ut'n 'v qdg hrpyt hym (M. 475, verso 11-13).

'I was an exile and a wanderer (*kārδāy*) and you took me into your house.'

*Mēnōkē χrat*, 4<sup>6</sup>, agrees with this explanation: *pančom īzišn i Yazdān ut aspanš i kāradākān kartan*, in the Pāzand, *u pančum yazešn i Yazdā u aspanš i kāradahagā kardan*. There is a Pāzand variant *kārβān* 'caravan' (cf. the spelling Pāz. *kāravān*, *Škand GV.*, 4<sup>25</sup>), which expresses the meaning accurately. The idea in *aspanš* 'inn' proves that we have to do with wayfarers. For the view that the merchant was looked upon primarily as a traveller and wanderer, we may compare the remarks of Lazar of P'arpi (ed. Venice, 1793, p. 163): *eu loucal zays arn mioy vačarakani, or ēr azgau χoužik, oroy est aurini vačarakanout'ean šat angam čanaparhordeal ēr i hays or eu zlezou hayerēn χausic, k'aš telekabar gūtēr*. The same word is found also in *Mēnōkē χrat*, 37<sup>36</sup>, of the thirty-third good act (*karpak*) leading to Vahišt: *XXXIII-om kē vīmārān ut armēštān ut kāradākān rād \*spanšavānakih kunēt* 'thirty-third, he who provides hospitality for the sick, those excluded as unfit, and wayfarers'. Wayfarers, men of the caravans, naturally suggested the specialization 'merchants', which is represented in the Sanskrit translation of 4<sup>6</sup>: *āśramasthānānāṃca bāṇīklokebhyah karamaṃ*, and of 37<sup>33</sup>: *yaḥ kleśibhyah pangubhyo bāṇījyakarebhyah āśramasthānāni vidadhātī*. So, too, in *Škand GV.*, 4<sup>25</sup>: *aβa čun gadūga rāhdāra i andar kāravān vāzargana rāh brinend*. The explanation proposed by Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. *kārēdahak*, is therefore unnecessary.

This same suffix *-dāk* seems to offer the means of explaining Pahl. *χουζου*, Turfan Mid. Iran. *pyd'g*, Pāz. *pēdā*, *paidā*, NPers. *paidā*, *huvaidā*. No satisfactory solution has been given (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*,

s.v. *parīāk*). In writing the suffix *-dāk*, Pahl. has 𐭥𐭥𐭥 beside 𐭥𐭥𐭥, in which *d* beside *t* points to *ḍ*. Hence I would propose *paīdāk* for 𐭥𐭥𐭥 comparing NPers. *paīdād* 'produced, manifest' (and possibly *paīdāyīs*) from *pati-* with *dā-*. NPers. *pādās* (Pahl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥) has also *d*, just as NPers. *paīyām* (beside *payām*) has preserved *q-* after *pati-*.

A different *kāra*- is represented in Avestan (*Vīd.*, 21<sup>7</sup>):

kāravaiti paēnavaiti  
χšvīptavaiti raoynavaiti  
mazgavaiti

where *kāra-* is probably to be explained by NPers. *kāra* 'fresh butter'. In *AIW*, it is translated 'tätig', Darmesteter in *SBE*, iv, 233, gave 'seed', in *Zend-Avesta* (*Ann. Musée Guimet*, 1892, vol. xxii) he has 'active' with note 23: *kāravaiti*, *kārōmand*, peut-être 'fécondée', cf. *kār* 'action de semer'.

The Pahlavi commentator has (Spiegel, p. 225, l. 8 seq.) :—

k'r'ōmand ku-t k'r b<av>ēi  
pēm'ōmand ku-t pēm bavēt  
šīr'ōmand ku-t šīr bavēt  
ēvak ān <i> martōmān  
ēvak ān <i> gōspandān  
rōvn'ōmand ut mazg'ōmand.

Here it is also possible that Pahl. *k'r* means 'fresh butter'.

For the relation of Av. *kāra*-, Pahl. *k'ar* to NPers. *kara*, compare Av. *sarakh*- beside *sāra*-, Pahl. *sar*, *sār*, NPers. *sar*, *sār*. Hence Av. *spāra.dāšta*-, epithet of Aši, if compared with *darsyō.vāraθman*-, may (contra AIW.) have *spāra* 'shield', Pahl. *spar*, Turfan Mid. Iran. 'spr, NPers. *sipar*.

I would understand the whole passage as referring to the cow.

The final part of *kāradāk* needs to be considered further. A suffix *-dāk* or *-dahak* is to be found in other words. Pāz. *vīnāβadā* (as in *ŠkandGV.*, 4.<sup>88</sup>, 5.<sup>33</sup>) and *avīnāβadā* (*ŠkandGV.*, 5.<sup>18</sup>, 5.<sup>21</sup>) renders Pahl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (Dd., 36.<sup>47</sup> and elsewhere) 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (DkM., 434.<sup>21</sup>) 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (DkM., 633.<sup>13-14</sup>) 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (GrBd., 127.<sup>2</sup>), with the negative 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (DkM., 635.<sup>12</sup>). It translates Avestan *vaēnammam* and is translated by Sanskrit *dr̥ṣya-*. In the Pahl. the variant spelling with *t* and *d* suggests that *ṣ* is intended : hence it can

be read *vēnāβδāk* 'visible'. The noun *وَنَی* *vēnāβ* 'vision' occurs in Bahman Yašt, 2<sup>20</sup> (K 20, fol. 131, v. 14-15, transl. West, *SBE.*, v, 201; Noshervan's edition lacks this passage): *ān i \*arōčēn x<sup>u</sup>ratāyih i Vahrām Gōr-sāh, ka mēnōk i rāmišn vēnāβ paīāk kunēt* 'that of lead is the reign of Vahrām Gōr the king, when the spirit of joyousness will reveal a vision'. NPers. *bīnāb*, (Vullers) 'res quae homini in ecstasi apparent, visum, visa species'.

I would see the same *-dāk(-δāk)* in *وَرْدَن*, as in *Artāy Vīrāz Nāmak*, 12<sup>1-2</sup>, *api-m givāk-ē frāč mat hom . ut dūt ān i rātām ruβān kē brāzadāk raft. brāzadāk (brāzδāk)* 'brilliant' belongs to the verb *brāzēt*, *brāzāhet* (*Dd.*, 36<sup>35, 109</sup>) 'shines'.

The same suffix occurs also in Turfan Mid. Iran. (north. dial.) *mōzdgd'g* 'messenger' beside the (south. dial.) *myzdg't'ē*, as in *myzdg't'ē 'vd 'zdygr yzd* 'messenger and Herald Deity'. In *-ē* beside *-g* it would perhaps be possible to recognize the same variation of suffix as in Pahl. *وای* beside *کوک* *kūk*, *kūč* 'small' (with *-č-* due to a monosyllabic form in NPers. *kūčak*) and Turfan Mid. Iran. *knyg* 'maiden' beside NPers. *kaniz*.

### III. *Kapārak*

The Pahlavi commentary on *Vīd.*, 9<sup>11</sup>, *kamčēt vā xruδdismanam* reads *aivāp katār-ič-ē ān i saxt zamūk kapārak-ē* *وَرْدَن* *ut čis-ē* 'or anything of hard earth, an earthen pot or the like'. The word is evidently NPers. *kabāra* *کباره* explained as *کاسه سفالین*, (Vullers) *vas figlinum*. NPers. *kuvāra* *کواره* with the same meaning, which Sanjana (*The Vendidad*, p. 178) compared, will probably also belong here. For *kabāra* Vullers has no quotation, but for *kuvāra* he has the verse:

پیش مستان بزم وحدت او  
چه کواره چه کاسه زرین

ascribed to Farīd i *Khurāsānī*.

I think to find the same word, though somewhat badly transmitted, also in the commentary on *Yasna*, 9<sup>11</sup> (cf. Unvala, *Hom Yašt*, p. 20). The whole passage is of interest. The Avestan text has been translated by Wolff-Bartholomae; Lommel, *Die Yāst's*, p. 189, and earlier. A more recent attempt has been made by Hertel (*Die awestischen*



*Herrschafts- und Siegesfeier*, 1931, p. 45, and note 3) to translate the similar passage of *Yāst*, 19<sup>40</sup>, but unfortunately owing to his neglect of the few aids we have for understanding the Avestan texts and his preference for meanings based upon unsound etymologies, the result in this present case cannot be considered a serious contribution to the understanding of the text. The Avesta has:

*yō janat ažiṃ sruvarəm*  
*yīm aspō.garəm nərə.garəm*  
*yīm višavantəm zairitəm*  
*yīm upairi viš araodaṭ*  
*ārštyō.barəza zairitəm.*

This is translated and annotated thus:

*kē-š žat aži i sruṣar*  
*i asp-ōpār i mart-ōpār*  
*i viš'ōmand i zart*  
*kē-š apar viš rānēnūt ēstēt*  
*asp-bālād ān i zart*  
*ēt ēn hanē pat kamāl ul šut*  
 (Avestan letters) *χšvaēpayā vaēnaya barəšna*  
*ān hanē pat zafar bē ōpast*  
*hast kē ētōn gōβēt ēt har dō ērak*  
*ān and bālād ul šut*  
*ān \*and drahnād bē ōpast.*  
*hast kē ētōn gōβēt ēt \*kapārak* كپاراك *apar pušt hušk ēstāt.*

*hanē* is here written هاند (cf. for the spelling, Salemann, *GIP*, i, 294, on *han* 'other'). *hanē* . . . *ut hanē* 'the one . . . the other', Av. *anyō* . . . *anyō*, OPers. (Charte 25-6) *aniyā* . . . *aniyā*.

*vaēnaya*. Instr. to *vaēnā*. Bartholomae, *AIW*, quoted Kurd *bēn* 'nose, smell', Mid. Pers. *vēn*, North Bal. *gīn* 'breath'. In Pahl. *vēn* is frequent, meaning 'breath': *Gr.Bd.*, 189<sup>15</sup>, وین, *vēn āβarišn barišn dēgōn vāt* 'fetching and expelling breath like the wind'; *DkM.*, 807<sup>17</sup>, *pat harvist āyīšn bē-šavišn, pat vēn āβarišn barišn*. It is a derivative of *vāy-* 'to blow' (cf. *AIW*, <sup>2</sup>*vā-*), with the same form as *kaēnā-* کاونای. In Pahl. *fravūt*, written فرافوت as transcription of Avestan *fra-vay-*, is translated by *daft* 'blew', *DkM.*, 814<sup>6</sup>, quoted *BSOS*, vi, 598. Pahl. *vēnūk* 'nostril', as in *DkM.*, 814<sup>6</sup>, *dašn vēnūk* 'right nostril', and *Gr.Bd.*, 190<sup>8</sup>, *II vēnūk* 'the two nostrils', has also the meaning 'nose', NPers. *bīnī* 'nose', cf. Pāzand *damašni i vīnī*,

*ŠkandGV.*, 13<sup>38</sup>. *vēnīk* is derived from *vēn* as *dēhīk* from *dēh*, *kārīk* from *kār*.

The spelling *ṣṣi* (*GrBd.*, 189<sup>15</sup>) with the two dots of *g* indicates a pronunciation *gēn* (cf. NBal. *gīn*), as in the case of *ṣṣi* *vēv*, *GrBd.*, 197<sup>11</sup>, intended to be read *gēv*, Ind.Bd. has *𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀* *gēβ*, NPers. *gēv* beside *bēžan*. The *g* is found already in the inscription ΓΕΟΠΟΘΡΟΣ, cf. Herzfeld, *AMI.*, iv, 58 et seq. Hence Nyberg's reading *vayū* in *Journ. Asiat.* (1929), i, 302, must be given up.

The gloss may be thus rendered :—

‘That is, this one ascended at the head  
over tail and snout and neck  
the other fell down at the jaw.

Some say that both are the same, it ascended to such  
a height, it fell down such a distance.

Some say that the earthen pot remained dry upon its back.’

This has probably understood the Avestan text correctly : *araodaṭ* is translated in the word for word rendering by *rānēnīt ēstēt* ‘is caused to move’, and explained in the gloss by *ul šut* ‘ascended, mounted up’. Hence the Avestan is to be rendered :

‘above whom the yellow poison mounted up  
to the height of a spear's length.’

This gives the verb *raud-* ‘to mount’, a development of the meaning ‘to grow’. Bartholomæ, *AIW.*, <sup>4</sup>*raad-* by translating ‘flow’ has missed the meaning, similarly Lommel (loc. cit.) ‘auf dem gelbes Gift schwoll’. For *raud-* ‘mount up’ it is possible to compare Sanskrit *rohati* ‘grow, mount up’ and *rohayati* ‘cause to mount’. With the prefix *ā*, as here in Av. *araodaṭ* (so rightly Geldner's text here, but *Yašt.* 19<sup>40</sup>, has *raodaṭ* without variant), *ārohati* ‘mount’, cf. *dyām rohati* ‘mounts to heaven’. It is, however, more important to notice that the meaning ‘mount’ is attested for Iranian by NBalōči *ruday*, *rōday* ‘to grow, spring up, mount’, Dames, *Bilochi Grammar*, p. 79. Pahl. has *ārodišn* (cf. *Mx.* 49<sup>23</sup>, *kē zāyīšnīk ut kē-č ārodišnīk*) of ‘growth’; cf. Turfan Mid. Iran. *’rvy*.

#### IV. Armenian *ašxoīž* and *ašxat*

##### 1. *ašxoīž*.

It is now possible to point out the Iranian word from which the Armenian borrowed *ašxoīž* ‘veemente, fervido, vivace, vigoroso, impetuoso, ardente, violento’. It can be recognized in the word left

untranslated by Henning (loc. cit.) in three passages, South. dial.,  
 אַחְשֹׁז *aχšōz*.

(a) p. 22 (c I verso, i, 29).

'n 'sryšt'r 'y

nr 'vd 'sryšt'r

'y m'yg šyr

qyrbnd 'kšvz 'vd

kšmyn bzy 'vd

'pr 'n'nd 'ryš'n

pymvkt

those, the male Āsrēštār and the  
 female Āsrēštār, lion-shaped, raging  
 and wrathful, baneful and ravaging,  
 those he put on as a garment.

Two of the other words also merit notice.

*bzy*. So far no explanation has been given of the word *bzy* (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. *bašak*). The reading *buzay* is assured by Turfan Mid. Iran. (North. dial.) *bzy* with *z* not *ž*. Hence in Pahlavi *bazak*<sup>1</sup> (in *GrBd.*, 193<sup>5, 8, 10</sup>, with the meaning of 'causing harm', *vizand*), Pāz. *baza*, *baža* (*Mēnōkē xrat*), *baža* (*Škand GV.*), with *ž* as in the word *āz* from *āz* (it is possible that an actual pronunciation is here preserved, cf. NPers. *dir* and *dir* < \**dirā*, OPers. *didā*, NPers. *nižād* 'generation' to *zan*- 'be born', and Parāči *buž* 'goat', NPers. *buz*, Av. *buza*-), NPers. *baza* 𐭡𐭣. This word would supply an explanation also of Buddh. Sogd. *βyz*-, 'βyz- 'evil' perhaps from \**bazyā*-. The etymology of these words is given by Saka 'bašdā, fem. 'sin' < \**bazdayakā*, Leumann, *Zur nordar. Sprache u. Lit.*, p. 127; Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 123. Hence they may all be connected with Av. *bazda*- 'made ill' (Pahl. transl. *vīmār*), beside which occurs *banta*- 'idem', to the verb *band*-, *ban*- 'to make ill', not to be confused, as has sometimes been done, with *band*- 'to bind'. The treatment of *zd* is twofold in Pahlavi: *nazd*-, *nazdih* 'near', Sogd. *nzt*, but *duzd* beside *duz* 'thief' (cf. Bartholomæ, *ZII*, iv, 186 et seq.). Kumzārī *nēzik*, NBal. *nazī*, *nazīχ* 'near'. So Pahl. 𐭡𐭣𐭥𐭥 *pazūk*, *Vid.*, 14<sup>6</sup>; 𐭡𐭣𐭥𐭥 *pazūk*, *GrBd.*, 144<sup>5</sup>; 𐭡𐭣𐭥𐭥 *pāzūk*, *Pahl. Riv.*, 21<sup>9</sup>; Av. *pazdu*-, NPers. *pazdak*.

'pr. I am inclined to find Pahl. *appar* (Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. *apar*) in Pahl. 𐭡𐭣𐭥𐭥 *DkM.*, 816<sup>21</sup>, *aš etōn av ham ārāst vāng čēgōn ān i apparakānak spāh* 'he uttered a cry like that of a ravaging army'. *DkM.*, 809<sup>12</sup>, *aš hač ān tangīh bōžēnd čēgōn ān i apparakānak spāh*

<sup>1</sup> Written both *bčk* and *bzk* (Pahl. Comm. to Yasna, 51<sup>13</sup>) and possibly 𐭡𐭣𐭥𐭥 *DkM.*, 386<sup>4</sup>, MPI. *bčk*.



## Le *da drag* tibétain

Par J. PRZYLUKI et M. LALOU

POUR les grammairiens tibétains, *da drag* (= faux *d*) est le nom d'un suffixe qui s'ajoute aux finales *n*, *r*, *l*.

La loi d'euphonie du *da drag* exige au début de la syllabe suivante : *t*, *č*, *p*.

On peut distinguer deux états du *da drag* :—

(1) le *d* est écrit.

(2) le *d* n'est pas écrit, mais la syllabe qui suit *n*, *r*, *l*, présente la forme qu'elle aurait si le *da drag* était écrit.

Y-a-t-il eu une époque où le *da drag* était toujours écrit ? B. Laufer ("Bird Divination among the Tibetans," *T'oung Pao*, xv, 1914, 1, p. 60) s'élève contre l'opinion qui fait du *da drag* un signe de graphie ancienne. Il cite comme exemple une inscription de A.D. 783 et un document du fonds Pelliot qui n'ont pas le *da drag*, et un manuscrit or et argent de l'*Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, datant du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, où il est fréquemment écrit. Pour B. Laufer, la présence du *da drag* n'est pas un signe d'ancienneté, ni son absence un fait récent.

D'après les anciens grammairiens tibétains, le *da drag* est une marque du passé. J. Bacot, qui rapporte cette opinion, fait observer à bon droit que ce signe se rencontre aussi dans des mots qui ne sont pas des verbes et où il ne peut indiquer un temps (*Les śloka grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa*, p. 24, n. 2).

Sarat Chandra Das, suivant une opinion déjà exprimée par Csoma de Körös et Foucaux, le considère comme une graphie surannée.

Les philologues européens ne sont pas d'accord sur l'origine du *da drag*. Rockhill incline à le considérer comme une graphie fautive et croit trouver des exemples où il aurait été introduit par euphonie.

D'après B. Laufer, c'était d'abord un élément de caractère grammatical, puis sa signification devint inconnue et il fut employé après *n*, *r*, *l*, pour des raisons uniquement euphoniques ; le degré de conservation de cet élément a varié selon les localités, les dialectes ; les formes *t-o*, *t-am*, *t-u*, encore usitées dans la graphie moderne, prouvent que le *da drag*, quoique non écrit, est encore articulé (B. Laufer, *ibid.*, p. 64).

Pour expliquer que le *da drag*, avant de devenir élément euphonique, ait eu une valeur grammaticale, B. Laufer invoque :—

(1) des cas où l'insertion d'un *d* indique un état, une condition :

*rga-ba* "être vieux" > *rgad-pa* "vieil homme"

*na-ba* "être malade" > *nad-pa* "maladie".

(2) des cas où l'insertion d'un *d* forme des verbes transitifs en partant d'une racine intransitive ou nominale :

*dma-ba* "bas, vil" > *smod-pa* "blâmer".

*bya-ba* "action" > *byed-pa* "faire".

Ces formations proviendraient, d'après Laufer, d'une contraction de la racine avec l'auxiliaire *yod* (ibid., p. 63).

P. Cordier explique que l'orthographe tibétaine ancienne admettait trois finales doubles *nd*, *rd*, *ld*, devenues aujourd'hui *n*, *r*, *l* respectivement, par chute de l'afixe dental sonore ; toutefois, la finale double a été conservée par certains mots dans des manuscrits provenant d'Asie Centrale (*Cours de Tibétain classique*, Hanoi, 1908, p. 7).

La liste de ces mots avait été dressée par L. D. Barnett, d'après un manuscrit du *Sālistambasūtra* découvert au Turkestan Chinois par Sir Aurel Stein ("Preliminary notice of Tibetan Manuscript in the Stein Collection," *JRAS.*, 1903, p. 110). Il ressort de ce travail que les mots terminés par *n*, *r*, *l*, peuvent être rangés en deux classes :—

(a) ceux qui n'ont jamais le *da drag*.

(b) ceux qui l'ont quelquefois.

Il est probable que dans l'usage ancien et correct les mots de la seconde classe avaient toujours le *da drag* et que, s'ils en sont parfois privés dans le manuscrit Stein, c'est parce que le *da drag* est en voie de disparition.

Quel son représentait exactement le faux *d* ?

On sait qu'après un *d* ordinaire, les mots commençant par *d*, *z*, *b* conservent l'initiale sonore et les particules commençant par *t* changent leur initiale en *d*. Le *da drag* exigeant à sa suite une sourde, un point peut être considéré comme acquis : le faux *d* agissait dans le *samdhi* tibétain autrement qu'un *d* ordinaire ; par conséquent il ne peut être considéré comme ayant la valeur de la dentale sonore.

D'autre part, le *da drag* ne saurait être considéré comme l'équivalent d'un *t*, car s'il avait cette valeur les Tibétains n'auraient pas manqué de le transcrire au moyen de la dentale sourde.<sup>1</sup> Ainsi le "faux *d*"

<sup>1</sup> On objectera peut-être que les Tibétains n'écrivent jamais *t* à la fin d'un mot ; mais la raison de cette abstention n'est guère douteuse. Puisque l'alphabet tibétain comporte un *t*, le fait que cette lettre n'est jamais écrite à la fin du mot prouve sans doute qu'un *t* final n'était jamais prononcé quand l'orthographe tibétaine a été fixée.

n'est ni un *d* ni un *t* bien qu'il ait des affinités avec une sourde comme l'indique le traitement de la consonne qui le suit. Force est donc d'admettre que le son noté par le *da drag* est intermédiaire entre *t* et *d*, c'est-à-dire qu'il est sans doute une consonne mi-sonore. De tels phonèmes existent encore dans les langues autoasiatiques et nous savons que les Tibétains ont vécu longtemps en contact avec des populations parlant des langues de cette famille.

L'hypothèse d'un phonème mi-sonore permet d'expliquer la production du *da drag* et l'irrégularité de son emploi. On peut concevoir qu'entre un mot terminé par *n*, *r*, *l* et un élément commençant par une sourde, il se soit développé, dans certains dialectes, un phonème intermédiaire entre *d* et *t*, c'est-à-dire une mi-sonore, qui facilitait la transition entre la sonante et la sourde. Ce phonème supplémentaire a pu, dans certains cas, être noté imparfaitement par un *d* et, dans d'autres cas, être négligé. D'où les irrégularités constatées dans la graphie.

En somme, le *da drag* ne peut guère être une sonore qui se serait maintenue ou développée devant une sourde. C'est plutôt, croyons-nous, une mi-sonore qui fait la liaison entre une sonante et une sourde. Si notre explication est exacte, la notation : sonante + *d* + *t* indique qu'entre la sonante et la sourde des vibrations glottales se font entendre. Il semble dans ces conditions que *d* + *t* représente un son complexe qui s'accompagne au début de vibrations glottales pour s'assourdir finalement. De même, les notations sonante + *d* + *p* et sonante + *d* + *ç* indiquent simplement qu'entre la sonante et la sourde des vibrations glottales se font entendre.

Les suggestions qui précèdent sont principalement destinées à provoquer des observations sur le terrain. A cet égard, nous croyons devoir appeler l'attention des chercheurs sur les points suivants :—

(1) Existe-t-il encore, sur tout ou partie du domaine tibéto-birman, des consonnes mi-sonores ? Ces phonèmes étant peu stables dans les langues austroasiatiques, il ne serait pas étonnant qu'au Tibet leur disparition fût imminente ou déjà accomplie.

(2) Peut-on constater aujourd'hui la présence d'un phonème adventice entre les sonantes *n*, *r*, *l* et les consonnes sourdes ?





## Japanese Names for the Four Cardinal Points

By S. YOSHITAKE

IN 1925 P. Pelliot drew a very interesting comparison between the Mongol and the Tungus names for the four cardinal points.<sup>1</sup> This comparison was followed by S. M. Shirokogoroff's detailed study of the Northern Tungus terms of orientation,<sup>2</sup> to which W. Kotwicz added a short note on the Mongol terms.<sup>3</sup> Later in 1928 the latter scholar touched on the same subject in his article entitled "Sur les modes d'orientation en Asie Centrale", in which the Turkish names for the four cardinal points are discussed.<sup>4</sup> These noteworthy studies show clearly how in the above-mentioned languages the four cardinal points are expressed by various words signifying "right" and "left" and "front" and "back", as well as "upward" and "downward".

The problem of orientation has also attracted the attention of the Japanese linguists, the majority of whom appear to believe that the Japanese word *higaši* "east" has been derived from *\*himukaši* "facing the sun", and that the term *niši* "west" denotes *iniši* "past". Adopting this interpretation S. Kanazawa suggests that the Japanese immigrated eastward, whilst the Koreans, in his opinion, migrated southward, because the Korean word *alp* means "front, south".<sup>5</sup> Further, he infers that the Okinawa people, too, must have immigrated southward, since the word *niši* is used to designate "north" in Luchuan.<sup>5</sup>

It seems highly gratifying to know that we can consider the two words *higaši* "east" and *niši* "west" as sufficient evidence for the supposed eastward migration of the Japanese, but it is very disappointing to find that the author does not appear to have tested the accuracy of his hypothesis by the names for the two remaining cardinal points, *minami* "south" and *kita* "north". When examined

<sup>1</sup> P. Pelliot, "Les mots à H initiale, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le mongol des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles," *JA.*, avril-juin, 1925, pp. 193-263; cf. pp. 230-4.

<sup>2</sup> S. M. Shirokogoroff, "Northern Tungus terms of orientation," *RO.*, tom IV (1926). Lwów, 1928, pp. 167-187.

<sup>3</sup> W. Kotwicz, "Mongol terms of orientation," *RO.*, tom IV (1926). Lwów, 1928, pp. 188-9.

<sup>4</sup> W. Kotwicz, "Sur les modes d'orientation en Asie Centrale," *RO.*, tom V. Lwów, 1928, pp. 68-91.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. F. Ifa, *Koryūkyū*, Tōkyō, 1922, pp. 59-62; M. Andō, *Kodai Kokugo no Kenkyū*, Tōkyō, 1924, pp. 128-9.

closely these words may be found to support Kanazawa's conviction, or they may equally send his argument to the ground. Our immediate inquiry therefore must be the fundamental meanings of these two terms.

# 1. *Minami* "South"

S. Matsuoka finds certain vestiges—without revealing what exactly they are—of the custom of connecting the direction with the sex in ancient Japan, and conjectures that the words *mina*-(*mi*) "south" and *kita* "north" may have been formed \**mi* "female" + \**ta* "direction" and \**ki* "male" + \**ta* "direction", on the ground that there are many instances in which the character 南 "south" is used to represent *mina*, and that *mina* and *mita* are interchangeable.<sup>1</sup> According to him \**mi* "female" is a variant of *me* "female", and is found in the form \**ami* (where \**a*- is treated as a prefix) in *kamuromi* "female deity" (Matsuoka's interpretation), and in the names of the mythological (or historical) figures *Izanami* and *Awanami*. He further identifies his \**ami* with the Korean *ami* used for calling one's mother, without telling us whether the \**a*- is a prefix in Korean also.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in Matsuoka's opinion, the *ki* in *kita* "north" is identical with *ko* "child" and is found in the form \**agi* (where \**a*- is treated as a prefix) in *sumeragi* "emperor", *kamurogi* "male deity" (Matsuoka's interpretation), and in the names *Izanagi* and *Awanagi*, the form \**agi* being compared by him with the Korean *aki* "child".<sup>3</sup> We are also told that \**ta* "direction" is found in *šita* "the lower part", where \**ši* denotes "below, down, lower" as in *šimo* "the lower part", *širi* "behind", *aši* "foot", *šidzu* "to hang down, drip", *šidzumu* "to sink", *šidzuka* "tranquillity", *šinu* "to die", *šibomu* "to fade, wither", *šinooru* "to wither, droop", etc.<sup>4</sup>

Another and more plausible explanation of the word *minami* "south" has been put forward by K. Shiratori, who derives it from *mi* "body" (or *me* "eye") + *na* (genitive particle) + *omo* "front, face"; this theory seems to be supported by I. Shimmura, one of the leading authorities on Japanese linguistics.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. Matsuoka, *Kogo Daijiten*, Tōkyō, 1930, pp. 501, 1064-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., pp. 9-10, 489.

<sup>4</sup> *Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., pp. 651-2; S. Matsuoka, *Nihon Gengogaku*, Tōkyō, 1928, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> I. Shimmura, *Tōa Gogenshi*, Tōkyō, 1930, p. 237.

To what extent the linguistic vivisection, so recklessly performed by these scholars, can be accepted as the only solution to the difficult problem of Japanese etymology is not merely a matter of opinion but demands serious investigation. If Matsuoka believes, as he apparently does, that Japanese was "implanted" by the speakers of the Altaic languages, it would be outrageous to attempt an analysis of the Japanese words without a reference to the similar words found in those languages, except, of course, in some limited cases and the later Chinese loan-words.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless it is true, as Matsuoka states, that to inquire into the prehistoric stage of the Japanese language would be to transgress the legitimate confines of Japanese linguistics.<sup>1</sup> This is equivalent to saying that to-day, after a long history of 1,000 years of Japanese linguistics, it is as yet premature to speak of the etymology. And as long as we follow suit of the earlier Japanese scholars, the key to the proper understanding of the language will not be found for another 1,000 years. If, on the other hand, we strive to approach the problem with what knowledge we possess of other languages, we may ultimately light upon some important clue to the right method of studying Japanese. In the circumstances, therefore, it would not be unprofitable to examine the Japanese names for the four cardinal points together with the corresponding terms in Turkish and Mongol.

For this purpose we cannot do better than avail ourselves of the results obtained by W. Kotwicz, who, after reviewing the modes of orientation in Central Asia from the standpoint of the burial rites, the structure of dwellings, and the names for the four cardinal points, summarizes as follows<sup>2</sup> :—

"Pendant une période de plusieurs siècles, avant et après le commencement de l'ère chrétienne, nous voyons que l'orientation méridionale semble l'emporter en Asie centrale ; les preuves à l'appui embrassent presque toute la Mongolie septentrionale jusqu'au lac Baïkal, ainsi que les pentes des T'ien-chan. C'était là probablement une conséquence de l'influence prépondérante de la Chine dans ces pays, au temps des Hân, comme le démontrent les recherches récentes. En revanche, sur les marches d'une part, orientales (le peuple des Wou-houan), et occidentales d'autre part (les tombeaux en Sibérie occidentale et chez les Ouriangkhaïs), apparaît l'orientation vers le soleil levant."

<sup>1</sup> *Nihon Gengoguka*, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Sur les modes d'orientation*, op. cit., pp. 84-5.

"La chute des Hiong-nou entraîne des bouleversements politiques et des déplacements ethniques considérables, ce qui fait que, dans le nouvel état de choses, où la suprématie revient aux Turcs et qui se montre généralement hostile aux Chinois, l'orientation vers l'est prend le dessus et se maintient assez longtemps, même après la chute des Turcs, chez les Ouïgours et les Khitaïs. De nouveaux courants d'idées, originaires de l'Iran, viennent compliquer la question, mais l'influence de la Chine se montre de nouveau la plus forte et l'orientation chinoise commence à l'emporter : les uns après les autres, Ouïgours, Kirghiz, Joutchens, Mongols enfin, à partir sans doute du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> s., se plient peu à peu à l'orientation vers le sud ; les Mongols, qui la reconnaissaient dès le début de leur domination, durent l'établir définitivement chez toutes les tribus nomades . . ."

The earliest period here indicated goes back to the time when the tribes who roamed the vast tract of northern Mongolia had no knowledge of writing, and hence the linguistic material supporting the argument is lacking.\* The Turkish mode of orientation to east is illustrated by Kotwicz by way of the Orkhon *il* "devant", *öŋ* "devant" and the Yakut *ilin* "avant", all used to designate "east".<sup>1</sup> Lastly the Mongol orientation to south is shown by the word *emüne* "south" which also means "front"<sup>2</sup> and occurs in all Mongol dialects: Kalmuk *ömönö* (written *ömönö*) "front, in front, south part, south", Khalkha *ömin*, *ömönö* "id.", Buryat *imünä* "south", etc. According to G. J. Ramstedt the word is found in the Tungus dialects with the meaning "one": Manchu *emun*, *emu*, Goldi, Olcha *omu*, *ömu*, Oroche *omo*, etc., all going back to \**emün*, which, he thinks, had an ordinal sense "the one, the one in front, the first".<sup>2</sup> He further compares the Mongol *emüne* "front, south" with *ebür* "breast, bosom, the space between the breast and the garment", and *ebütše* "to unite", and traces the stems of these words to \**emi*- and \**ebü*-.<sup>2</sup> However, as B. Y. Vladimirtsov pointed out, the dialectal *ö*-, *ü*-, corresponding to the Classical *e*-, cannot be explained as a result of retrogressive assimilation, since there are instances in which the Classical *e*- (Kalmuk-written *ö*-, dialectal *ö*-, *ü*-) corresponds not only to the Pre-classical-written *ö*- but to the Turkish and Tungus

<sup>1</sup> *Sur les modes d'orientation*, op. cit., pp. 85-8.

<sup>2</sup> G. J. Ramstedt, "Über die Zahlwörter der altaischen Sprachen," *JStFou.*, xiv, 1, Helsingfors, 1907, p. 5; cf. also W. Kotwicz, "Contributions aux études altaïques," *RO.*, tom VII (1929-30). Lwów, 1931, pp. 159-160, 216-17.

ð.<sup>1</sup> The probability is therefore that *emüne* "front, south" goes back not to \**emü* but to \**ömü*.

It is quite likely that the Korean word *alp* (> *ap*) "front, south" is of the same origin as the Orkhon *il* "in front of, east", Yakut *ilin* "front, east", and a number of other words. Would it then be possible for us to connect the Mongol *emüne* "front, south" with the Japanese *minami* "south"? To this question another Japanese word *mune* (< *muna*-) "breast, bosom" seems to offer an affirmative answer, if we are to take into consideration the Mongol *ebür* cited above. If these two Japanese words go back to the same origin as the Mongol *emüne*, they must have lost their initial vowel, leaving \**mi* (< \**Vmi*) and \**mu* (< \**Vmu*) as their stems. The falling off of the unstressed initial vowels is not unknown to Japanese. To quote a few examples of the disappearance of the initial vowels before *m*: *mada* < *imada* "still, yet", *-mari* "over (used in enumeration)" < *amari* "excess", *mote* < *omote* "face", *mago* < *umago* > *mumago* "grandchild", *mugasi* < *umugasi* > *omogasi* "joy, happiness, etc.," etc. As instances of the occasional alternation *i* ~ *u* in the stem may be cited: *imo* ~ *umo* "potato", *inu* ~ *unu* "dog", *idaku* ~ *udaku* (> *daku*) ~ *mudaku* "to embrace", *itukusi* ~ *utukusi* "lovely", *iku* ~ *yuku* "to go", etc. The *-na* in *minami* "south" and *mune* (< *muna*-) "breast, bosom"<sup>2</sup> may be compared with the *-ne* in Mongol *emüne* "front, south", which according to Kotwicz is a variant of *-na* used in the formation of adverbs of place.<sup>3</sup> The final *-mi* in the former word would then be a Japanese *directivus* suffix like *-bi*, *-be*, and *-he* (< *-ve*). The initial vowel that has been lost from the two words under consideration cannot be restored at present.

It may be added that in a document preserved in the Shōzōin and believed to date from the Tempyō era (A.D. 729-748) the word *minami* "south" is written 美奈美,<sup>4</sup> which appears to be the earliest documentary record of this word transcribed in the Man-yō-gana. The transcription, however, does not offer us any further information

<sup>1</sup> B. Y. Vladimirtsov, *Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхаского наречия. Введение и фонетика*. Ленинград, 1929, pp. 151-7.

<sup>2</sup> Matsuoka derives this word from *mu*- "body" + \**na* (suffix), stating that the earlier meaning of the word is "body" (*Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., p. 1236).

<sup>3</sup> *Sur les modes d'orientation*, op. cit., p. 87, n. 68; also *Contributions aux études altaïques*, op. cit., p. 161, n. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Y. Yoshizawa, *Kokugoshiki Gaisetsu*, Tōkyō, 1931, p. 18.

than that, whatever the derivation, the word was pronounced already in the eighth century in much the same way as at present.

There is one more point to be noted. As quoted above, Kotwicz thinks that the Mongols adopted the orientation to south at some time not long before the ninth century. This implies that the word *emine*, which must have come to acquire the signification "south" at about the same period, may once have been used as the designation of the east.<sup>1</sup> What then is the history of the Japanese word *minami* "south"? The skeletons discovered in the neolithic kitchen-middens in Japan have usually, but not always, been found with the head pointing east.<sup>2</sup> If this posture hints at the possibility that the Ainu-like inhabitants of ancient Japan orientated to the east, there is nothing to show that the word *minami* was ever used in the sense of "east". Moreover, the antiquity of this word is suggested by the loss of the initial vowel and the presence of the Japanese suffix *-mi*, which must have been added after the function of the *locativus* suffix *-na* had been forgotten.

## 2. *Kita* "North"

If the word *minami* "south" has really been derived from the same root as *mune* "breast, bosom" and the basic meaning of these two words be "front", we are tempted to seek the idea "back" in the word *kita* "north". We may then connect it with Orkh. *kisrā* "after", Alt. *kīn* "the hind-part, afterwards", Kir. *keyin* "behind, after, afterwards", Koib. *kezin* "the hind-part, behind, after, afterwards", Chag. *käyin* "back, after", Uig. *küdin* "back, after, later"; Yak. *kātāx* "nape"; Mong. *gede* "nape, the back of the head", etc. It is difficult to decide whether the *-ta* in the Japanese word is a suffix or part of the stem, but we may assume the root of *kita* "north" to be *\*kiδ*, since all the Turkish words cited above appear to go back to *\*kād* (Mong. *\*ged*).<sup>3</sup> This assumption seems to be supported by the words *kinovu* (伎能布) "yesterday" and *kiso* (伎曾), *kizo* (伎賊) "bygone", which may also have been derived from *\*kiδ*. If so, *kinovu* would go back to *\*kina* or *\*kiyina*, followed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sur les modes d'orientation*, op. cit., pp. 88-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. Kiyono, "Minzokuron," *Kōkagaku Kōza*, vol. x, Tōkyō, 1929, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> As an example of Turk. *-ā* ~ Jap. *-a*, *-i* may be cited *hiru* (stem *hi* < *\*kiyi*) "to put on, wear"; Turk. *\*kād* > Orkh., Uig. *kād*. "to put on, wear", Koib. *kes* "id.," Osm. *giy*. "id.," Yak. *kāt*. "id.," etc. The words *kata* "shoulder" and *kadzuku* (stem *\*kad-uk*) "to put on one's head" seem also to have come from the Turkish *\*kād*.

by -*vu* "day". Similarly, *kiso* and *kizo* may be traced back to *\*kiso* and *\*kiza*, and *kita* "north" to *\*kita*.

There is, however, one problem to be solved. Are we to consider the word *kozo* (許序) "last year" to be related to *kiso* and *kizo*? Although Matsuoka thinks that the *ki-* in *kinovu* and *kiso* (*kizo*) is identical with the preterite "auxiliary verb" *ki*, of which the *ko-* in *kozo* is treated as a variant, and that the *-so* and *-zo* in these words mean "time, interval",<sup>1</sup> the question here asked is not so easy to answer. This is because there are at least five more sets of words with allied meanings in Turkish and Mongol: (1) *\*qoδ* (or *\*qo*) > Orkh. *qoδ-* "to leave behind", Uig. *qoδ-* "to put, lay down, leave behind", Kkir. *qoi-* "id.," Osm. *qo-* "id.," Chuv. *χvr-* "to put, lay down"; Mong. *qodži-* "to delay", *qoyina* "behind, after, later", etc.; (2) *\*kōt* > Kir. *kōt*, Koib. *kōdān*, Alt. *kōdōn*, Kaz. *kūt*; Chuv. *kut* "posteriors"; (3) *\*kōtš* > Kkir. *kōtš-* "to nomadize, migrate", Kaz. *kūtš-* "id.," Chuv. *krš-* "to migrate, travel"; Yak. *kōs-* "to change one's habitation", etc.; (4) *\*kātš* > Uig. *ketš-* "to pass by, cross over", Osm. *getš-* "id.," Kaz. *kītš-* "id.," Chuv. *kaš-* "id.," Yak. *kās-* "to wade", etc.; (5) *\*kāt* > Tar. *kāt-*, Kir. *ket-*, Osm. *gil-* "to go (away), walk", etc.

There can be no doubt that the Japanese words *koyu*, *koyaru*, *koyasu* (< *\*koy*) "to lie down, throw oneself down"<sup>2</sup> have been derived from *\*qoδ*, and it is possible that the words *katsu* (stem *\*kat*) "to win, get over"<sup>3</sup> and *kosu* (stem *\*kos*), *koyu* (stem *\*koyi* > *koye*) "to cross over" come from *\*kōtš* or *\*kātš*. We may likewise trace the word *katši* "walk" back to *\*kāt*. But it is quite uncertain which of the roots here conjectured has given rise to *kozo* "last year". We must therefore reserve the etymology of this last word as open to

<sup>1</sup> *Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., p. 501. Matsuoka does not explain the function of the *-no-* in *kinovu*. For the preterite suffix *-ki* see my article entitled "An Analytical Study of the Conjugations of Japanese Verbs and Adjectives", *BSOS.*, vol. vi, part 3, 1931, pp. 657-8.

<sup>2</sup> Matsuoka connects these words with *koyu* "to cross over" (*Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., pp. 570, 596).

<sup>3</sup> According to Matsuoka the *ka-* of this word is of the same origin as the Chinese *tsia* (< *ka*, 加 "to add to, join", 嘉 "good, admirable", 佳 "good, beautiful"), whilst *-tsu* is a suffix (*Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., p. 424). Thus he identifies this word with *katsu* "to add to" (pp. 432-3). However, the word *katsu* (stem *kate*) "to add to", together with *kalu* "side", *katsu* "in addition", etc., seems to be related to Osm. etc. *gat* "side, layer, fold", *gat-* "to add, join, mix"; Chuv. *χvt* "side, layer, a time", *χvūtš-* "to be mixed"; Yak. *kātar-* "to unite, join", etc., all derived from *\*gat*.

further study, until we have acquired better knowledge of the vowel-changes in Japanese.

### 3. *Higaši* "East"

Our derivation of the word *minami* "south" is not reconcilable with the usual explanation of the word *higaši* "east", as meaning *himukaši* "facing the sun", which interpretation has led Kanazawa to advance his theory of the eastward migration of the Japanese as stated above. As Matsuoka pointed out, the current etymology has a double fault: (1) the function of the final *-ši* is unexplainable by the Japanese language alone, and (2) *hi-muka* "facing the sun" would be more suitable for the designation of the west than of the east. On these grounds Matsuoka refuses the usual derivation, and suggests that, although the place-name 東生 (in the province of Settsu) is transcribed *himngasi-nari* (比牟我志奈里) in the *Wamyōshō*, the older form of the word meaning "east" is *\*fikaši*, because the word in question is, in his opinion, derived from *\*f* and *\*ka*, both meaning "dry", and *\*-ši* "wind", as contrasted with *nīši* "west", which he believes to signify "a damp wind". Thus he argues that the eastern wind in Japan is usually dry, and hence the word meaning "a dry wind" came to signify "east".<sup>1</sup> A very original and extremely ingenious explanation, if only we could accept *\*ka* and *\*ni* as the stems of *karu* "to get dry" and *nuru* "to get wet" respectively. Although these two verbs follow the Shimo-nidan conjugation, we must assume that they both belonged once to the Yodan conjugation on the strength of the existence of their transitive forms *kara-su* "to dry" and *nura-su* "to wet". The important distinction between these two conjugations is that the stem of the Yodan verbs regularly ends in a consonant, whereas that of the Shimo-nidan verbs ends in a vowel.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the older stems of the words *karu* "to get dry" and *nuru* "to get wet" would be *\*kar* and *\*nur* respectively. The stem *\*kar* may go back to the same root as *Osm. quru* "dry", *quru-* "to get dry", etc., and the stem *\*nur* may be traced back to the same origin as Chuv. *nūri* "damp, moist", *nūrel-* "to get damp", *nūret-* "to moisten", or Mong. *noru-* "to get damp, get wet". Thus, if the word *higaši* "east" really meant "a dry wind", it ought to be *\*hiši* (< *\*fisi*) or *\*hikaraši* (< *fikarasi*) like

<sup>1</sup> *Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., pp. 1048, 961.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article, op. cit., pp. 642, 646.



*oroši* "a wind blowing down a hill" which seems to have come from \**or*.

Finding ourselves unable to accept either explanation of the word *higaši* "east" we are compelled to seek some other solution. For this the Luchuan language offers a useful suggestion. In the dialect spoken in Okinawa the east is called *agari*, *agai* (lit. "going up") and the west *iri* (lit. "entering"), undoubtedly named thus in association with the rising and setting of the sun. The same linguistic phenomenon is found in other languages of the world; for example, in a Kalmuk dialect *naran yarxu* (lit. "the sun goes out") and *naran uruxu* (lit. "the sun rises") designate the east, and *naran singekii* (lit. "the sun dives") means "the west".<sup>1</sup> Compare also Chuv. *χivel-tvχizī* (or *χivel-tvχis*) "sunrise, east", Kir. *kīn tšiyis* "sunrise, east", where both *χivel* and *kīn* denote "the sun", while *tvχizī* (or *tvχis*) and *tšiyis* are substantives derived respectively from *tvχ-* "to go out, come out, rise (of the sun)" and *tšiq-* "id."

It would therefore be not entirely unreasonable to suppose that the Japanese word *higaši* "east" has been evolved from something like \**piyāši* with the signification "rising". The stem \**piyā*, from which the substantive \**piyāši* is here assumed to have been derived, may be compared with Turkish *min*, *mīn*- "to rise", Orkh., Osm. *bin*- "to mount (a horse)", Yak. *mīn*- "to sit up, rise, ride", the forms in *m*- going back to \**b*-. The Turkish and Mongol *b*- and *m*- usually correspond to the Japanese *m*-, but there seem also some instances of the *b*- and *m*- in the former languages corresponding to the Japanese \**p*-(> *f*-> *h*-). For example: *futo* "great, thick, fat"; Osm. *büyük* "great, weighty, etc.", Kaz. *bıyık* "high", Alt. *pözüük* "high"; Ur. *pädrik* "high, great"; Mong. *büdügün* "great, large, thick", etc.; *homu* (< *fomu*) "to praise", *hogu* (< *fogu*) "to celebrate", *hafuri* (< *favuri*) "a Shintō priest"<sup>2</sup>; Uig. *maq* "praise", *maqıl*- "to praise"; Ur. *paq* "praise", *paqta*- "to praise"; Mong. *mayta*- "to praise", etc. We have also assumed in the present comparison that the Turkish *-n* corresponds to the Japanese *-η*-. The *-n* does not seem always to go back to \**-n* in Turkish, since it is identical

<sup>1</sup> Kotwicz, *Mongol terms of orientation*, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Although Andō believes (*Kodai Kokugo*, op. cit., pp. 202-4) that *homu* and *hogu* have been derived from *ho* (< \**fo*) by the addition of the "formative suffixes" \**mu* and \**gu*, they, together with *hafuri*, may provide an example of the alternation \**fom* ~ \**fog* ~ \**far* as here conjectured. M. Ueda quotes two current explanations of the word *hafuri*: (1) *hafuru* "to exorcize (evils)", (2) *hafuri* (~ *haberi*) "to attend on (gods)" (*Dainihon Kokugo Jiten*, vol. iv, Tōkyō, 1929, p. 334).

with *-n* or *-m* in Chuvash for some unknown reasons. We may therefore suppose this strange Turkish *-n* to correspond sometimes to *-n* and sometimes to *-ŋ* in Japanese until some contradictory evidence is forthcoming.

Thus, if our hypothesis be accepted, the earliest form of the word *higaši* "east" would be *\*piŋaši* which in the tenth century came to be pronounced *fiŋaši* and was transcribed 比牟我志, where the character 牟 represented *ŋ*, but not *m*.<sup>1</sup> Compare *minami* > *minnami* "south". It may then be asked: How were the place-names (in Kyūshū), now known as Hyūga, pronounced when they came to be written 日向 in the eighth century? Our knowledge of the pronunciation of one of these two place-names only extends to the tenth century, when it was called *fiuka* (比宇加). There is no evidence that it was ever pronounced *\*fimuka*, whilst the old pronunciation of the other place-name, which is also written 日向, seems entirely unknown. If these two place-names were once pronounced *\*fimuka*, as the characters suggest, and if the word *higaši* "east" has really come from an earlier *\*fimukasi* ("facing the sun"), why in the one case did *\*fimuka* become *fiuka* and in the other *\*fiŋga*, both in the tenth century? Until a reasonable answer to this question is forthcoming, we must assume that at least one of these two place-names has nothing to do with the word *higaši* "east". Further, it may be argued that if the Japanese *higaši* is related to the Turkish words *min-*, *min-* "to rise", etc., it may be that its earlier form was *\*fimugasi*, *\*fi* meaning "the sun" and *\*-mugasi* going back to the same origin as the Turkish. Or it may also be suggested that the word *higaši* is composed of *hi* (< *fi*) "the sun" and the *directivus* suffix *\*-gasi* which is found both in Mongol and Tungus. These suppositions, however, are alike improbable in the light of our derivation of the word *niši* "west" as explained below.

#### 4. *Niši* "West"

This word, transcribed 爾之 in the Man-yō-shū, is generally believed to have been derived from the verb *inu* "to go away", while, as already stated, Matsuoka thinks it to mean "a damp wind". However, if the word *higaši* "east" is a product of the concept of

<sup>1</sup> Yoshizawa thinks (*Kokugoshi*, op. cit., p. 55) that the character 牟 came to represent *m* towards the end of the Nara period and denies the existence of the syllabic *ŋ* in the Japanese language. Cf., however, Andō, *Kodai Kokugo*, op. cit., pp. 146-162; Matsuoka, *Nihon Gengogaku*, op. cit., p. 289.

the rising of the sun as we have here assumed, it would be natural to find the idea of the setting of the sun in the word *nishi* "west", as in the case of the Luchuan names for these two cardinal points. Now, in the Chuvash language *an-* means "to go down" and forms the compound *χivel-anışi* (or *χivel-anış*) "west", where *χivel* signifies "the sun" and *anışi* (or *anış*) is a substantive derived from *an-* "to go down". This verb occurs in all Turkish dialects: Shor., Leb., Kom., etc. *an-*, Sag., Koib., etc. *en-*, Kaz., Osm., etc. *in-* "to go down". The Mongol *una-* "to fall, tumble down, etc." is also used to indicate the setting of the sun as in *naran* ("the sun") *unaqui* ("fall") *tšay* ("time") *kürtele* ("till arrives") "until the sunset".

It would then be not unjustifiable to connect all these verbs with the Japanese words *nishi* "west" and *anashi* (*anase*, *anadži*) "a north-westerly wind". If this etymology be acceptable, these Japanese words would seem to have been derived from *\*ŷnV*, the initial vowel having been lost in the word *nishi* "west" as in the case of *minami* "south". If so, we must consider that the final *-ši* in *nishi* "west" and *anashi* "a north-westerly wind", like that in *higaši* "east", is a substantival suffix pure and simple, corresponding to the Chuvash *-ži*, *-š* and the Turkish *-tši*. It would be rash to interpret it to mean "a wind" in conjunction with the *-ši*, *-ži*, and *-tši* found in (*yuma-*) *oroši* "a wind blowing down a hill", *tsumuži* "a whirlwind", *kołši* "an easterly wind", *hayatši* "a gale",<sup>1</sup> until at least these words have been studied more thoroughly. The principal objection to this current interpretation is that these hypothetical words *\*ši*, *\*ži*, and *\*tši* occur neither separately nor at the beginning of a compound word, except perhaps in *tšigi* "a cross beam set up on the roof (of a Shintō shrine)", which has a parallel form *higi* and whose etymology is uncertain. The *\*ši* in *šinato-no-kaze* "a gentle breeze", and in the names of the mythological figures *Šinatsuhiko* "the god of wind" and *Šinatobe* (alleged to have been born of the morning mist) would probably mean "a wind" or "breath". But it is not *\*ši*, as Matsuoka would have us believe, but *\*šina-* that signifies "a wind"; otherwise the presence of the *-na-* in these Japanese words is unaccountable. The word *\*šina-* (< *\*šina-*) may be compared with Kaz., Alt., etc. *tšin* "breath, life, soul, spirit", Yak. *tšin* "breath, soul", Chuv. *tšim* "breath, life", Mong. *tšinar* (< *\*tinar*) "essence, nature, etc.," or with Osm., etc. *yäl* "a wind", Bar. *yil* "id."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matsuoka, *Kogo Duigiden*, op. cit., pp. 652, 833.

There yet remains to be explained the vocalic difference in *niši* “west” and *anaši* “a north-westerly wind”. In the Turkish and Mongol words meaning “to go down” quoted above there appear five different initial vowels: Turk. *än-*, *en-*, *in-*, Chuv. *an-*, Mong. *una-*. The Chuvash *a-* usually corresponds to the stressed *ä-* or *i-* in Turkish, but only the latter can be compared with the Mong. *u-*, since the Turkish *ä-* generally appears as *e-* in Mongol. But all the Turkish forms here considered are front vocalic words. In the circumstances we must provisionally trace them back to two different sources at least, the Turkish and the Chuvash forms to *\*anə-* and the Mongol to *\*une-*. It is probably from the former there came into existence in Japanese the word *\*anəsi* “the direction of the setting of the sun”, which, first through a stress-shift from the first syllable to the second, then through the loss of the initial vowel, became *\*anəsi* > *\*ənəsi* > *\*nəsi* > *nəsi* > *niši* “west”, whilst the earlier form has been handed down as *anaši* (< *\*anəsi* < *\*anəsi*) with the meaning “a north-westerly wind”. On the other hand, the word *niši* has come to signify “north” in Luchuan.

It is quite possible that the words *ana* “a hollow” and *anadzuru*, *anadoru* “to slight” go back to the same *\*anə*, but whether the word *unaši* (字 奈 之) “nape” is a substantive derived from *\*une* with the signification “sinking” or it is related to *yugamu*, *igamu* “to crook, distort, bend” cannot be decided at present.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The hypothesis put forward above may be summarized as follows:—

(1) *Minami* “south” has been derived from *\*Vmi* with the locative suffix *\*-na*, thus *\*Vmina* “front”. This word lost its initial vowel, probably due to a stress-shift, and became *\*mina*. Later, when the original function of the suffix *\*-na* had been forgotten, the Japanese directive suffix *-mi* was added, thus *minami* “south”.

(2) *Kita* “north” goes back to the stem *\*kita* “back”, hence *kita* “north”.

(3) *Higaši* “east” has come from *\*piŋəsi* “rising”, which consists of the stem *\*piŋə* and the substantival suffix *\*-ši*. This word does not include the signification of the sun.

(4) *Niši* “west” can be traced back to *\*anəsi* “falling”, which is formed of the stem *\*anə* and the substantival suffix *\*-ši*. Due to a

stress-shift from the first syllable to the second, the initial vowel was dropped and the -a- became accented, thus giving rise to *nishi* "west".

A similar comparison may yet be made of the Japanese with the Austronesian and the Finno-Ugrian words, when more convincing results may be obtained. What is important, however, is to realize that the etymological explanations derived exclusively from the Japanese sources are 50 per cent doubtful, and it is the duty of the student of Japanese linguistics to point out all misleading elements to future lexicographers.





## Kono Tabi: A little-known Japanese Religion

By ARTHUR WALEY

IN 1802 Kino, a middle-aged Japanese peasant woman in a remote country place, declared that God, having many times tried unsuccessfully to manifest himself in saints and prophets, had "this time" (*kono tabi*) managed at last to find in her a vehicle for the delivery of his full and final message. From 1802 till 1826 (the year of her death) God, through his intermediary Kompira,<sup>1</sup> who plays the part that the archangel Gabriel plays in the Koran), inspired this illiterate peasant with a continuous flow of communications, which from 1811 onwards were taken down in writing and are preserved in some 300 rolls. On the strength of this revelation she founded a sect that despite prosecution in the nineteenth century to-day numbers about 40,000 followers, and which, though its ways of life owe something to Buddhist monasticism, can only be described as a separate religion.

Kino was born in Hataya-machi, Atsuta, province of Owari, in 1756, the third of three daughters. Left an orphan at the age of eight, she was looked after by an uncle till 1768, when at the age of twelve she went into domestic service. In 1778 she married an agricultural labourer in a neighbouring village. He treated her badly, and before long she returned to domestic service. In 1795 she went back to her native village and lived alone, on the produce of her cottage garden. Seven years later, in the summer of 1802, she felt an inspiration descend upon her, and began to preach daily. Her audience at first no doubt consisted chiefly of people of her own class. But before long it included persons of education and refinement, among them some of the provincial Governor's retinue.

The manner in which her utterances were taken down is of some interest. Four "recorders" wrote down what she said, while a fifth listened and memorized. The four versions were then compared and a fair copy made, which was checked by the listener. Another copy was then made, embodying his corrections, and read out to Kino. Finally her corrections were made in a third copy. Of the enormous body of literature thus scrupulously edited the greater part has never been seen except by members of the sect. The only extracts that have been

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit, Kumbhira. A minor Indian deity, incorporated in the Buddhist pantheon.

printed are those contained in Dr. Ishibashi Tomonobu's pamphlet *Nyorai-kyō no oshie*.<sup>1</sup>

Kino died on the second day of the fifth month, 1826, at the age of seventy. She was then living in a hut at Shinkawa, which is still preserved and venerated by the sect; as is also the cottage in which she was born, at Hataya-machi, which has become the headquarters of "Kono Tabi".

In the organization of the sect there is no hierarchy of ranks and grades such as exists in Buddhism and other religions. To manage its affairs two elders are chosen by lot each year, and most of the sixty-two branch-settlements (distributed over all parts of Japan) have a head, chosen in the same manner. These posts can be filled by men or women. All members of the sect, of whatever sex or status, wear a black cotton garment, of the dressing-gown type. At the beginning of the cold season all members of the sect (in practice, several thousands) collect at the headquarters in Hataya-machi, and exchange their summer dress for a slightly thicker winter one, the discarded dresses being washed, mended, and put by at Hataya-machi till they are needed again. The beginning of summer sees a second gathering, at which the light garments are distributed. At meals the men sit on one side of a long mat, the women on the other. Buddhism, of course, has never allowed monks and nuns to eat together. The services are held at 3 a.m. in summer and 3.30 in winter. There is no image or altar, but only a panel inscribed with Kino's "name in religion", Ryūzen, before which the worshippers prostrate themselves. Then follows a reading from *O-kyō-sama*, the cursive text of the foundress's utterances, the only book of devotion that the sect employs.

The deity of Kino's system is called Nyorai, a term borrowed from Buddhism; but since he is omnipotent, omniscient, made the Universe and stands in the relation of a father to mankind, I think one is justified in using the term God. The existence of the Buddhas and Shintō (native Japanese) gods is not denied, but they are represented as being completely subject to Nyorai. God created the first man, causing him to spring out suddenly from the face of a rock, at the sight of which the Shintō *kami* (deities), God's subjects, burst into laughter. The man

<sup>1</sup> I owe all my knowledge of the subject to Professor Anesaki, who sent me this pamphlet and put me into communication with the authorities of the sect. A very short summary of Dr. Ishibashi's work was printed in German in the *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy*, Tokyo, 1928.



complained after a time that he had nothing to eat. "Lick my skin," said God. "Is it good to lick?" said man, and licked it with his tongue. "Is it sweet?" asked God. "Sweet!" exclaimed man. "I only wish I had known about it from the start." "No wonder you find it good," said God, "it is nectar (*kanro*), the sweetest of all things." "What a pity I did not know before," the man said again. Then God ordered the man to clap his hands three times. Whereupon a small man hopped out of the first man's mouth. The process was repeated till there were seventy-five men. At this point all the deities (including God?) said: "That's all right now," and went up to Heaven. As the seventy-five men had eaten nothing, but only licked God's flesh, they, too, were pure enough to ascend to Heaven, and the earth was left unpopulated save for a *kami* whom the great god of the Ise Shrine left behind as temple-keeper. This *kami*, presumably wishing also to be free to escape to Heaven, took upon himself to create five new men, from whom mankind is descended.

But elsewhere Kino varies the myth, saying that after the deities had retired to Heaven, the Devil (*Ma-dō* "Demon-path") visited the earth and created a woman to be his wife. It is from their offspring that the human race is descended. According to another version the Devil, seeing that the god of Ise and his temple-guardian were going off to Heaven, leaving the five newly created men behind, asked if he might take charge of them. The evils of the world result from the fact that it was thus handed over to the Devil. God labours to mitigate these ills. Why he permitted the situation to arise we are not told, and the problem is hardly one that we should expect Kino to tackle.

Man is thus in a state of original sin, though he is not himself aware of it. He believes himself indeed to be clean of heart and fair of form.

But God is able to see the horns that man has inherited from the Devil, his forefather. The sight fills God's eyes with tears, and he labours to abolish man's spiritual and bodily disfigurements. The task is one which he alone can accomplish. Good works, on man's part, are utterly insufficient. "You believe and constantly assert that those who do good go to the Good Place. But they do not go to the Good Place. On the contrary, they go to a very Bad Place. How often I hear you speak of your ancestors as being in a lovely place! 'How glad we are that our ancestors are in a good place!' Why you should be confident of this I do not know. It breaks God's heart to hear men talk so, and fills him daily with the deepest pity."

God is deeply wounded by the refusal of mankind to let him help them out of their predicament. "You smite my head. 'God, you fool,' you say, 'we don't want any of your interference.' But gently, poor fellows. I am glad that you should smite my head. Beat me, bang me, twist me, spit upon me, so long as you do not shun me I rejoice no less than if you did good to me. So long as your thoughts hang upon me, I do not care whether you chop me in pieces. Indeed, I should count it a blessing that you should chop me in pieces, and not as an affliction."

The words are nominally those of God, as reported by Kompira. Several passages, however, show that Kino regarded herself not merely as a prophetess, but as a transformation (*kawari-mi*) of God, and the sufferings here described may be considered hers no less than God's. Like the Buddhist saint Vimalakirti and like Christ himself Kino vicariously suffered all the woes of mankind.

"I cannot bear it. Put me out of my pain. Will not one of you do as I bid, and put me out of my pain? All the miseries of mankind are being laid on me alone. It is so, it is so. Were I not suffering in place of all mankind, why should a single person suffer such pain as this? It is so. I have many daughters, and endure the punishment of their many sins. Come, God, come and do away with their sins. Do away with them."

Such were Kino's last words, spoken on the second day of the fifth month, 1826. Needless to say, the daughters of whom she speaks were not her daughters in the flesh.

Most of the other published extracts deal with God's love and pity. They do little but transfer the characteristics of Kwannon, in Japan (at any rate, in popular religion) a maternal deity, to Nyorai, who figures as a universal father. In tone they approach very closely not merely to Buddhist but also to Christian conceptions, the resemblance to the latter being enhanced by the fact that, as in Christianity, God figures as a father.

Professor Anesaki, in his *History of Japanese Religion*, has suggested that Kino may have been indirectly influenced by Christianity, though the Christian missions had, of course, been suppressed centuries before her time. As one proof of this he instances the name Ryūzen by which Kino is known to her followers. This he compares with names of the type "Lucena" and the like which occur on the graves of Japanese converted to Christianity by the Spanish and Portuguese missions. The subject is one upon which Professor Anesaki is

a great authority; but until a definite Christian influence on Kino's doctrines can be proved, the origin of this name must remain an open question.<sup>1</sup> Her debt to Buddhism, born as she was in a Buddhist country, cannot fail to be large. As regards certain exterior aspects of Kono Tabi, there has been a quite recent borrowing from Buddhism. In 1884, in consequence of the law which sought to put an end to the fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism, Kino's followers, in order to avoid the suspicion that their faith was an amalgam of this kind, enrolled themselves nominally as members of Zen Buddhist temples. This obliged them to adopt the tonsure and other outward features of Buddhist monasticism. Moreover, one of the most influential elders of the sect, Daisetsu, who died in 1912, had been a Zen monk before he became converted to Kino's doctrines, and brought with him many Buddhist habits and ideas.

Nevertheless, the chief interest of Kono Tabi lies in the fact that Kino was, in a small way, a religious founder like Buddha or Muhammad and not a reformer, like Nāgārjuna or St. Benedict. A hundred years after her death the miniature Church that she established still continues to flourish, and though a faith confined to the country of its origin and claiming a relatively small number of adherents has not, for the student of comparative religion, the same importance as the religions that have spread over half the world, the fact that we can trace the whole history of Kono Tabi and its scriptures from the beginning gives it a peculiar interest. Linguistically, too, Kino's utterances, so laboriously transcribed, form an important document for the study of Owari dialect in the eighteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1858 the sect was suspected of being connected with Christianity and was temporarily suppressed. But this happened at a time of anti-European panic, and the fact that the sect was not recognizably either Buddhist or Shintō was enough at such a moment to bring it under suspicion.



## Early Hindi and Urdu Poets: No. V

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

THE CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF PRAYER

By SHĀH MALIK, 1666

INDIA Office Catalogue of Hindustānī MSS., No. 3, *Shar'iat Nāma*, a Dakhnī poem by Shāh Malik: written on 48 small folios and containing 516 lines. We may describe it as a compendium of Muslim doctrines.

The catalogue, which prints twelve lines of the poem (four taken from the beginning and eight from the end), calls the author Shāh Mulk, but it seems certain that his name was Shāh Malik. This is a natural name, whereas the other is abnormal. One might have hoped to find the name in some line which by its metre would decide the question. It does occur, but unfortunately it is merely spelt out, and the spelling is the same for both forms.

*so yū shīn alif he o mīm lām kāf*  
*faraz kū so Dakhnī mē bolgā hai šāf*  
*sun i yak hazār hor sattar pau sāt*  
*kiyā hū isī sāl mē yū hikāt*

“So this Shāh Malik (*shīn alif he* and *mīm lām kāf*) has plainly uttered the religious duties in Dakhnī; the year seven over one thousand and seventy, he has finished in this year this story.” (A.H. 1077 = A.D. 1666.)

On the outside of the MS. is written *risāla dar fiqh dar zabān i Hindī i Dakkhan; taṣnīf i Shāh Malik tamām*; “a tractate on theology in the Hindī language of the Deccan; the work of Shāh Malik complete.” On the next leaf are the same words except that *Dakhnī* is substituted for *Dakkhan*. These words on the outer leaves were no doubt written by some owner of the MS. After most of the lines of the poem are explanatory notes in Dakhnī prose, written in red ink by a later hand, probably seventy years later.

I have chosen these lines for translation partly because they are in themselves interesting, and partly because they are printed in *Urdū Shahpāre* (Haidarabād, 1929), pp. 245-6. For those who may be studying them as printed in that volume, it may not be out of place to point out a number of misprints there,

p. 245, l. 8	from foot :	us javāb should be	us kā javāb
4	„ „	paregā	„ „ paregā
4	„ „	phire	„ „ pare
1	„ „	mane	„ „ mene
p. 246, l. 3	„ top	ridā	„ „ adā
5	„ „	kā	„ „ koi
5	„ „	hoe	„ „ na hoe
7	„ „	muqtadā	„ „ muqtadī

*Namāz tuṭne kā beān*

From Shāh Malik's *Sharī'at Nāma*, 1666

1. *Namāz ke tuṭne ke haī bīst o panj*  
*Namāzī ne karnā hai yū yād ganj.*
2. *Namāz mē kare bāt yā khāe tū*  
*Phirāve jo qible te sinā o mī ;*
3. *Bhī karnā salām yā tū us kā javāb*  
*Die tau bī tuṭtā hai sun ai Shihāb.*
4. *Namāz mē pukāre o yā āh kahe*  
*Tuṭegā agar oh hor vāh kae.*
5. *Bhī tuṭtā darad ke rone mane*  
*Karegā 'amal yak kasīrā jīne.*
6. *Khankāre agar be 'uzar koī yār*  
*To jāyegā namāz is te sun ai hushyār.*
7. *Paregā galat koī Qur'ān kī*  
*Bhī tuṭtā pare dek Furgān lū.*
8. *Ṭalab bhī kare yū Khudā te jīne*  
*Jo karte ṭalab jū kī ādmīyā mane.*
9. *Bhī denā javāb chāh kā dar namāz*  
*Hāsegā jo qahqih sēte bā āvāz.*
10. *Tuṭegā faraz tark karne mene*  
*Najis par bī sijda karegā jīne.*
11. *Imām muqtadī gair bhī leve bol*  
*Tuṭegā bī us te katā hū so khol.*
12. *Bhī bole khatā apnī gair az imām*  
*Namāz hoe fāsīd bī us kā tamām.*
13. *Bhī achnā barābar marād zan agar*  
*Muāfiq adā tahrīma yak digar.*
14. *Zamān te ucāve tū sijda mane*  
*Bhī tuṭtā agar har do pāvā kane.*

15. *Bhī sāhib ī tartīb achegā jo koī*  
*Vagat bī namāz kā use tang na hoē.*
16. *Tutegā namāz is te sun nek rāē,*  
*Namāz mē qazā gar use yād āē.*
17. *Imām te angē muqtadī hoē kharā*  
*Tutegā so jāno nhanā tā barā.*
18. *Khabar nek bad yā 'ajāib jo koī*  
*Agarci baqur'ān ḥadīṣ sete hoē.*
19. *Namāz mē jo is kā deve jāb agar*  
*To jāygā namāz is te sun kām dhar.*

1. There are twenty-five causes for prayer's failing,  
the praying man must make them his memory treasure.
2. During prayer, if thou (i) speak or (ii) eat  
or (iii) turn away from the Qibla thy breast and face
3. And (iv) say Salām, or if thou (v) answer to it (someone's  
salām),  
so also prayer fails; hear O Shihāb (meteor).
4. In prayer if thou (vi) callest out, or (vii) sayest Ah,  
it will fail or if thou sayest Oh and Vāh.
5. It also fails (viii) in crying through pain,  
or (ix) if anyone does with one (hand) many things;
6. Or (x) if any friend clears his throat without reason,  
then through that the prayer will go, listen wise one.
7. If any one (xi) shall recite wrongly the Qur'an;  
it fails too if (xii) he recite looking at the book,
8. Or if any one (xiii) ask thus of God  
as people ask among men.
9. Also (xiv) give an answer to a sneeze during prayer,  
or (xv) if one laugh with a guffaw aloud.
10. It fails if one omits a *farz* (xvi)  
or makes a prostration on anything unclean (xvii).
11. If the Leader and his follower shall say anything wrong (xviii),  
It will fail for this, I tell you openly.
12. If anyone tells his fault to other than the Leader, (xix)  
his whole prayer also is unlawful.
13. Also if a man and a woman are on a level (xx)  
at the opening Takbīr close to one another;
14. Or from the ground if one lift during a prostration  
Both feet, it fails also (xxi);

15. Or if there is a master of arrangement and the time also for prayer is not short,
16. The prayer shall fail, listen O man of good advice, if in prayer he remembers that (a previous prayer) has been omitted (xxii).
17. Before the Leader if the follower shall stand (xxiii), it shall fail, know this both small and great ;
18. Good news (xxiv) or bad (xxv) or strange, if any one hears, even though from the Qur'an or Tradition the answer be,
19. If he give the answer to it, then the prayer shall fail for that, listen with attention.

The second part of l. 5 is obscure. The accompanying Dakhnī commentary says "doing three things with one hand, or one thing with two hands".

l. 7: Recite the Qur'an wrongly. Comm. "if in reciting the Qur'an, i.e. the Al-hamd or the sūra, he makes such a mistake as changes the meaning".

l. 8: Comm. "asking as from men, O God give me a horse or a wife, or earthly things of this kind; if he asks for heavenly things the prayer does not fail".

l. 9: Comm. "if someone sneezes and says Praise be to God, and the person praying says The mercy of God, the prayer is spoilt".

l. 10: Anything unclean, i.e. unclean cloth or place.

l. 11: Comm. "if the leader forgets something, and an outsider says it, and the leader repeats it after him, the prayer is not valid". The line may mean "if anyone other than the leader or his follower says anything".

l. 12: *tahrīma* or *takbīr i tahrīma*, the opening *takbīr* after which all worldly actions are unlawful (*ḥarām*).

l. 15: *ṣāhib i tartīb*; master of arrangement, perhaps the man who sees that the lines of worshippers are even, or the leader.

The meaning is that if during a prayer a man remembers that he omitted his prayers at the previous time of prayer, he must first say those prayers, unless there is actually no time to do so.

ll. 18, 19: If anyone while praying hears good or bad news, and makes a response, even if he takes the words from the Qur'an or from the *ḥadīṣ*, his prayer does not count.

In the MS. *kāf* is always used for both *kāf* and *gāf*; *gāf* does not occur. *ḥ* has four dots over it, *ḍ* and *ṛ* have four dots under them. In



the poem we find *paregā* and *pare* for *paṛhegā*, *paṛhe*, but *khaṛā* and *baṛā* are written with *ṛ*. In the commentary *ṛ* is written in *aṛ* hesitate, *ghoṛā* horse, *choṛnā* leave; *ṛ* in *kapre* cloth, *pareā* read, *kharā* and *kharī* standing.

Special Dakhnī words: *tuṭnā* for *tūṭnā* break (in title, etc.), two cerebrals not being allowed in one word; *achnā* for *honā* be (13, 15); *kānā* for *kahnā* say (4, 11); the agent *jine* who, for ordinary nominative (5, 8, 10); *kū* for *ko* to, etc. (7, etc.); *bhī* also, at the beginning of a clause (3, 5, 14, 15); *admyā* for *ādmiyō* men (8), and many more.

Shāh Malik's use of the word "Dakhnī" to describe his dialect of Urdu should be noted. It would be interesting to know who was the first to employ the word in this sense. It was quite common among his older contemporaries. The earliest I know of was Gavvāṣī, c. 1616.





## Western Influence on the Poetry of Madhusūdan Datta

By JAYANTA KUMAR DASGUPTA

THE influence of Western literature is evident in all Madhusūdan's work, but particularly in the *Meghanāda Badha Kāvya* (1861)—an epoch-making poem, upon which his fame as a poet mainly rests. For the subject-matter of this poem he went to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Why was this? Was it in imitation of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, or was it his love of Kṛittibāsa that led him to the *Rāmāyaṇa*? Perhaps it was none of these, but his reading of Homer and other poets of Europe which led him to choose a story from the classics of his own country. In a letter to Rājñārāyaṇ Basu, he wrote, "As for me, I never read any poetry except that of Vālmīki, Homer, Vyāsa, Virgil, Kālidāsa, Dante (in translation), Tasso (do.), and Milton." Though the theme was Indian, his models evidently were the epics of Europe—the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer, the *Æneid* of Virgil, Dante's *Comedia*, the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso, and the *Paradise Lost* of Milton. To Rājñārāyaṇ Basu he wrote while engaged in composing this work, "In the present poem, I mean to give free scope to my inventing Powers (such as they are) and to borrow as little as I can from Vālmīki . . . I shall not borrow Greek stories, but write, rather try to write, as a Greek would have done." To the same friend he confided, "By the bye, if the father of our Poetry had given Ram human companions, I could have made a regular *Iliad* of the death of Meghnad."<sup>1</sup> The very epic form was a thoroughly new introduction in Bengali. This was the first original epic poem. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in Bengali were mere translations.

While the Indian poets generally begin their works from the beginning of things, Madhusūdan follows the Western practice of suddenly plunging into the action of the poem. The first canto opens with the death of Vīrabāhu, one of the sons of Rāvana, the Rākṣasa king of Laṅkā. The *Iliad* opens with an account of the pestilence in the Grecian camps and the wrath of Achilles over the ownership of a captive-girl. The *Odyssey* begins with the descent of Athene in Ithaca after Odysseus had been enthralled for seven years in the island

<sup>1</sup> Letter dated 14th July, 1860.

of Circe. The *Æneid* opens with the storm raised by Æolus which overtook the Trojans flying from the wreck of Troy under Æneas and sailing for Italy. The first canto of Tasso's epic dealing with the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre finds God sending the angel Gabriel to Godfrey and ordering him to assemble the chiefs of the Crusaders and march to Jerusalem, although six years had passed since the Christians had landed in the Holy Land. The first book of *Paradise Lost* opens with the hosts of Satan fallen in Hell as a punishment for their rebellion against God.

While the general practice in Sanskrit and the older vernacular literatures of India is to begin a poem with a prayer to some god like Brahmā, Viṣṇu, or Śiva, Madhusūdan after the model of Western poets begins with a hymn to Sarasvatī, the Hindu goddess of learning. The Western practice is to offer invocations to the Muses. Of course, this custom of worshipping one's favourite god or goddess was a conventional device with Indian poets and was known as the "Iṣṭa Upāsana Niyama" (cf. Kālidāsa invoking Pārvatī and Parameśvara in the *Raghu Vamśa*). But Madhusūdan was no believer in the generally accepted mythology of the Hindus. So he started off with an invocation to Sarasvatī as the least offensive to his own tastes and beliefs. These lines rendered into English prose are :—

"When the great hero, Virabāhu fell in open warfare and went to the abode of Yama untimely, tell me, O goddess, whose words are like nectar, whom did the Rākṣasa king, enemy of Rāghava, install as the commander of his army and send to the battle? How was the fear of Indra set at rest by the lover of Ūrmilā, who killed Indrajit, Meghnād the unconquerable? Saluting your lotus feet, humble as I am I again call upon you, having white arms," etc.

These lines can be fittingly compared with the opening of other famous epics of the world, and one is struck immediately with the remarkable similarity. Thus begins Homer :—

"Of Peleus' son, Achilles, sing O Muse."<sup>1</sup>

In the same strain Homer begins his *Odyssey* :—

"The man for wisdom's various arts renown'd  
Long exercised in woes, O Muse resound."<sup>2</sup>

Milton begins his *Paradise Lost* in the following way :—

"Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit  
Of that forbidden tree . . .  
Sing, Heavenly Muse."

<sup>1</sup> *The Iliad*, tr. by the Earl of Derby.

<sup>2</sup> *The Odyssey*, tr. by Alexander Pope.

Virgil and Tasso also invoke the Muse in the beginning of the *Æneid* and *Jerusalem Delivered* respectively. Camoens begins the *Lusiad* with an invocation to the Muses of the Tagus. Following closely upon foreign models the Bengali poet begins his narrative when a great deal of action had already taken place.

The uproar is so great and tumultuous in the sea-girt kingdom that even the denizens of the sea are disturbed and the consort of the sea-god Varuṇa asks her maid-of-honour if any storm is imminent due to the anger of her husband. In Indian mythology there is no Vāruṇī.<sup>1</sup> She is obviously Thetis of the *Iliad* and there is even in her a touch of Milton's Sabrina, the nymph in *Comus*. The sea-god himself is drawn after Nereus of the Greek pantheon. The god of the winds reminds one of Æolus in Virgil, who "from his imperial throne, with power imperial, curbs the struggling winds and sounding tempests in dark prison binds". The imagery in Madhusūdan's poem is similar to the idea in Virgil when Vāruṇī says: "Fie on the god of winds. How has he forgotten his promise so soon, dear friend? At the court of the king of the gods the other day, I requested him to chain the winds, to imprison all."

The pleasure-garden of Indrajit seems to have been suggested to the poet by Armida's Paradise in *Jerusalem Delivered*,<sup>2</sup> where the deserter-knight Rinaldo is held in bondage by the enchantress Armida. Here Indrajit moves in a brilliant circle of beautiful women amidst luxurious surroundings, oblivious of the great fight that is going on, and the guardian-goddess of the kingdom in the guise of his nurse has to remind him of his duty. In Tasso's work, Charles and Abaldo go in search of Rinaldo.<sup>3</sup> Indrajit tears off his garland in rage and prepares himself to avenge the death of his brother. Rinaldo tore "the rich embroidered ornaments he wore".<sup>4</sup>

The farewell of Indrajit and his wife Pramilā recalls Armida's mock sorrow and pretended grief for Rinaldo.<sup>5</sup> But while in the Bengali poem the feelings are genuine, the enchantress in the Italian

<sup>1</sup> Madhusūdan wrote to Rājñārāyaṇ: "The name is Varunani, but I have turned out one syllable. To my ears this word is not so musical as Varuni, and I don't know why I should bother myself about Sanskrit rules." (Letter dated 3rd August, 1860.) Chitrāṅgadā is a new conception. She is barely mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa.

<sup>2</sup> *Jerusalem Delivered*, canto xvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, canto xv.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, canto xv, stanzas 34, 35.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, canto xvi, stanza 40.

poem is sorry simply because her conquest is undone. A better comparison would be the grief of Andromache at the departure of Hector before his fight with Achilles.

The second canto opens with a description of evening: "The fragrant winds blew in all directions, asking each other in a whisper, 'what riches have you gained by kissing which flowers?'" This description has a peculiar interest of its own. The author wrote to Rājānāraṇ Basu, "These lines will no doubt recall to your mind the lines

'And whisper whence they stole  
These balmy spoils,'

of Milton and the lines

'. . . Like the sweet south  
That breathes upon a bank of violets,  
Stealing and giving odour,'

of Shakespeare." And the poet added, "Is not kissing a more romantic way of getting the thing than stealing?" A more appropriate comparison would be the description of evening in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost* and the lines, "When Zephyr upon Flora breathes," etc., in *L'Allegro*.

Madhusūdan obviously was referring to this part of the poem when he wrote to the same friend: "As a reader of the Homeric *Epos*, you will, no doubt, be reminded of the Fourteenth Iliad, and I am not ashamed to say that I have intentionally imitated it—Juno's visit to Jupiter on Mount Ida. I only hope I have given the Episode as thorough a Hindu air as possible." Durgā's visit to Śiva while he is in meditation has a parallel in Juno going to Jupiter on Mount Ida. Śiva says to Pārvatī that nobody, be he mortal or god, can evade destiny. This "Prākṛtan" or fate is the same as "the voice of destiny" in Homer. This might have been due to the common origin of the myths of the ancient races which must not be confused with literature. This is a classic belief, and the reason may be the similarity of early beliefs. At the bidding of Indra, his charioteer goes to Laṅkā with the weapon with which Lakṣmaṇa will kill Indrajit. Lest seeing him in his kingdom, Rāvana should pick a quarrel with him, Indra commands Prabhānjanā, the Indian god of winds, to raise a storm, and this description is a direct imitation of Virgil.<sup>1</sup> In the *Lusiad*, Neptune orders Æolus to let loose the winds on the Portuguese fleet.

<sup>1</sup> *Æneid*, Bk. i, ll. 122, ff. "The raising winds rush through," etc.

The Indian goddess of love more resembles Aphrodite of the Greeks than the Ratidevī of Sanskrit poets. Madhusūdan seems to have imitated Aphrodite and Somnus in delineating Rati and Kāmadeva. They find no place in the original *Rāmāyaṇa*. Kālidāsa in *Kumāra Sambhava* (third canto) takes the help of the god of love and his wife to disturb Śiva's meditation, but Madhusūdan's sympathies were different from Kālidāsa's.

The third canto of the poem describes the feelings of Indrajit's wife Pramīlā, who arranges to meet her husband in the garb of a warrior. She is just like one of the Amazons in classical Western poetry. But it is more probable that Homer's Athene and Panthesilea, Virgil's Camilla, and Tasso's Erminia were in the mind of the poet in the presentation of this heroic maiden. Older Bengali poetry does not contain many examples of heroic women, so he surely did not go there for a model. Raṅgalāl Banerjee's heroic women may possibly have had some influence in the conception of Pramīlā.

The beginning of the fourth canto is an invocation to Vālmiki, the prince of Indian poets. Dante in the *Divine Comedy* invokes the spirit of Virgil ("Hell", canto ii). In the third book of the *Lusiad*, Camoens invokes the aid of Calliope—the Muse of epic poetry and mother of Orpheus. Madhu's line, "In a dense forest the unkind tigress rears you, villain," addressed to Lakṣmaṇa by Sītā is reminiscent of the story of Romulus and Remus who were suckled by she-wolves on wild mountains. These words bear further resemblance to stanzas in Virgil and Tasso.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the description of Rāvaṇa's fight with the bird-king Jaṭāyu, Sītā says that she had a vision regarding her future, which has been obviously suggested by Virgil's picture of the future of the Roman race unfolded to Æneas by his father in Hell (*Æneid*, Bk. vi).

The fifth canto is a prelude to the central idea of the poem. The goddess Māyā sends Dream in the guise of Lakṣmaṇa's mother Sumitrā to tell him to worship the goddess Chāṇḍī but forbids him to be

<sup>1</sup> "And wild wolves that rave  
On the chill crag of some rude Appenine  
Gave his youth suck."

*Jerusalem Delivered.*

"Not sprung from noble blood nor goddess born  
But hewn from hardened entrails of a rock  
And rough Hyrcanian tigers gave thee suck."

*Æneid.*

accompanied by any other person. These lines are reminiscent of Homer's :—

“ Alone the Ilian ramparts let him leave ”

and—

“ Alone, no Trojan with him, must he go.”<sup>1</sup>—

the command of Jove conveyed by Iris to Priam to seek the body of Hector.

This conception of Māyā is somewhat akin to Homer's description of Iris and to the dream of Agamemnon in the second book of the *Iliad* in which the deluding Vision stands near the Greek king in the guise of Nestor. The various obstructions and temptations that Lakṣmaṇa encounters on his way to the temple of Chāṇḍī are counterparts of the obstacles placed in the way of the two knights in *Jerusalem Delivered* who went in search of Rinaldo. The roaring lion, the beautiful damsels bathing and throwing baits to Lakṣmaṇa are exactly of the same nature.<sup>2</sup> A similar picture is found in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* when Sir Guyon breaks up pitilessly the Bower of Bliss.<sup>3</sup> The passages are wonderfully alike. The beautiful and nude women, their occupations and tempting words have been vividly reproduced in this poem. By the time that Lakṣmaṇa had finished his worship at the shrine of the goddess it was nearly dawn and Indrajit was trying to arouse his sleeping wife with words that are similar to those addressed by Adam to Eve in *Paradise Lost* (Bk. v). The last words in Madhusūdan, “ My eternal delight,” are exactly in the spirit of Milton's “ My ever new delight ”.

Indrajit's mother is reluctant to let him fight. He replies, “ What will my eternal grandfather, the king of the Dānavas, say when he hears of this ? . . . the world will laugh.” Hector replies to his wife in the same strain :—

“ . . . But I should blush  
To face the men and long-rob'd dames of Troy  
If, like a coward, I could shun the fight.”

(Book vi.)

In the sixth canto, Lakṣmaṇa and Bibhiṣaṇa enter the chamber of sacrifice where Indrajit is worshipping. They go unseen, guarded by Māyā. In the *Iliad*, Priam goes to the Greek camp attended by Hermes and unseen to other eyes (Bk. xxiv, “ Great Priam entered,

<sup>1</sup> *The Iliad*, Bk. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Canto xv, stanzas 50, 58 ; canto xviii. Also *Lusiad*, Bk. ix, “ Island of Love.”

<sup>3</sup> Bk. ii, canto xii.



unperceived of all"). Bibhiṣaṇa's dream of his future kingship and the words, "O! You future king of the Rākṣasas" may well be compared with the words of the witches in *Macbeth* (act i, scene iii). Indrajit sees his uncle standing near the door with a huge lance like a comet. In the second book of the *Paradise Lost* there is a similar idea regarding the belief about comets.<sup>1</sup> While Rāma is hesitating to send his brother to kill Indrajit, Sarasvatī speaks from the skies and asks him not to disbelieve in the divine ordinance. It is more suggestive of Athene speaking to Odysseus whenever he is in some difficulty.

The omen of the snake and the peacock which Rāma sees is suggestive of Hera's omen in the *Iliad* (Bk. xii), and that of the hawk and the dove in the *Odyssey* (Bk. xv). The Indian mind, like that of the Greeks in ancient times, was susceptible to beliefs of this kind and prone to read some meaning into every sign and symbol. Bibhiṣaṇa and Lakṣmaṇa are hidden in a mist like Æneas conveyed by Venus in a cloud to Carthage (Bk. i). In the *Odyssey*, Pallas Athene surrounds Odysseus with a mist to enable him to enter invisible the palace of king Alcinous (Bk. vii). Again, in the *Iliad*, Paris is "from the field conveyed wrapt in a misty cloud" (Bk. iii). Māyā appears before Kamalā, the guardian-goddess of Lankā, in the form of a Rākṣasa wife, like Athene descending in Ithaca in the shape of Mentès, king of the Taphians, to confer with Telemachus (Bk. i, *Odyssey*) or Venus meeting Æneas as a huntress.

Lakṣmaṇa's attempt to strike his unarmed adversary is a gross breach of the Hindu laws of warfare. For this, even liberal critics have found fault with him.<sup>2</sup> It might have been that Madhusūdan's Western predilections were responsible for this weakening of the valiant character of Lakṣmaṇa, and orthodox critics were naturally hurt because in the original *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki he fights with an armed enemy. Then why was it that the poet went against a long-cherished tradition and made Lakṣmaṇa violate the laws of Hindu warfare? The only reason that can be assigned for this is that Madhusūdan had a fondness for things Western, a necessary corollary of his Western ideas. He could not let slip this opportunity of deviating from the older ideals of his race. He was a social rebel and had sympathy for those who seemed to correspond to his own

<sup>1</sup> "And from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war."

<sup>2</sup> Ramagati Nyayaratna, *A Discourse on Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 262

ideas. The Rākṣasas were not necessarily non-Aryans. There were two sects among them—Yajñapanthī and Yajñaparipanthī. Rāvaṇa was a Hindu of the Śaiva school. The poet's own sympathies were with the Rākṣasas. "I hate Rāma and his rabble, the idea of Rāvaṇa elevates and kindles my imagination," he wrote to Rājānaraṇ Basu. In his love for Rāvaṇa he might have been influenced by Milton, who had a keen sympathy for Satan. Both make other characters the central figure of their poems, but in their works those of whom the readers think as villains loom large. In his over-zealous sympathy for the Rākṣasas, Madhusūdan was a little uncharitable to Lakṣmaṇa and he failed to do full justice to his character. But we cannot blame him very much if we take into consideration his contempt for things which the orthodox section of his countrymen revered. Madhusūdan might have had in his mind Shakespeare's Achilles, in *Troilus and Cressida*, striking the unarmed Hector, though in Homer the hero is armed with his "trenchant sword" but spearless (*Iliad*, Bk. xxii). Unarmed and unprotected, Indrajit hurls everything before him at his adversary, but all is ineffective through the wiles of Māyā. The simile of the mother brushing off the mosquitoes from the slumbering infant has been borrowed from Homer where Athene turned aside the arrow aimed at Menelaus by Pandarus (Bk. iv, *Iliad*). Hector and Indrajit are alike in cursing and scorning their enemies.

In the seventh canto the fatal news of his son's death is communicated to Rāvaṇa by Śiva's attendant in the form of a Rākṣasa messenger. In a similar manner Iris conveys Zeus's message to Priam. The gods arrayed on the side of Rāma are not far different from the gods descending to fight with Zeus's permission in Homer (*Iliad*, Bk. xx). They are divinities with human emotions and human sensibilities. But Madhusūdan has here followed Vālmiki in whose works gods and demi-gods guard Lakṣmaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa falls struck down by the grief-smitten Rāvaṇa but his corpse is preserved at the intercession of Pārvatī. In the *Iliad*, the body of Hector is ransomed by Priam under Zeus's command conveyed to Achilles by his mother Thetis (Bk. xxiv). In all these details Madhusūdan seems to have closely followed his Western models with striking success.

Nearly the whole of the eighth canto is based upon the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* and at certain places there are influences of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. It is remarked by Bhola Nath Chunder, a contemporary of the poet: "Modhu has kept all the great epic authors of Europe in his view and has very successfully imitated Dante and

Milton in his description of the infernal regions. Ugolino gnawing the scalp of his enemy; the Stygian Council at Pandemonium, Sin in her formidable shape, Death wielding a dreadful dart; Night and Chaos holding eternal anarchy, have all been closely imitated. Orpheus and Ulysses revert to the mind as Rāma, accompanied by Māyā-Devī, visits our poet's Inferno." Madhusūdan himself wrote to Rājñārayan, "Mr. Ram is to be conducted through Hell to his father, Daśaratha, like another Æneas."

Although the description of Hell is part of the stock-in-trade of the Hindu Purāṇas, Madhusūdan's conception of that awful region is westernized. It is doubtful if he went to any of the Purāṇas for his ideas. On the contrary there is every likelihood that his imagination was kindled by what he read in the European classics in which he felt more at ease than in the tales of Hindu mythology. Homer took Odysseus to the regions of the Shades, Virgil descended with Æneas into the underworld, Dante's journeyings through Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise astounded the Middle Ages, Milton hurled Satan into the bottomless pit, "a dungeon horrible, on all sides round as one great furnace flamed," which he called Hell—the Infernal world.

Following in the footsteps of these great poets of Europe in whose works he was well read, Madhusūdan takes Rāma to his father then enjoying eternal rest in the Indian Paradise. Mainly it is the Virgilian description of the abode of the Dead, with sidelights from Dante and others. In Virgil, the Sibyl guides Æneas, in Madhusūdan, Māyā accompanies Rāma. The entrance to Hell in both Virgil and Madhusūdan is a cave. Again and again Virgil's lines recur to the reader as he proceeds with this part of *Meghanāda Badha Kāvya*. Among the many passages which seem echoes of Virgil there is one—

"The greatest of Rāghavas proceeded, as through the dark wood the traveller goes when at night the rays of the moon enter the forest and smile. Māyā Devī walked ahead in silence,"

which seems partly a copy from Virgil.<sup>1</sup>

Daśaratha tells Rāma how Lakṣmaṇa can be brought back to

<sup>1</sup> "Obscure they went through dreary shades that led  
Along the waste dominions of the dead.  
Thus wander travellers in woods by night,  
By the moon's doubtful and malignant light,  
When Jove in dusky cloud involves the skies,  
And the faint crescent shoots by fits before their eyes."

life as Æneas is told by his father how he should conduct himself in the future and about the future of his family. In his description of the gates of Hell, Datta has directly imitated Dante's lines :—

"Through me you pass into the city of woe,  
Through me you pass into eternal pain,"  
"Hell," iii, tr. Cary.

words which are written in blazing letters on the iron gates of Hell.<sup>1</sup> Again, there is an echo of Dante in Madhusūdan's "Enter this land renouncing all desires", while Dante says, "All hope abandon, ye who enter here!" The conversation between "the surly boatman" in Virgil and the Sibyl and that between Māyā and the gatekeeper of Yama's realms are nearly in the same strain. The boatman is appeased with the "golden rod" brought as a present for Proserpine, the gatekeeper with Śiva's trident. For the "un navigable lake" (Avernus) full of "steaming sulphur" in Virgil, Madhusūdan has the "great lake Raurab full of fire". The description of the various diseases in Hell finds a good parallel in Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Bk. xi, "The Lazar House," ll. 480-9). Dante has similar passages in cantos xxix and xxx of "Hell", where he speaks of divers diseases and plagues.

The idea of a ferocious bird tearing the entrails of the sinner was probably suggested by the following lines of Virgil :—

"A ravenous vulture in his opened side,  
Her crooked beak and cruel talons tried;  
Still for the growing liver digged his breast."

In Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* the suffering Titan is hanging on a mount in the Caucasus while he is taunted, mocked, and reviled by hideous Furies, but in Greek mythology a vulture rips the heart of Prometheus. Madhusūdan was evidently acquainted with these stories.

The advent of Rāma in that sphere of dismal darkness, horrible stench, a place without fresh air, without flowers and trees, is welcomed by the spirits in the same way as the "gladsome ghosts in circling troops attend" Æneas and "with unwearied eyes beheld their friend" and "delight to hover near" him. Some of Rāma's Rākṣasa enemies avoid meeting him just as the Argive chiefs and Agamemnon's train fly from Æneas's "well-known face with wonted fear", and the shade of Ajax "disdains to stay, in silence turns and sullen stalks away" (*Odyssey*, Bk. xi).

<sup>1</sup> "Through this path the sinner passes to the land of sorrow and to everlasting pain," Madhusūdan.

The idea of women tortured by a woman attendant in Hell seems to have been borrowed from Virgil's "Queen of Furies", who snatches from the mouths of the Thessalian chiefs the genial feasts, and has a snake hissing from her locks.<sup>1</sup> Similar descriptions are found in the works of the Greek dramatists. Orestes flying from the Furies is a well-known instance. Rāma meets heroes, mighty warriors, renowned princes, whose names were once famous, now reduced to mere shades. But he misses a few whose funeral rites have not been performed yet. His guide says, "Husband of the princes of Videha, there is no entrance to this city without funeral rites." In Virgil there is a similar idea :—

"Nor dares his transport vessel cross the waves,  
With such whose bones are not composed in graves."

In Dante's "Limbo" (canto iv of "Hell") the souls of those persons whose funeral rites have not been performed wander aimlessly.

Jaṭāyu leads Rāma to his father's abode. The sacred poet "divine" Musæus shows Æneas "the shining fields" where the happy souls reside. In Kāśīrāmdās's *Mahābhārata* the dwelling-place of pious men in the land of the dead is known as the "Sanjīvan-purī". Kavikāṅkaṇa's *Chandī* also refers to the same. Though the name occurs in Madhusūdan, he made changes and alterations in its description. Æneas's father lives in a flowery vale, Daśaratha worships Dharmarāja at the base of a banyan tree, and the first words they utter when they meet their sons are full of feelings of the same kind. Anchises exclaims with open arms and falling tears :—

" 'Welcome,' (he said), 'the Gods' undoubted race  
O long expected, to my dear embrace  
Once more it is given me to behold your face.' "

Daśaratha addresses Rāma with terms of welcome and endearment. Rāma tries to touch his father's feet but feels that his attempts are in vain. Both Æneas and Odysseus had experiences of the same kind.<sup>2</sup> Anticlea tells her son that she is an airy creature and Daśaratha says that he is a mere phantom.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Her snakelocks hiss", Virgil; "And hissing snakes for ornamental hair," Tasso; "In her locks a deadly snake hissing," Madhusūdan.

<sup>2</sup> "Thrice around his neck his arms he threw;  
And thrice the fitting shadow slipped away,  
Like winds, or empty dreams that fly the day."

*Æneid.*

"Thrice in my arms I strove her shade to bind,  
Thrice through my arms she slipped like empty wind,  
Or dreams the vain illusions of the mind."

*Odyssey.*

We now come to the concluding part of the great epic. Following Homer, Madhusūdan makes Rāvaṇa pray for an interim of seven days for performing the funeral rites of his son. Priam wanted a truce for eleven days. Rāvaṇa orders the messenger to convey the message thus :—

“ Tell the hero the king of the Rākṣasas, Rāvaṇa begs this of you—  
‘ Stay in this land with your army giving up enmity. The king desires to perform duly the funeral rites of his son.’ ”

Rāma replies,

“ I shall not take up arms for seven days.”

In Homer, Achilles says,

“ So shall it be, old Priam ; I engage  
To stay the battle for the time required.”

*Iliad*, Bk. xxiv.

The lament of Sītā, “ My friend, wherever I go, I put out the light of happiness,” is very similar to Helen’s lamentations in Homer.

The funeral ceremony is partly borrowed from Homer. Those who would object to any inference of foreign influence in these descriptions would naturally argue that it is due to mere parallelism in myths—Eastern and Western, and hence, the coincidence is accidental: there is certainly a vast difference between a close parallel and an accidental coincidence. One is tempted to conclude that the Homeric influence worked more strongly upon Madhusūdan’s mind than the similarity of myths. The Rākṣasa mourners return to Lankā in the same manner as the Trojans turned back to Priam’s palace after Hector’s funeral ceremonies.

These comparative studies would be sufficient in themselves to prove how much indebted Madhusūdan was to the poets of Europe. In him we find the classic dignity of Homer, the magnificence of the similes of Virgil, the grand stateliness of Dantesque imageries and the epic serenity of Milton. It has been well observed by one of the best commentators on this poem : “ *Meghanāda Badha* is the most final and best illustration of the union of the East and the West, which was the main aim of Madhusūdan’s literary efforts. Its main ideas are from *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki and Kṛttibāsa ; the incidents have been arranged after the *Iliad* of Homer ; the language breathes of the stately and grand verse of Milton ; its ‘ alaṅkāra ’ beauties are after the Sanskrit poems. It abounds in places with echoes of Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Kṛttibāsa on the one hand and on the

other of Homer, Virgil, Dante, Tasso, Shakespeare, and Milton."<sup>1</sup> Had the poet written verses all through his life in English, he would have been one of those writers that men talk of occasionally and at rare intervals as things of curiosity and objects of academic interest. Few would have cared to read him seriously. It was an auspicious day for Bengali literature when Madhusūdan wrote this poem and added to Bengali poetry a dignity and grandeur, a sonorousness and imaginative height, a boldness of conception, unknown and undreamt of before, and it is certain that he has not been eclipsed so far in his particular sphere and no greater specimen of heroic poetry has as yet been written in Bengali. This was possible only because of the fact that Madhusūdan had as his models the vast storehouse of Western epic poetry. Himself an original poet of high order and a genius endowed with rare scholarship and ability, the foreign influence on his mind acted well.

*Hector Badha Kāvya*, a poem on the death of Hector, was dedicated to his friend Bhudeb Mukerjee, the eminent educationist and man of letters. The subject-matter was taken from Homer and the language is also Homeric. Hitherto, Bengali poets had composed soft and sweet lyrics or devotional songs. The grand heroic poetry was unknown to them. In the preface to this poem he expressed his profound admiration for Western epics and specially the works of Homer. He intended to write one more poem on the epic-model. This was to deal with the conquest of Ceylon. Madhusūdan made a synopsis of the preliminaries of this work and these are based mostly on the first book of the *Aeneid*, though the plot planned by him differs in details from Virgil. To Rājñārayan Basu he wrote in 1861: "I like a subject with oceanic and mountain scenery, with sea voyages, battles, and love-adventures. It gives a fellow's invention such a wide scope." Murajā, Pavana, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, and Yakṣa were to be modelled after Juno, Æolus, Venus, Jupiter, and Mercury. "It is my ambition to engraft the exquisite grace of the Greek mythology on our own," he wrote to the same friend. Had he been able to fulfil his plans there would have been another opportunity of making a study of Western influence on his poetry.

Western influence is seen in another poem. *Tilottamā Sambhava Kāvya* (1860) is romantic poetry in Bengali after the model of

<sup>1</sup> Rai Bahadur Dinanath Sanyal, Introduction to *Meghanada-Badha Kāvya* (translated from the original Bengali).

Keats in *Hyperion*. It is an eulogy of beauty which was the ideal of Keats. The beginning is as stately as *Hyperion* and it is likely that Milton exercised some influence on it.<sup>1</sup> Tilottamā looking at her own beauty is like Eve in *Paradise Lost*. But the poem lacks the human interest of Milton. The characters do not seem to be persons of flesh and blood. In Milton, Hell is the lowest region of the world. In this poem, the home of Viśvakarmā which is situated in the northernmost end of the world is the lowest region. Viśvakarmā creating Tilottamā, and Vulcan making the armour of Achilles are alike in their labours. About this poem, Rajendralāl Mitra wrote to Rājñārāyaṇ Basu, "The ideas are no doubt borrowed, and Keats and Shelley and Kalidas and Milton have been largely, very largely, put in requisition; but as you justly say, 'whatever passes through the crucible of the author's mind receives an original shape.'" Rajendralāl further speaks of "the Miltonic grandeur of Tilottamā".

Personal and individual love-poems were successfully attempted by him after the manner of European poets in the *Vrajaṅganā Kāvya*. The ode form is used in these poems. The poet made a distinct change in Rādhā's character. In the works of the Vaiṣṇava poets she is a half-divine or semi-divine woman. But here she has been given a human touch. She has the emotions and sentiments of a human being. Kṛṣṇa is also different from the customary Vaiṣṇava conception. He is simply a human lover. Madhusūdan lacked the devotional emotion and fervour of Vaiṣṇava poets and therefore his conception of love is not of the type of Vidyapati and Chāṇḍīdāsa. Some critics try to trace in these poems the influence of Vaiṣṇava poetry. But if they have anything at all in common with the Vaiṣṇava poems the similarity is on the surface only. Madhusūdan appreciated Vaiṣṇava poetry but he could never think of Rādhā in her divine ecstasies. At the most he could think of her just like the Gopīs who are always human and whose love for Kṛṣṇa is for Rādhā's sake only.

*Vīraṅganā Kāvya*, another work in blank verse, was written in imitation of the epistle of Ovid (the *Heroides*) and the epistles of Pope. The subject-matter is woman's love in straits. Both Ovid and Madhusūdan portray legendary characters. But it is a pity that Ovid's eroticism and frank sensibility influenced Madhusūdan to a certain extent as in the epistle from Tārā to Chandra.

<sup>1</sup> Rāmgati Nyayaratna notes the English style of beginning from the middle in this poem, p. 262, *Discourse on Bengali Language and Literature*.



Another important literary achievement of Madhusūdan for which he was mainly indebted to Europe is the introduction of the sonnet into Bengali. It was during his sojourn in Europe that he first tried to write in this new form. In 1865 he wrote to Gaurdas Basak from France : "I have been lately reading Petrarca, the Italian poet, and scribbling some 'sonnets' after his manner. . . . I dare say the sonnet (Chaturdaspadi) will do wonderfully well in our language. . . . Our Bengali is a very beautiful language, it only wants men of genius to polish it up. . . . It is, or rather it has the elements of a great language in it." A sonnet inscribed to Dante elicited words of appreciation from Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy, who wrote : "It will be a ring which will connect the Orient with the Occident." Among his better-known poems, one addressed to Bengal reminds one invariably of Byron's. "My Native Land, Good Night," in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.

Apart from the introduction of blank verse and the enrichment of Bengali literature by the writing of epic poetry, rich with heroic figures and grand descriptions, his greatest contribution to his literature is the creation of a secular poetry, a poetry which like older Bengali poetry does not preach the cult of some deity. "When you sit down to read poetry leave aside all religious bias," was his advice to a friend.<sup>1</sup> Much of his poetry deals with the passion and prejudices of living men and women though it cannot be denied that it is untouched by anything divine or supernatural. He wrote poetry which forms no part of any religio-literary cycle but is poetry for its own sake. It may be suggested that Vidyāsundara too was free from the religious touch. But Bhāratachandra's poem stands on a different level. He found in it an opportunity of delineating a contemporary incident, magnified somewhat by his revengeful spirit and marred with frequent touches of indecency. Madhusūdan would never support such unseemly ideals in a poet who vitiated his art for personal purposes and lowered the standard of literature. He turned the tide of public taste to a far better channel and saved it from degeneration. In a land ridden with conventions and customs, he had the courage to revolt from old-world ideas and it was quite proper that a Bengali imbued with Western ideas should do so. The course of Bengali poetry was directed to something better and received a new shape, freeing itself from conventional ideas, whether intellectual or moral.

<sup>1</sup> Letter dated the 29th August, 1861, to Rājñārāyaṇ Basu.



5 APR 1933

## Yogakṣema

By RAI BAHADUR AMARNATH RAY

THE word *Yogakṣema* claims high antiquity. It is found used in the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas, and Śrauta-Sūtras. (See Bloomfield's *Concordance*, p. 808a.) It occurs in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, *Bṛgu-vallī*, ii, 51, and in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, ii, 1, 2. Its best-known use is in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, ix, 22, while it is found further compounded as *niryogakṣema* in ii, 45 of the same work. The following uses of the word may also be noted : *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti-parvan*, ch. 348, verse 72, and ch. 74, verse 1 ; *Manu Saṃhitā*, vii, 127, and ix, 219 ; and Śrīdhara's Commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, v, 9, 14, and x, 24, 24.<sup>1</sup> In its Pali form, *yogakkhema*, the word is to be found in the *Dhammapada*, ii, 3, and very frequently in Tripiṭaka literature, for instance, in *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, 163, 167, 477 ; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, ii, 195 ; and *Anguttara Nikāya*, ii, 247, 248. In its Prakrit form, *jogakkhema*, it occurs in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram*, iv, 4. It is proposed in this note to discuss the true import of the word. For this purpose it will be best to turn to its use in the *Bhagavad-gītā* verse, ix, 22, as that work claims a large number of commentaries.

The verse runs as follows :—

*Ananyās cintayanto mām ye janāḥ paryupāsate  
Teṣāṃ nityābhiyuktānāṃ yogakṣemaṃ vahāmy aham.*

Śaṅkara explains the word *yogakṣema* thus : *yogaḥ aprāptasya prāpanaṃ* (attaining the unattained) and *kṣemaḥ tadrakṣaṇaṃ* (maintaining the same). This interpretation has been generally accepted and the verse taken to mean that because the constant devotees fix their mind solely upon the Lord and think of nothing else, not even of the sustenance of their body, the Lord, in His mercy, takes it upon Himself to meet their physical needs. Even modern Indian interpreters like Tilak and Gandhi have accepted this meaning, the former quoting in support the lexicon *Śāvatakoṣa*, where the word *yogakṣemaḥ* has been explained as *sāṃsārika-nitya-nirvāhaḥ*, i.e. "the meeting of daily worldly needs". Rāmānuja, however, though he appears to have accepted Śaṅkara's splitting up of the compound, takes *yogaḥ* to mean

<sup>1</sup> The numbers of the chapters and verses of the three works are given as in the editions of the works, in Bengali characters, published by the Bangavāsī Press.

“finding me” (i.e. the Lord), and *kṣemaḥ* to mean “non-return from that state”. This is hitting the right meaning in a wrong way, for once *mokṣa* is attained, there can be no question of return from that state. Śrīdhara, belonging to Śaṅkara’s school, thus explains the word : *yogaṃ dhanādi-lābhaṃ kṣemaṃ tatpālanaṃ, mokṣaṃ vā*. It is not clear whether he suggests *mokṣaṃ* as an alternative meaning for the entire word *yogakṣema* or for *kṣema* only. In the latter case, attainment of wealth and liberation would be a rather incongruous juxtaposition. In any case, it is certain that both Rāmānuja and Śrīdhara had doubts about the accuracy of Śaṅkara’s interpretation.

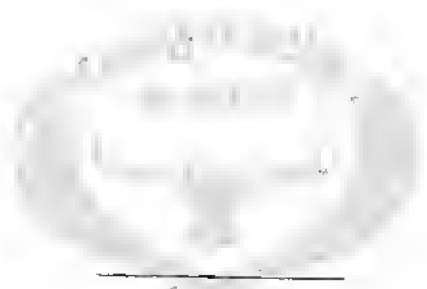
The *Mīmāṃsakas* would have us consider the following matters when looking for the meaning of a word or a passage, viz. *upakrama* (introduction or preface), and *upasaṃhāra* (conclusion); *abhyāsa* (repetition); *apūrvatā* (novelty); *phalaṃ* (result); *arthavāda* (praise or laudatory statement); and *upapatti* (what is established). Most schools of thought accept this rule of interpretation. In any case, the introduction and the conclusion, on the one hand, and the context, on the other, must be looked into whenever a word or a passage presents difficulty. From the opening and the concluding verses of chapter ix, it would appear that the theme of the chapter is to describe the means to *mokṣa* or release from evil, and to trace the *gati* or course of the devotee’s soul. Turning to the context, we find that verses 20 and 21 describe the fate of the desireful Vedic sacrificers who attain to heaven as the result of their good works, but have to be reborn on the expiry of the fruits of those works, while verses 23 and 24 say that the worshippers of other gods are also subject to rebirths, as they do not know the *tattva* (i.e. the real nature) of the Lord. It would be idle to expect the author to say, in the intervening verse under consideration, that the Lord looks after the daily physical needs of His constant devotees. The real meaning of the verse is that while Vedic sacrificers and the worshippers of other gods are subject to rebirths, the constant devotees of the Lord are not subject to them, because they know the nature of the Lord and are united to Him. This is the meaning of the Lord bearing their *yogakṣema*. In fact, what is stated in these five verses (20–24) is summed up in verse 25. So the word *yogakṣema* in the verse under consideration really means release from the cycle of rebirths.

Before proceeding to discuss how the word *yogakṣema* might be made to yield this meaning, it would be well to say that the meaning proposed by Śaṅkara does not appear to have been invented by him,

for in the *Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā*, i, 100, the word is similarly explained. It would appear, however, from the *Manu Saṃhitā*, vii, 127 (see also Kullūka's gloss thereon), and other uses of the word, that this was the meaning which business people would attach to the word. To a trader *yogakṣema* would be to get hold of a valuable article of trade, and to guard it carefully, so as to make a good profit out of it when the opportunity came. To me, however, this appears to be an instance of the degradation of words, for examining the Vedic passages referred to by Bloomfield, the other passages referred to above, and also the Pali use of the word, it appears to me that the original meaning of the word was undoubtedly "the highest Good" or the "Summum Bonum". In Pali literature, *Nirvāṇa* is called the *yogakkhema*. No doubt, in the *Dhammapada* passage, referred to above, Buddhaghosa explains *yogakkhema* to mean "release from the fourfold bondage". We do not know what this fourfold bondage is, nor on what authority Buddhaghosa relied for this interpretation. The only authority one might think of would be the *Sukla Yajurveda* (*Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*), xxx, 14, where *yogaḥ* means "tying cattle to stakes" and *kṣemaḥ* means "releasing them from this bondage". I am, however, for splitting up and explaining the compound thus: *yogeṣu* ("among gains") *kṣemaḥ* ("what is good or auspicious"), so that the word, thus explained, would be equivalent to *niḥśreyasa* or the "Summum Bonum". In the *Kaṭha Up.*, ii, 1, 2, the word is undoubtedly used as a synonym for *śreyasḥ* or "good", though Śaṅkara misinterprets it here also. The word can bear no other meaning in Śrīdhara's *ṭīkā* on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, v, 19, 14. See also Kullūka's gloss on *Manu Saṃhitā*, ix, 219. In the *Samhitā* passages quoted by Bloomfield, the commentators, who are all later than Śaṅkara, follow his interpretation. The real meaning in each case, however, appears to be the one suggested here, and the word can yield that meaning only if the compound is split up in the way proposed by me. It is needless to say that though the highest good for all must be the same, it is not given to all to realise it. In fact, its conception varies among different people according to temperamental dissimilarity. To the ordinary man of the world begetting offspring, attainment of riches, and immunity from disease would usually be the highest good, while to the spiritually minded Indian the highest good would undoubtedly be the escape from the cycle of rebirths.

The *Gṛā* verse, ix, 22, as interpreted by Śaṅkara, is the earliest authority, if not the sole authority, relied upon by people who, in their

eagerness for union with the Lord, give up all efforts for self-maintenance and face untold sufferings and not infrequently death. No misinterpretation of a scriptural passage has perhaps been so fraught with evil as this one ; but it is by no means an easy matter to convince even clever people that Śaṅkara made a mistake. Strangely enough, his Vaiṣṇava opponents (except Rāmānuja), ever so ready to find fault with his interpretations, have had no hesitation in following him here.



## Notes on the Transcription of Burmese

By J. R. FIRTH

THE phonetic text given below is a simplified "broad" transcription of story No. 5 on p. 37 of *A Burmese Phonetic Reader*, by Armstrong and Pe Maung Tin,<sup>1</sup> and is based on experience gained in the practical use of the *Reader* with Burmans, and also in the teaching of Burmese phonetics in the Indian Institute, Oxford.

This simplified broad transcription reduces the number of vowel signs from eleven to eight, eliminating *a* and the unsatisfactory letters *ɪ* and *ʊ*. Length-marks are also eliminated, and tone-marks reduced from eleven to two only.

The sign *ə* has been replaced by the more familiar *j*, the affricate signs *tɕ*, *tɕh*, *dʒ* by *c*, *ch*, *j*, and *j* by *y*.

These simplifications are in accordance with World Orthography, which has been successfully applied to twenty African languages.<sup>2</sup>

In the broad transcription the simple signs *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, *u*, denote simple vowels of medium length pronounced with "creaky" voice, terminated by a weak closure of the glottis, the tone being slightly falling.

The nasalized vowels and diphthongs *ĩ*, *ẽ*, *ā*, *õ*, *ū*, *aĩ*, *aū̃* are to be treated as similar to the above. For reasons which are given in a subsequent paragraph, these nasalized vowels are written *ij̃*, *ej̃*, *aj̃*, *ouj̃*, *uj̃*, *aij̃*, *auj̃* in connected texts.

*iʔ*, *eiʔ*, *ɛʔ*, *aʔ*, *ouʔ*, *uʔ*, *aiʔ*, *auʔ* are very short vowels and diphthongs, pronounced with strong stress, terminated by an abrupt closure of the glottis, the tone being slightly falling from a somewhat higher starting-point than in the first group, *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, etc. These very short stressed vowels are pronounced with what may be described as clear "bright" voice and are in sharp contrast with the long stressed vowels on a falling tone having a gradual "fade-out" ending, pronounced with dull breathy voice, e.g. *'i*, *'e*, *'ɛ*, *'a*, *'ai*, etc. This contrast is most important, as syllables preceded by the tone-mark *'* (e.g. *'a*) or followed by abrupt closure (e.g. *aʔ*) are often more prominent than other syllables.

The vowels *\_i*, *\_e*, *\_ɛ*, *\_a*, *\_ɔ*, *\_o*, *\_u*, *\_ai*, *\_aū*, and *\_ĩ*, *\_ẽ*, *\_ā*, *\_õ*, *\_ū̃* are pronounced with gradual "fade-out" ending on a low level tone,

<sup>1</sup> University of London Press.

<sup>2</sup> See the publications of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 22 Craven Street, London, W.C. 2.

and with somewhat "breathy" voice. They are usually very long but may be shortened in everyday speech.

There remains the neutral vowel ə. This is always unstressed and very short, and usually something like ə, etc. in tone. This neutral-vowel-weak-syllable sign ə is all that is necessary to indicate what the *Reader* calls Toneme IV. It sounds rather like e when followed by another vowel or y.

For differences of vowel quality in the phoneme groups 'i, i?, ī, -ī, 'a, a?, ā, 'u, u?, ū, -ū and the character of the diphthongs 'eɪ?, 'eī, ou?, 'oū, ai?, aī, au?, aū, the *Reader* should be consulted.

Length in itself is not significant. Syllables preceded by the tone-marks -, ' (as ə, 'a) are long. Those concluded with abrupt closure marked ʔ (as in aʔ) will always be short, while unmarked symbols like a, e, o and nasalized forms like ī, aū are normally of medium length.

The notation a, aʔ, ə, 'a, is quite unambiguous for the phoneme variants of a, as well as for the three tonemes in which they occur.

A glance at the table of vowels and tones given below will show that ε and o are never nasalized, that eī and oū occur but not ē and ō. Diphthongs are either followed by abrupt glottal closure occurring only in Toneme I, or have a closing nasalization.

This closing nasalization resembles n or ŋ in eī and aī and ŋ in oū and aū. To simplify and broaden the transcription the sign ŋ may conveniently be used in final position with the following conventions:—

(1) It indicates the closing nasalization in eī, oū, aī, aū above described, which may be written eiŋ, ouŋ, aiŋ, auŋ.

(2) It indicates the nasalization of vowels like ī, ā, ū, which may be written iŋ, aŋ, uŋ.

The sign ŋ in final position preceded by a simple vowel is thus used instead of the nasalization mark.

(3) No nasal consonant is heard when ŋ is written:—

(a) At the end of a breath group.

(b) When the following syllable begins with a vowel or the semi-vowels y and w, or generally with such consonants as hm, hl.

(4) But when ŋ is followed by initial p, b, t, d, k, g, θ, ð, j in the next syllable the "intrusive" homorganic nasal must also be understood. Thus, taking examples from the first few lines of story No. 14 on p. 51 of the *Reader*:—

(i) də ˌgaʊŋ ˌði = .də ˌgaʊ(n) ˌði.

(ii) ˌeiŋ tə ˌeiŋ hma = ˌei(n) .tə ˌei ˌhma.



(iii)  $\text{'deiŋ 'gɛ} = \text{'dɛt(ŋ) 'gɛ}$ .

(iv)  $\text{'ei? 'kaŋ _bo} = \text{'θɪ? kaŋ(m) _bo}$ .

In (i) the final  $\eta$  signifies the nasalization of the close of the preceding diphthong  $a\bar{u}$ , and also the homorganic nasal  $n$  determined by the following  $\delta$ . Similarly in (iv)  $\eta$  is to indicate the closing nasalization of  $a\bar{i}$ , and also the homorganic nasal  $m$  determined by the following  $b$ .

TABLE I

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	REMARKS
Toneme I	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	u			Slightly falling. Simple vowels of medium length and nasalized vowels and diphthongs. Creaky voice. Weak closure.
	iŋ	eiŋ		aŋ		ouŋ	uŋ	aiŋ	auŋ	
	i?	ei?	ɛ?	a?		ou?	u?	ai?	au?	Very short "bright" vowels and diphthongs. Stressed. Abrupt closure. No nasal vowels.
Toneme II	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	u	aiŋ	auŋ	Long vowels and diphthongs. Nasalized vowels and diphthongs. Low level tone. Gradual ending. Breathy voice.
	iŋ	eiŋ		aŋ		ouŋ	uŋ			
Toneme III	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	u			Long vowels and diphthongs. Nasalized vowels and diphthongs. Stressed. Breathy voice. "Fade-out" ending. Falling tone.
	iŋ	eiŋ		aŋ		ouŋ	uŋ	aiŋ	auŋ	
Toneme IV				ə						Weak obscure vowel. Unstressed. Very short. Neutral tone.

1.  $\varepsilon$  and  $o$  are never nasalized.

2.  $\text{ɔ?}$  distinct from  $\text{ə}$  does not occur.

3. Diphthongs either followed by abrupt closure ( $\text{ai?}$ ) or have closing nasalization ( $\text{aiŋ}$ ).

4.  $\text{iŋ}$ ,  $\text{eiŋ}$ ,  $\text{aŋ}$ , etc., are the symbols used in the transcribed text.  $\eta$  in final position indicates nasalization of the preceding vowel, followed by the nasal homorganic with the initial consonant of the next syllable if that initial is  $p$ ,  $b$ ,  $t$ ,  $d$ ,  $k$ ,  $g$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $j$ , etc.

Table II shows the number of signs used (a) in the narrow transcription of story No. 5 in the *Reader*, and (b) in the broad transcription here suggested.

In comparing the figures showing the number of letters used, it should be remembered that the number of different letters used for the vowels is eight in the broad as compared with eleven in the narrow, and that the affricates only require three different letters in the broad, while there are five in the narrow.

The total number of letters used is about the same, but as a result of the phonetic economies described above, the actual letters bear much more of the burden of phonetic significance, so that a drastic reduction of diacritical marks has been made possible.

The proposed broad transcription is in accordance with what is now termed World Orthography, and might serve as the basis of a romanized spelling of Burmese.

TABLE II

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	No. of letters.	No. of tone-marks.	No. of length-marks.	No. of marks for "checked" vowels.	No. of nasalization marks and "Sandhi" nasals.	Total.
(a) <i>Reader</i>	327	143	58	52	36	616
(b) Broad	326	77	nil	23	23	449

The number of inter-syllable white spaces is the same.

## TEXT

(The fable of the North Wind and the Sun)

myau? le 'miŋ ne ne 'miŋ

myau? le 'miŋ ne ne 'miŋ, θu dɛ? ɲa 'a 'ci dɛ lo, 'ŋiŋ  
 khoun ne ja 'doun, 'iŋ ɲi θhu dɛ wu? la dɛ, khe 'yi dɛ tɛ au?  
 ko myiŋ dɛ ga, θu go 'iŋ ɲi chu? auŋ, ta? naiŋ θu ga, θa 'a  
 'ci dɛ lo, hma? ɲu ɲaŋ, gɛ di 'tha ja dɛ. le 'miŋ ga, ta? naiŋ  
 θɛ lau? tai? tɛ, ca? ca? tai? le, khe 'yi dɛ e wu?, ko hma θa  
 ka? le. e taŋ ca dɛ, le 'miŋ ga mɛ ta? naiŋ lo, ya? ya dɛ. di  
 dɛ ne 'miŋ ga, ne pu pya ɲa, khe na gɛ 'le ne, khe 'yi dɛ ai? lo,  
 e wu? chu? ya dɛ, le 'miŋ ga ne 'miŋ ha, θu dɛ?, θa ba be dɛ  
 lo, wuŋ khaŋ ya le dɛ.

# A Grammar of the Language of Bugotu, Ysabel Island, Solomon Islands

By W. G. IVENS, M.A., Litt.D.

## INTRODUCTION

A PART of the island of the central Solomon Islands which was called Santa Ysabel by the Spanish discoverers is known as "Sambana" to the natives of Narovo (Eddystone) and Mandegusu islands, who used to raid it. The north end of the island is called Kia, and the southern end is known as Bugotu. There is no one native name for the whole of the island.

A short grammar of the Bugotu language appears in Dr. R. H. Codrington's *Melanesian Languages*, Clarendon Press, 1885, pp. 546-54. When this grammar was published the material available for the study of the language was not very extensive. In preparing the grammar Dr. Codrington relied mainly on information received from Bugotu-speaking natives, who were present in the Melanesian Mission school at Norfolk Island. He was also aided to some extent by the likeness between the language of Bugotu and that of Florida, a much fuller grammar of which appears in his *Melanesian Languages*.

The Bugotu language was first learned by Bishop J. C. Patteson, a list of whose publications in the Bugotu language, which he called *Mahaga*, will be found on p. 525 of S. H. Ray's *Melanesian Island Languages*, Cambridge Press, 1926. In this book Mr. Ray has referred a number of Bugotu words to Indonesian sources. The Ysabel words quoted by the Spanish discoverers of the island in 1567 are discussed in *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands*, Hakluyt Society, 1901. Further reference may be made to Ray, *MIL.*, pp. 8, 525.

The Rev. H. P. Welchman and Mr. E. Bourne, of the Melanesian Mission on Ysabel, prepared a MS. vocabulary of Bugotu words, and this has been largely used in the preparation of the following grammar. This Bugotu vocabulary is now being edited with a view to publication.

There is ample material now available for the study of the Bugotu language, the whole of the New Testament having been translated, together with the book of Psalms, the book of Proverbs, the prophets Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah, as well as a set of extracts from the Old Testament ranging from Genesis to Nehemiah. These have been drawn on in the compilation of this grammar.

*Orthography.*—In the texts the sound *ngg* (i.e. *ngg* in English “finger”) is printed as *g*. It is, however, a variant of *k* rather than of *g*. For the sake of ease in study the sound *ngg* is here written out in its full value. The sound *ng* (i.e. *ng* in English “sing”) is also written out in full. In the texts it is printed as *n*.

*Metathesis of Syllables.*—Dr. Codrington commented on the Bugotu word *hathangatu* “hundred”, which is the equivalent of the Florida *hangalatu* “hundred” (the *th* of Bugotu being equal to *l* of certain other languages), and stated that “as the sense (presumably of *hangalatu*) is lost by the change, it may be presumed that the word is borrowed”. If this case of metathesis were an isolated one, the charge of borrowing might perhaps be sustained. But there are other instances of metathesis in the language, e.g. *hege* or *gehe* “self”, “alone”; *gajika*, *kajiga* “to cough”; *sakapa*, *kasapa* “a booth”.

The language of Kwara 'Ae, North Mala, Solomon Islands, the language of a district not far removed from Bugotu, delights in metathetic forms. The fact of the metathesis does not necessarily suppose a borrowing, and it is not plain what Dr. Codrington meant by his statement in the above quotation as to “the loss of the sense”.

*Accent.*—The accent in Bugotu is generally on the antepenultimate syllable: *suli*, *suīsuli*.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>M.L.</i> , <i>Melanesian Languages</i> , R. H. Codrington, D.D., Clarendon Press, 1885.	<i>tion</i> , vol. iii: “Linguistics,” S. H. Ray, Cambridge Press, 1907.
<i>MIL.</i> , <i>Melanesian Island Languages</i> , S. H. Ray, M.A., Cambridge Press, 1926.	<i>excl.</i> , exclusive.
<i>TSE</i> , iii, <i>Report of Torres Straits Expedi-</i>	<i>incl.</i> , inclusive.
	<i>pers.</i> , person, persons.
	<i>pl.</i> , plural.
	<i>sing.</i> , singular.

For the references to Roviana see *MIL.*, p. 543.

#### I. ALPHABET

1. The vowels are: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*.

Diphthongs are: (1) *ae*, *ai*, *au*: *rae* “to be excessive”; *fai* “four”; *gau* “bamboo”; (2) *ei*: *fei* “fish”.

Double vowels occur, and the doubling indicates a lengthening of the sound: *iia* “she”, *iira* “they” (of women); *boo* “a herd”,

"a company". The dropping of a consonant in reduplication causes a long vowel sound : *ivigigi* "to take an oath". There is no "break" in the pronunciation of any of the Bugotu words where such consonant has been dropped.

An interchange of vowels is seen in certain words : *o* and *u* are used indifferently in *tuni*, *toni* "perhaps", and in *kamotu*, *kamotu* "cut off short"; *o* and *a* interchange in *lovongoi*, *lovongai* "when", "until", and in *korongoso*, *korongasa* "marrow", "brain".

2. The consonants are : *k, g, ngg; t, d, j, ch, th; p, b, v; m, n, ng, gn; r, l; s, h*. There is no *w* or *q*, and no nasal *m* (*m̃*).

(i) The *g* in Bugotu is what Codrington calls the "Melanesian *g*", and has the same sound as the Spanish *g*, or the *g* of modern Greek.  
 (ii) The *d* is generally *nd*, but it is sometimes a pure *d*. "Certain families or sets of people (in Bugotu) use *d* rather than *nd*." Codrington. "The sound of *j* to some extent follows that of *d*; *j* is in some mouths the English *j*, in others it is *vj*." *id.* The *agg* is for *k*: *nggari* "child", Sa'a *kale*; *Nggela*, the native name for Florida island, is in Sa'a *Kela*.  
 (iii) The sound of *ch* is as *ch* in English "church". (iv) The *th* is soft. It represents an *l* in the Florida language or in Mota, Banks' Islands: but sometimes it is a variant of *d*: *thanu* "to bale", Sa'a, Mala, *danu*. (v) "By some natives *b* is sounded pure, but it is generally strengthened by *m* preceding." Codrington. In the translations, and in this grammar, there is no printing of *m* before *b* or of *n* before *d*. "The sound of *gn* is that of the Spanish *ñ* (or of *ni* in English 'onion'). It is a change from *n*." Codrington.  
 (vi) There is an interchange of *n* and *l*, *tangamana*, *tangomalaga* "to be able"; of *n* and *gn*, *mana* "spiritual force", *magnahagi* "to regard with favour"; of *th* and *l*, *thonga*, *longa* "the beach", *theuheu*, *leuleu* "to mock".

## II. ARTICLES

### 3. Demonstratives:—

Singular: *na; gna; sina; sa.*

Plural: *mara, ara; arahai; koi.*

The article *na* is in very general use as meaning both "a" and "the", and also as marking a word as a noun. All words used as nouns, both those without and those with a definite noun ending, are preceded by the article *na*: *na tinoni* "man, a man"; *na vathe* "the house, a, any, house"; *na fata* "a, the, thing, that which"; *na nggari* "a child, the child"; *na mane tango* "a workman"; *na nago mane* "the head man"; *na kulaga* "friendship" (*kula* "a friend"); *tugu* "to exchange", *na tugura* "exchange"; *mono* "to abide", *na mono* "abiding, they abide", *na monogna* "abiding, to abide";

*na dotho* "a gift, love"; *na toke* "goodness"; *na tutuni* "the truth".

When the connotation is general *na* may be dropped: *ei vathe* "house-building, to build houses". The article *na* is used with the pronoun *hava*: *na hava* "what? anything". It is also used with the possessive nouns *ni*, *ga*: *na ninggua*, *na nimua*, *na nigna* "my, etc."; *na ninggua na vunagi* "his chief"; *na nimua na tinoni* "your man, your men"; *na gamiu* "for you to eat, your food"; it is used with the negative *boi*: *na boi na ninggua* "it was not mine"; it is used with a verb following *mara* "people" to indicate a number of persons: *mara na tabu* "the saints"; *mara na kuma* "the destitute"<sup>1</sup>; it is used with the "noun of assemblage" *komi*, which is used before nouns as a sign of the plural: *na komi mavitu nggounggou* "all the peoples"; it is also used with *marai*, *maraira*, which are formed from *mara* "people", and are generally used as pronouns of the 3rd pers. pl.: *na marai* "those persons".

In the translations there is a use of *na* with the relationship terms: *na tamagna* "his father"; but *a*, the personal article, is the correct use with relationship terms when used of specific persons.

Codrington gives a use of *na* in *na Bugotu* "the Bugotu people", but no instance of this occurs in the translations. However, Lau, Mala, uses *na* in much the same way, though not with the plural: *na i fera* "a person of the place".

*Gna* denotes "the belonging to", and is used of both persons and things: *na pen gna i velepuhi* "the pen of the teacher"; *mara na thaba gna a Isakar* "the princes of Issachar"; *a Mary gna i Magdala* "Mary of Magdala"; *na mane gna i Nasaret* "the Nazarene". (In the last two instances the *i* is the locative and not the genitive.) The phrase *a Mary gna i Magdala* shows that *gna* here is not the suffixed pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing., "his, hers, its," though in the phrase *na mane gna i Nasaret*, *gna* may be open to this interpretation; see below, 9, 15.

*Sina* denotes "a, a certain, another": *sina mane* "a certain man, another man"; *sina bongi ke mathaho*, *sina bongi ke teo* "some days he has malaria, some days not"; *sina boo, mi sina boo* "one herd, then another herd". The *na* of *sina* is the article *na*; *si* appears in Lau, Mala, as an article used of things; it is used also as an article in Roviana, Solomons; see *MIL.*, p. 544.

<sup>1</sup> For the use of *na* with a plural noun, compare Roviana (*MIL.*, p. 544) *ni na bangara* "chiefs".

*Sa* means "a", it is the article used after a negative: *sa melehu* "a place"; *sa nigna fata* "his things"; *sa lage* "ten"; *sa varaligna na naedia* "a covering for their feet"; it is used with *hanu* "person"; *sa hanu* "so-and-so, any person, some one"; *e teo sa hanu* "there is no one"; *e teo sa fata* "there is nothing". For *sa* see *MIL.*, pp. 63 (6) and 544. The hill languages of North Mala use *sa* as a personal article.

*Mara* is the same as the Mala word *mwala*, *ngwala* "people, person": *ngwala* "person, you there!" It is a noun meaning "people": *na mara i Higota* "the people of Higota" (one of Bishop Patteson's examples); *kekehu mara* "certain people". When followed by a noun, or when used with an adjective, it denotes the plural of persons: *mara na tabu* "the saints"; *mara na thaba* "the rulers"; *mara ke puhu* "the adults". It is used in address: *mara Israel* "Oh Israel!"; *mara* "you people!" "In Kiriwina the word used to secure the attention of anyone whose name is forgotten is *mala* 'you there!'" *TSE.* iii, p. 440. *Mara* in Bugotu is thus the Trobriand *mala*, the Sa'a *mwala* "people", the Lau *ngwala* "person", and also the four native variations of the name of the island of Mala, viz. *Mala*, *Mwala*, *Ngwala*, *Mara*.

*Ara* is used of sets of people: *ara tamamami* "our fathers"; *ara idomiu* "your mothers"; *ara legugna* "his descendants"; *ara Israel* "the Israelites". It also means "they who": *ara nggounggouvu kena havi mai kori vathegna* "all those who lived in his house". *Ara* is compounded of *a*, personal article, and *ra* the pronoun, 3rd pers. pl., seen in *ira*, *maraira* "they".

*Arahai* is both interrogative and indefinite; it denotes "who, they who, those who": *arahai na maraira kedana taviti* "who are they that will go?" It is compounded of *ara* and *ahai* "who? some one".

*Koi* is used of the plural of persons only, and precedes the noun. The use of *na* with *koi* shows the latter to be a "noun of assemblage": *na koi tinoni* "the men"; *na koi raivine* "women"; *koi raivine* "you women!"

When the idea of several things of the same kind is implied, the noun is repeated with the copulative *ma*, and: *na fata ma na fata*, "things."

4. Personal article: *a*. All personal names, male and female, native and foreign, are preceded by the article *a*. This article applied to a word makes it a personal noun: *a Vahavidia* "their Saviour";

*a Fate i maramagna taligu* "the Judge of the whole earth"; it is used of particular persons, and with the relationship terms: *a Mama tutu loalova* "the Father everlasting"; *a tamagna* "his father"; *a idogna* "his mother"; *a Jesus a dathegna a Joseph* "Jesus the son of Joseph"; it is used with the plural: *a taudia* "their wives"; also *iira a taudia* "their wives". The word *hanu* "person" is used with the personal article *a*: *a hanu* "so-and-so, the man who"; *e tolu a hanu* "three persons"; *mara e vati a hanu* "four persons"; *na hanu* means "the thing, that which". For *hanu* see *ML*, pp. 135, 528, and *MIL*, pp. 68, 404 (13).

### III. NOUNS

5. Names of parts of the body, the relationship terms, and words denoting position take the suffixed pronouns of possession, *nggu*, *mu*, *gna*, etc. Certain nouns in Bugotu do not take these suffixed pronouns; among these are the words for "canoe, bag, sword, club, spear, arrow, adze". The use of the possessive noun *ni* often obscures the question of the suffixing of the pronoun of possession; e.g. *na nigna na bage* "his bow", or *na bagegna* "his bow".

A word may be used as a noun in a verbal form without any definite noun ending: *mono* "to abide", *na mono* "dwelling, to abide, a place"; *toke* "to be good", *na toke* "goodness".

A phrase with the article *na* preceding may be used as a noun: *me kaea na nia hujuu sapa na hinage* "asked that a canoe come"; *na ijumi variagna* "a reckoning to him, it was reckoned to him".

6. Verbal noun endings in Bugotu are: *a*, *ta*, *ga*, *gna*, *agna*, *ana*. These are all suffixed to verbs.

*A*: *udu* "to walk in file", *uduudua* "companion"; *ijumi* "to count", *ijumia* "counting, number"; *mono* "to abide", *monoa* "dwelling"; *dua* "with, companion", from *faidu* "to be on friendly terms with one another": *duamu* "your companion, with you".

*Ta* is used only with the suffixed pronouns: *dika* "to be bad", *na dikatamua* "your anger"; *toke* "to be glad", *na tokelanggu* "I am glad". There is a similar use of *ta* in Sa'a.

*Ga*: *kula* "friend", *kulaga* "friendship"; *hadi* "to ascend", *hadiga* "height"; *horu* "to go down", *horuga* "depth". It would seem that *ga* properly is an adjectival suffix; but in the instances given the article *na* precedes, showing that the word so used is a noun.

The noun suffix *gna* may be added to an intransitive verb used with the verbal particles, the subject being always expressed: *a Sara*



*ke lugugna* "Sarah denied"; *kotida thaothadogagna* "you shall know". This use marks it as gerundival. It may be added also to a form consisting of transitive verb and pronominal object, with the articles *na*, *sa* preceding, the whole forming a gerundive; or it may be added to an intransitive verb with the article *na* preceding: *regi* "to see", *reiregiu* "see me", *na reiregiugna* "the seeing of me, to see me"; *na voliugna* "the buying of me, my price"; *sa vatokeragna* "a blessing for them"; *na kasagna* "completion"; *na koligna* "to lie down". The suffix *gna* may also be added to a form consisting of verbal particle, transitive verb, pronominal object: *vetula* "to command", *ke vetulaugna* "commanded me"; *luti* "to forbid", *ku lutiogna na ganiagna* "I forbid thee to eat it". The preceding example shows an object following the gerundival use. The suffixing of *gna* may convey the idea of purpose: *ke vakouragna* "to give them water"; *na tavitigna kori hanganagna* "to walk in his ways".

A compound noun appears in such phrases as: *na ijumi kasa gamugna* "the-numbering-complete-you-ing, your whole number", where *gna*, the noun suffix, is added to the pronoun *gamu* "you", and *kasa* "whole" intervenes between the verb *ijumi* "to count" and its object; *na sokara pungusigamugna* "opposing you, to oppose you".

There is a use of the verbal noun suffix *gna* following *dia*, the personal pronoun, 3rd pers. pl., which is suffixed to nouns, where *dia* is preceded by *ra* attached to a transitive verb, and the composite phrase may have an object: *na palikutiradiagna na komi puhi* "the keeping of, to keep, the laws"; *na fateradiagna* "to judge them"; *oro nia piipiisi pungusiradiagna* "they two clad themselves with them"; *kena nia voliradiagna nigna na rongo* "they were bought with his money"; *na bali talangiradiagna* "to lead them, their being led". It is tempting to treat both *ra* and *dia* as suffixed pronouns, having in view the Bugotu practice of doubling the pronominal object; but it must be remembered that *dia* is a pronoun of the class which can only be suffixed to nouns, and this at once shows *ra* to be a noun form.

In the Sa'a and Lau languages of Mala the form *la* is used as a pure gerundival suffix, the pronouns of possession being suffixed to it, thus marking its character as a noun. Since *l* and *r* interchange freely in Melanesian languages, it is highly probable that the Bugotu *ra* of the above phrases represents the Mala gerundival suffix *la*, which has a similar use. The Lau phrase *anilanalaa* "the eating of it, for

eating" is the exact equivalent in form of the Bugotu *voliradiagna* "the buying of them", except that the suffixed pronoun of the former, *na*, is singular, whereas *dia* is plural. In Lau, however, and in Sa'a, any of the pronouns may be suffixed to the gerundival form *la*, whereas in Bugotu only the pronoun of the 3rd pers. pl. may be suffixed to *ra*. In order to distinguish the gerundival use of *ra* from those of *gna* and *agna*, which are noun endings, this *ra* may be called an "infix gerundival particle".

Since the change of *l* and *n* is quite a regular one in the Mala languages, it would seem that the Bugotu gerundival noun ending *gna*, i.e. *na*, represents the Mala *laa*, the final vowel of which is lengthened to distinguish the noun suffix proper from *la*, the gerundival ending. Thus the gerundival forms *la*, *laa*, of Mala, and *ra*, *gna*, of Bugotu, are all the same.

A suffix *gna* is added to the cardinal numbers to form ordinals: *rua* "two", *ruagna* "second". It would seem that this *gna* is the same as the Sa'a *na* which has a similar use: *ruana* "second".

*Agna* is a gerundival suffix also, and is used only with transitive verbs; it thus differs from the gerundival suffix *gna*, which, as shown above, may be suffixed to both transitive and intransitive verbs: *na birehiagna* "to see, seeing, sight": *o tolu na horu i pusiagna* "you struck three times"; *na taveti saniagna* "the departure" (a composite phrase); *na ruvatiagna* "divination". A verbal particle or a pronoun may replace the article: *ke varuai kiloagna a Abraham* "he called Abraham twice"; *e tateliagna vania* "he declared (it) to him"; *u ganiagna* "I eating", i.e. "I ate". An object may follow such gerundival use: *ke tafuruagna na gold* "spreads gold over it"; *me ke vathangutiagna na thepa* "and plastered (it) with mud"; *na hagore vaniagna a Lord* "speaking to, spoke to, to speak to, the Lord"; *mi manea keda tuguagna na livomu* "and he shall be thy mouth-piece".

*Agna* may be attached to a verb with a pronominal object, the article *na* preceding: *na vatokegoagna* "to bless thee, the blessing of thee"; *na haiduvigamuagna* "the surrounding of you"; *na vathehegamiagna* "the killing of us, to kill us".

The above examples show that *agna* is a noun suffix by itself, with gerundival force, and is not made up of *a*, a noun suffix, with *gna* the suffixed pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. added, as Dr. Codrington supposed. *Agna* suffixed may convey the idea of purpose just as *gna* does: *na eiagna na fata iaani* "the its-doing the

thing that, to do that thing"; *na kouriagna na bea* "to drink water". (See also examples above.)

In Florida a noun ending *a* is added to verbs, and the pronouns of possession (those which are added to nouns) are suffixed: *bosa* "to speak", *bosaangu* "my being spoken to". Dr. Codrington (*ML.*, p. 524) rightly regards this *a* as a gerundival suffix, and states that its use is mainly passive. It, again, is probably the equivalent of the Mala *la*, a noun ending (Sa'a *mae* "to die", *maelana* "his death"), the consonant *l* having been dropped. Instances may be found in the Sa'a and Ulawa languages of the dropping of *l*.

It may be suggested that initial *a* of the Bugotu gerundival suffix *agna* is the same as this gerundival *a* of Florida, and that *agna* is compounded of two suffixes both gerundival, *a* + *gna*. Compound noun suffixes occur in Mala: thus Kwara 'Ae has 'angu as a noun suffix, a compound of *la* and *nga*, the *l* of *la* having dropped, and the "break" indicating this fact. Also Sa'a has the noun endings *ngaha*, i.e. *nga* + *ha*, and *tanga*, i.e. *la* + *nga*, *ha*, *ta*, and *nga* all occurring in Sa'a as noun suffixes. That *agna* in Bugotu is only used with transitive verbs brings it into line with the gerundival suffix *la* in the Sa'a and Ulawa languages which has a similar use, and adds strength to the assumption that the gerundival form *a* in Florida and the initial *a* of the Bugotu suffix *agna* are both for *la*, *l* having dropped. The reason for suffixing the gerundival forms *la* in Sa'a, etc., and *agna* in Bugotu, to transitive verbs only, seems to lie in the fact that in these languages the gerundive is primarily active and not passive.

It is worthy of notice that a suffix *agna* is used in a gerundival way in the Maori language, either by itself, or with the consonants *h*, *k*, *m*, *r*, *t* prefixed, which are the consonants of the transitive suffixes used with verbs in that language.

*Ana* is seen as a verbal noun ending in *mamataguana* "fearful, awful", from *matagu* "to fear"; *maimanikhiana* "object of reverence"; *sisiriwana* "dishonourable"; *soleana* "peace"; *tutuana* "continuously, for a memorial". It will be seen in *MIL.*, p. 545, and *ML.*, p. 138, that *ana* is properly a verbal noun ending, but its use in Bugotu inclines more to the adjectival side.

Two words, *hagetha* "doorway" (*hage* "to go out or in"), *tuguva* "redemption" (*tugu* "to change"), show noun endings in *tha* and *va* respectively. These may be compared with the Mala *la* ("th" for "l") and the Mota *va*, which are noun endings.

7. The word *bali* forms nouns by being prefixed either to verbs or to gerundives; a transitive verb following *bali* may have the pronoun of the object suffixed, and the article *na* may precede the composite form. Codrington (*ML*, pp. 525, 528) compares *bali* with Florida *malei* "place". (See also *MIL*, p. 444, "Nouns with Prefix.") The meaning of *bali* is "thing by which, thing for the purpose of": *tatango* "to work", *bali tatango* "a tool, a scrub knife"; *bali sopou* "a seat"; *bali puipui* "firewood for the native oven"; *na bali kou* "a drink"; *na fata bali rioriso* "the things for writing with, pens, paper, etc."; *bali vanga* "to eat, for eating"; *ke toke na ngali bali vanga* "the canarium nut is good for eating"; *bali fotalia na uhugna na tinoni* "for breaking men's heads"; *bali tatarida* "the binding of them, to bind them"; *na gai na bali thaothadogagna na toke ma na dika* "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil"; *na bali hogoniagna na rongo* "to store treasure".

It will be seen from the examples given that *bali* followed by a verb, and used with or without the article *na*, may denote purpose. *Bali* is also used with a noun: *bali hava*, "thing for what? what?"

The word *tamatahi* "brethren, sisters, family" shows a prefix *tama* used with *tahi* "brother, sister". This *tama* is used in Roviana as a prefix.

8. Verbs may be used as nouns without any change of form; the article *na* precedes, and the pronouns *nggu*, etc., may be suffixed: *me ke aheahe kori ihugna na aheahe i havi* "and he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life"; *havi* "to live", *na havi* "life", *na havigna* "its life"; *na gaugabua i havimiri* "the blood of your lives"; *hagore* "to speak", *na hagoregna* "his word". The verbal particle *ke* may precede: *naba* "to be like, equal to", *igoe ko nabagna a Pharaoh* "thou art like (him) Pharaoh". The personal pronouns may be added in addition to the suffixed pronouns: *ke nabamu igoe* "like to thee".

9. Genitive. The genitive relation of nouns one to another is effected (a) by the use of the preposition *i*: *na aheahe i havi* "the breath of life"; *na magavu i haidu* "the day of meeting"; *ara kulagna i vaivine* "her women friends". This *i* is used with the verbs *turugu*, *tabiru*, which denote "begin, change": *me turugu i velepuhi* "and began to teach". (b) By juxtaposition, one noun qualifying another, the article *na* not being used with the second noun: *na komi thanggi bolho* "all kinds of heasts"; *na tabili gahira* "a vessel of stone"; *vathe taulagi* "hide-chamber"; *na ngoi rongo* "the money bag".

The former of two nouns thus used may have the pronoun suffixed in the 3rd pers. sing.: *na livogna na nggaratu* "the head (mouth) of the spear"; *na vathegna a God* "the house of God"; *na mavitugna na meleha* "the people of the place"; *na manegna i Misraim* "a man of Egypt"; *manugwa na bongi* "a night bird". (c) The preposition *ni* is used as a genitive in certain phrases: *puku ni mana* "all powerful"; *pau ni mane* "an elder"; also *pau ni tariti* "to continue going"; this *ni* is the regular genitive in Florida.

10. An instrumental prefix is *i*: *ikonga* "a crook"; *ignavi* "tongs"; *idathe. itina* "stones for cracking the canarium almond".

11. Plural of nouns. The plural of nouns is formed by the use of *komi* following the article *na* and preceding the noun; *komi* is used of both persons and things. The use of *na* with *komi* shows the latter to be a "noun of assemblage": *na komi tinoni* "the men, many a man, men"; *na komi botho* "pigs, the pigs". It is not always necessary to use *komi* to indicate plurality; *na ninggua na tinoni* means either "my man" or "my men"; *ke vagugna na vaitugu kori maalaa* "like the stars in the sky". But when *komi* is used there is a definite insistence on plurality. Ray says "Roro *ikoi* (see *TSE.*, iii, p. 446) may be Bugotu *komi* through the dropping of *m*". Duke of York (*ML.*, p. 566) has *kum* as a plural sign.

As stated above under "Articles", *koi* is used of the plural of persons only. There is also a use of the pronouns *marea*, *iira* "they", *iraani* "these", *irangeni* "those", and of the article *ara* and the noun *mara* to denote a plurality of persons: *mara e rua ara dathenu* "they two your children, your two children"; *e linu hangavulu mara na dathe* "the fifty children"; *marea kena mono* "they who are abiding"; *iira na vaivine* "the women"; *e salage rua iraani* "these the twelve, the twelve"; *iraani na vinogagna a Sarah* "these are the days of Sarah". To denote totality *nggovu*, *nggounggovu* "all, complete" and *hikovu* "all" may be added to the noun: *na komi meleha nggounggovu* "all the lands". *Udolu* means "whole, all, totality": *na meleha udolu* "the whole place". *Sethe* "to be many, all" is used with the verbal particle *ke* as an adjective meaning "many": *marea kena sethe* "many people"; *na (komi) mavitu ke sethe* "many peoples".

12. Gender. To denote gender *mane* "male", *vaivine* "female" are added to the noun: *na rungaogna na vaivine* "his, her, mother-in-law".

## IV. PRONOUNS

13. Personal. Pronouns used as the subject of a verb.

- Sing. 1. *inav*, *nau*, *u*.  
 2. *igoe*, *o*.  
 3. *imanea*, *manea* "he, it"; *ia* "she".
- Pl. 1 incl. *igita*, *gita*.  
 1 excl. *igami*, *gami*.  
 2. *igamu*, *gamu*.  
 3. *imaraira*, *maraira*, *imarea*, *marea*, *maria*, *timara*, *timarea*  
 "masculine"; *iira* "feminine".
- Dual 1 incl. *irogita*, *rogita*.  
 1 excl. *irogami*, *rogami*.  
 2. *irogamu*, *rogamu*.  
 3. *iromaraira*, *romaraira*, *romarea* "masculine"; *iroiira*,  
*roiira* "feminine".
- Trial 1 incl. *itolugita*, *tolugita*.  
 1 excl. *itolugami*, *tolugami*.  
 2. *itolugamu*, *tolugamu*.  
 3. *tolumara*, *tolumaraira*, *tolumarea*, *tolira*, *tolu iraani*  
 "masculine"; *toliiira* "feminine".

The dual and trial forms contain the numerals *ro* "two", *tolu* "three".

The short form *nau*, 1st pers. sing., is not in very general use. The short forms of the pronouns 1st and 2nd pers. sing., *u*, *o*, are used as subjects: *u ania* "I said"; *o ahoru* "thou sayest". They are combined with the verbal particle *ke* in the forms *ku*, *ko*, and serve as subjects.

It will be noted that different pronouns for masculine and feminine are used in the 3rd persons singular and plural, and in the dual 3rd pers. also, i.e. gender is distinguished. This usage is rare in Melanesia. The distinguishing of gender, wherever it occurs in Melanesia, would seem to be a Papuan usage. Ray states (in a letter) that gender is distinguished in some Papuan languages in New Guinea. Also that Vella Lavella and Bougainville (in the Solomons) have a similar usage (see *TSE.*, iii, p. 435).

The form *manea* "he" is evidently made from the word *mane* "male". Codrington is undoubtedly correct in regarding the form *ia* "she" as the personal pronoun, 3rd pers. sing., which occurs so commonly in Melanesia. In *ML*. Codrington gives Maewo, Wango,

*ia*, Fiji *koya*, Malay *iya*, as personal pronouns, 3rd pers. sing. (see *MIL.*, pp. 428-9). The initial vowel of *ia* has been lengthened in the Bugotu *iaa*. *Manea, iia*, may precede personal names.

The forms in the 3rd person plural masculine are derived from the noun *mara* "people". For the *ti* of *timara, timarea*, see below, 24 (3), *ali*, etc.

The forms with initial *i*, except *inau, igoe, iia, iira*, are used when the diction is emphatic.

The form *iira* of the 3rd person plural is the regular form *ira* which is seen in Mota, Fiji, etc., the initial vowel being lengthened in Bugotu.

The pronouns of the 3rd person, singular and plural, masculine, are used of things as well as of persons. There is no plural suffix *i, gi*, such as occurs in Florida, used of things. The phrase "the two men" is rendered *romarea na mane*; *itadia romarea* "of, for, the two of them"; "they three" may be expressed by *tolu iraani*, a demonstrative pronoun being used with the numeral.

#### 14. Pronouns suffixed as object to verbs and prepositions.

Sing. 1. <i>u</i> .	Pl. 1 incl. <i>gita</i> .
2. <i>go</i> .	1 excl. <i>gami</i> .
3. <i>a</i> .	2. <i>gamu</i> .
	3. <i>ra</i> .

There is no plural *ni* used of things as in Florida. When the object of a verb or preposition is expressed, there is always an anticipatory object in the form of one of these pronouns suffixed to the verb: *keda padau inau na miomilo* "let the destitution fall on me"; this is an ordinary usage, and is not by way of giving prominence to the pronoun; *vania na vunagi* "for the king". The gerundives *gna, agna*, may be added to a form consisting of verbal particle or noun, transitive verb, and suffixed pronoun of the object: *ke vetulaugna* "commanded me, to command me"; *na vathegamiagna* "the killing of us, to kill us"; *kena mai pungusira romarea* "they came against them both".

#### 15. Pronouns suffixed to nouns, and to certain nouns used as prepositions.

Sing. 1. <i>nggu, nggua</i> .	Pl. 1 incl. <i>da</i> .
2. <i>mu, mua</i> .	1 excl. <i>mami</i> .
3. <i>gna</i> .	2. <i>miu</i> .
	3. <i>dia</i> .

These are the pronouns of possession: *dathenggu* "my son"; *na taviti atudia* "their departure"; *manegna i Bugotu* "a man of Bugotu". The forms *nggua*, *mua* of 1st and 2nd persons singular are used with the stems *ni*, *ga*: *tungihia ninggua na pohe* "I want cloth"; *na gamua* "your food".

For the dual, *ro* "two" precedes the noun, and the plural forms of the pronoun are used: *ro limadia na vaivine* "the hands of the two women"; *ke mono irotadia* "dwelt with the two of them"; *na ro matamiu* "the eyes of you two". *Ro* is itself treated as a noun, the article *na* precedes, and the pronouns are suffixed: *na romiu* "of us two"; *na rodia* "the property of the two of them".

For the trial, *tolu* "three" precedes the noun, the plural forms of the pronoun being used: *na tolu limadia* "the hands of the three".

Nouns with pronouns suffixed, and used as prepositions, are: *(na) vunezna* "because"; *hiligagna* "near"; *kamanegna* "opposite"; *hotagigna* "in the midst of"; *(na) eigna* "the doing of (it), because".

16. Demonstrative pronouns. *Ari* "that, there"; *ani*, *eni*, *eeni* "this, here, that, there"; *ngeni*, *ngengeni*, *nggeri*, *nggenggeri* "that, those, there"; *na* "here, this"; *inau na* "as for me"; *igoe na* "you!"; *a Christ keda mai na* "(when) Christ shall come"; *keda hutheu na* "will call me"; *keda nere na* "if he sleeps". With *ngge-ni*, *ngge-ri*, compare *Sa'a nge*, *nge-na*, *nge-ni*.

Compound: *ia ani*, *ia eni* "this"; *ia ngeni*, *ia nggeri* "that": *na vunezna ia ani* "because of this, therefore"; *ia nggeri ari* "that's it there!"; *ia vamua ngeni na titionogna a Kamakajaku* "this then is the story about Kamakajaku". The form *ia* does not occur singly, but has *ani*, *ngeni*, etc. added. It is (as seen above) the regular Melanesian pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing., he, etc.

Plural: *ira ani*, *ira eni*, *ira ngeni* "these, those"; *imaraira ani* (*ngeni*) "those there". The form *ira* is the regular Melanesian pronoun 3rd pers. pl., they.

*Hi*: *ivei hi mane ari* "where is that man?" shows *hi* as a demonstrative; *da imanea hi tuni eri* "haply he is that person". *Hi* used by itself denotes a finished action (as do also *na* and *ri*): *nggovu hi* "when that was finished"; *ke vula hi* "he has come"; *me ke lavi hi* "and when it was evening"; *toke hi* "that will do! enough!" *Hi* combines with *ri* and *na* to make the forms *hiri*, *hina*, which are used as demonstratives: *itada eeni hiri* "of those here"; *ia ani hiri* "these here"; *ia ngeni hiri* "those here"; *da anggai hina* "do this, then"; *teo hina* "no! not that!" *Ri* is in constant use as an



explanatory word, and is used to soften speech: *ke vano pada vamua a Martha ri* "when Martha met him"; *inau ri* "here I am, it is I". On Mala, *ri* is in use as a demonstrative (also in Roviana, *MIL.*, p. 547).

The demonstrative pronouns generally follow the word they qualify.

17. Interrogative pronouns. (a) Persons: *hai*, *ahai*, plural *arahai* "who?"; *na nigna ahai* "whose?"; *na tononga ahai na* "whose property is this?" The interrogative *na* may be added: *ahai na* "who?" (b) Things: *hava*, *e hava*, *na hava* "what?"; *na hava gua* "what else? all and sundry"; *igita batida hava* "what shall we be?"; *na tango na hava* "what work? work of what sort?"; *bali hava* "what does it matter?"; *e hava* "why?"

18. Indefinite pronouns. The interrogatives are also used as indefinites: *hai*, *ahai*, *hava*, *na hava*, are used as meaning "anyone, anything"; *e hava* is used in exclamations as meaning "how"!; *e hava na tinoni thaba* "how great is this man! what a great man he is!"; *e hava rae toke* "how good it is!"; *na hava* also denotes "that which"; *sikei* "one", *si* "a, one", also mean "anyone, anything"; *ke tea sikei* "there is no one, no one"; *si na mane* "a man, a certain man, any man, a different man".

*Kekeha* is "some"; it is a reduplicated form of *keha* "one, the first"; *kekeha ara dathemu* "some of your children"; *arahai*, a compound of *ara*, a plural article used of persons, and *hai*, the interrogative used impersonally, denotes "those who, they"; *tuu vano arahai nggounggou* "more than they all"; *marahai na nigna na vike* "and all his family".

*Sopa*, *soasopa*, is "every, each, different"; *soasopa vike nggounggou* "every family"; *tagna sopa na vike* "among every family"; *leulegu* "following" is used as meaning "every"; *leulegu nuovugoi* "every morning"; *leulegu magavu* "daily".

19. Relative pronouns. There are no relative pronouns; their place is taken: (a) by a pronoun of the object suffixed to a verb: *na tila ia ani ku sabiria i Marau* "this club I bought it (which I bought) at Marau"; *ivei na tinoui ku regira* "where are the men whom I saw?" (b) by the use of the instrumental preposition *nia*: *na tila ia ani ku nia thabukiagna na tinoni* "this is the club I with it killed a man (with which I killed a man)"; (c) by the use of a clause: *ke dothovia a tahigna me ke regia* "he loves his brother and he saw him (whom he saw)"; *ke mai imanea ke maturingita* "here comes he

that dreams". "The persons who, they who" may be expressed by *na marai*, *arawai*, with verbal particle and verb following.

20. Possessives. The possessive nouns are *ni*, of general relation, and *ga*, which is used of things to eat and drink; both are used of friends or enemies.<sup>1</sup>

Both *ni* and *ga* have generally articles of their own, *na*, *sa*, distinct from the *na* belonging to the noun with which they are used. This *na* is written separately. The pronouns of possession are suffixed to both *ni* and *ga*: *na nigna na vike* "his people"; *na nigna ahai* "whose?"; *nidia arawai* "whose (plural)?". In the 1st and 2nd persons singular, the forms suffixed to *ni* and *ga* are *nggua*, *mua*, not *nggu*, *mu*: *ninggua na kana* "my enemy"; *marea na ninggua na thevu i oka* "my enemies"; *eidia ara gadia tamatahi* "for the brethren"; *ro gadia na thevu i oka* "their enemies"<sup>1</sup>; *ninggua na fata* "a thing of mine"; *keda hea na gagna na bread, ma na gagna na bea keda tatu mono* "his bread shall be given him, and his water shall abide"; *na gamua* "your food".

*Ni* is used, with the suffixed pronouns of possession, as meaning "for my part", etc.: *imarea kena rigia nidia* "they saw it for their part". In the phrases *matagu ninggua* "I was afraid", *tangihia ninggua na pohe* "I want cloth", *ninggua* has the force of a personal pronoun.

## V. ADJECTIVES

21. The adjectives follow the nouns, and in general all words used as adjectives are in a verbal form, being used with the verbal particle *ke*: *ke iso* "small"; *ke hutu* "large" (but *na nggari iso* "a small child" is a correct use; also *manu hutu* "large bird, i.e. eagle"; *ke boi dani hutu gua* "not yet broad daylight"); *kori meleha ke toke me ke hutu* "in a good and large place"; *na komi vike ke seihe puala* "very many nations"; *na vathe ke tabu* "the holy house"; *na fata hina ke iso teotea* "that which is least".

22. Adjectival endings: *ga*, *a*, are adjectival endings; *ga* is added to nouns: *bea* "water", *beabeaga* "watery"; *faafata* "layer", *faafutaga* "in layers"; *a* is in more general use and is added to verbs: *iso*, *isoa* "little"; *teo* "not to be", *teoa* "gone, destroyed"; *udolu*, *udolua* "all, complete"; *toke*, *tokea* "good"; *havi* "to live",

<sup>1</sup> The use of the possessive *ga* with the word denoting "enemy" occurs also in Melanesian languages in New Guinea; see *MIL.*, p. 438. Ray (in letter) also quotes Iaj language, Loyalty Islands, Melanesia, *iwahnai hmiŋy mōnya* "my enemy".

*havia* "living, alive"; *talapono* "to hide", *talaponoa* "secret"; *polo* "to hide", *poloa* "secretly"; *hutu* "to be big", *hutua* "much, big" (see 34).

23. Comparison is made by *vano* "to go" with the preposition *ta*, to which the pronouns of possession are suffixed: *ke hutu vano* "it is bigger"; *ke hutu vano tadia irani* "bigger than those (things)"; *ke thaba vano tagna imaneu* "he is greater than he"; *tuu vano* "standing beyond" also denotes comparison: *a tamadia ke dothovia tuu vano tadia* "his father loved him more than them"; *vano me vano* means "more and more". A simple statement also conveys an idea of comparison: *ke hutu ceni* "this is big", i.e. "it is bigger".

For the superlative *puala*, *rae*, *hehe*, are used: *ke dika hehe pula* "very bad"; *ke rae bohe* "it is very grievous"; *na horugna ke hutu pula* "its fall is very great"; *ido* "mother" is used of anything very big: *idogna na liva* "the mother of scorpions!"; *hangga* denotes "somewhat, rather": *na fei ke hangga hutu* "a fairly large fish".

## VI. VERBS

24. The verb is conjugated in Bugotu by means of particles. These precede the verb and may themselves serve as the subject.

The particles in use are: (1) *e*, *ke*, without tense significance. These two particles mark a word as a verb; both are used with the gerundive, and *ke* is used with certain nouns: *ke nabamu* "sufficient for you". The particle *e* occurs in its simple form when the meaning is "there is, it is", or when used with the conjunctions *ba* "or", *ma* "and", or in the forms *be*, *me*, or with the words *minggoi*, *gua* "lest", *nggi* "illative", etc.: *e teo sa ngaengate itanggua* "fury is not in me"; *e toke* "it is good"; *e tutuni* "truly"; *e kiloagna na horara* "there is a naming the sea, he called it sea"; *e ania*, *e gagua*, *e ahoru* "saying", phrases used of quotations, the subject not being expressed; *uha e uha* "rain rains, i.e. it is raining"; *me vuervegei* "and (it was) next morning"; *e hau me hau* "for ever and ever"; *be teo* "or not"; *keana e teo* "or (if) not"; *nggi e hagore vania* "thereupon (he) said to him". There is a use of the particle *e* in the expressions *e hava* "what?"; *e ngiha* "how many?" and also with the numerals from "two" to "ten": *e rua* "two".

When the subject is in the 3rd pers. plur. *e* combines with the verbal particle *na*, and this *ena* is used instead of the 3rd pers. plur. of the pronoun: *ena minggoi sethe pula* "lest they increase greatly".

In the Sa'a and Ulawa<sup>1</sup> grammars this *e*, which also occurs in those languages, is treated as a pronoun, 3rd pers. sing., but the Bugotu use of *e* shows it to be a verbal particle in origin.

The particle *ke* occurs in its simple form when the subject is in the 3rd pers. singular, or when it is used with a verb to form adjectives, or in phrases like *ke bongi* "it is night, by night"; *ke dani* "by day": *ke taviti imanea* "he has gone"; *na tinoni ke toke* "a good man". It coalesces with *u*, *o*, the short forms of the personal pronouns, 1st and 2nd persons singular, in the forms *ku*, *ko*, which are used as subjects. In the plural, 3rd pers., it is used without loss of vowel in the forms *keda*, *kedana*, *kena*, *kena da*. It sustains the loss of its vowel when compounded as in the forms given below in (4).

(2) *Da*, with tense significance, denoting the future, and with an imperative and conditional use as well. When the sense is future *da* may be used with the particle *ke* in the forms *keda*, *kedana*, etc., *kuda*, etc. (see (4)): *da anggai hina* "this is what you must do"; *da sokara*, *da silada* "arise, shine!"; *keda anggai* "let it be, it will be, thus"; *ara dathenggu e rua koro da sopou* "let my two sons sit"; *da u gagua* "for me to say"; *ba da gagua* "or to say"; *kui bosi adoa da e mono gua* "I don't know if he is still there"; *da mono e lima hangavulu* "if there be fifty"; *da tutugu gua ri ngengeni* "if there be twenty there".

(3) Plural and dual particles uncompounded with the particle *ke* :—

Pl. 1 incl. <i>ati</i>	Dual 1 incl. <i>oro</i> .
1 excl. <i>iti</i> .	1 excl. <i>uru</i> .
2. <i>oti</i> .	2. <i>oro</i> .
3. <i>ena</i> .	3. <i>ro</i> .

These are without tense significance. The forms *ati*, *iti*, *oti*, differ from the corresponding forms *a*, *ai*, *au*, of Florida, though the *a* of *ati* may be the same as the *a* in the Florida and Vaturanga forms. For the *ti* which occurs in them, reference may be made to the pronominal forms *tati*, *geati*, *goati*, in Nggao, Ysabel, and to *dat*, *meat*, *muat*, *diat*, in Duke of York Island (see *ML.*, pp. 556, 567). Ray gives the pronominal forms *tahati*, *gehati* (which also contain *ti*) in a grammar of the "Bush" language of Ysabel (see *MIL.*, p. 529). Ray says (in letter) that the *ti* of these forms is all that remains of the numeral *vati* "four". This would be a Papuan usage from the evidence of *TSE.*, iii, p. 463, where Ray says: "It is interesting to note that in some

<sup>1</sup> Ivens, *Anthropos*, 1910; *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vols. xxii ff.

of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea there are traces of a former inability to count beyond three". After quoting the Wedau *vi-maga-ina* "fourth", which is formed from the root *maga* "many", he also says (p. 464): "This identity of the words for 'four' and 'many' seems to show . . . that all beyond three was 'many' (in Wedau) as in most of the Papuan languages." It seems probable, therefore, that the *ti* of Bugotu *ati*, etc., is for *rati* "four". (With the *ti* of *ati* may be compared the initial *ti* in the pronouns *timara*, *timarea* "they".)

The *ra*, *ru*, of the forms *oro*, *uru*, are variants of the numeral *rua* "two", and appear also on Mala. It is plain that there is but one form for the dual, apart from *ro*, 3rd person, *uru* being adopted to preserve the exclusive use. There is no explanation of the initial vowels.

*Ro* is used as a verbal particle in the dual number, and serves by itself as a subject. The vowel of the conjunction *ma* "and" changes to *o* before *ro*.

The above particles are used as subjects of the verb, and serve instead of the personal pronouns of their equivalent number and person; they are also used with the conjunctions *ngge*, *nggi* (of consequence), and *ma* (copulative); the vowels of *ngge* and *ma* drop before the initial vowel of the particular particle with which they are used, and the consonant of the conjunction joins on to the particle: *ati boi regia* "we have not seen him"; *nggati rongovia miti legua* "we have then heard and follow"; *nggi ena jufu mena piniru* "then they went and encamped". These particles are not used with *da*, the future particle, nor are they used with a subject, pronominal or otherwise.

(4) Particles compounded with the particle *ke*, in all numbers :—

Sing. 1. <i>ku</i>	Pl. 1 incl. <i>kati</i> .
2. <i>ko</i> .	1 excl. <i>kiti</i> .
	2. <i>koti</i> .
	3. <i>kena</i> .
Dual 1 incl. <i>koro</i> .	Trial 1 incl. <i>kotolu</i> .
1 excl. <i>kuru</i> .	1 excl. <i>kutolu</i> .
2. <i>koro</i> .	2. <i>kotolu</i> .
3. <i>koro</i> .	3. <i>kotolu</i> , <i>otolu</i> .

These particles are without tense significance. They may serve by themselves as the subject of the verb, instead of the personal pronouns of their equivalent number and person, or they may be used

with a subject, pronominal or otherwise: *kati ado nggi ati dothovia* "we know that we love him"; *iira kena saisami* "they hastened"; *maraira kena regia* "they saw it"; *na kulidia kena pui* "their ears were deaf".

It is evident that the plural and dual forms of these particles are a compound of *ke* with the particles *ati*, *iti*, etc. The trial forms, with the exception of *otolu*, 3rd pers., are similar in make up to those of the dual number, *tolu*, three, being suffixed to *ko*, *ku*, instead of *ro*, *ru*, two. The forms in the singular are a compound of *ke* with *u*, *o*, the short forms of the personal pronouns, 1st and 2nd persons. In the 3rd pers. sing. *ke* serves alone. The future particle *da* follows any one of the above particles when the sense is future; in the 3rd pers. pl. *kedana* is the more usual form, but *kenada* also occurs.

25. The Imperative. A verb may be used by itself as an imperative: *vatigo* "be off! get away!"; *heu mai* "give me!"; *mai* "come here!" The pronouns *o* "thou", *gamu* "you", and the particles *ko*, *koti*, are used when the sense is imperative: *o taviti moko velea* "go and speak!"; *vano, koti hatia* "go ye and get it!" As stated above, the verbal particle *da* is used by itself as an imperative: *da rarai* "awake (thou)!"

26. The past tense is shown by *gohi* following the verb. This is only used of a definite past, and is not in constant use where in English a past tense is used. The change in tense is not generally stated. *Gohi* is also used (like 'oto in Sa'a) to denote emphasis: *na komi fata na nimu gohi* "your things, I mean". The demonstratives *hi*, *na*, *ri*, are used following the verb to denote completed action. *Nggovu* "to finish, complete" may be added after a verb to denote completeness of action: *ke vathehera nggovu* "killed them all out".

27. Repetition of the object. An anticipatory object is used consisting of a pronoun suffixed to the verb, the object then following; this is not done merely to express emphasis: *ke vetulara na komi tahigna* "he commanded (them) his brethren"; *keda bosi regiu gua inau* "he will not see me again".

The pronoun *a* is suffixed as object to certain verbs where an object is not used in English: *ke velea* "he said"; *kena hagorea* "they said"; *e ania* "said he"; *ku risoa vanigamu* "I wrote to you"; *keda hangavia vanigamu* "I will open to you".

28. Negative Particles. The negative particles used with verbs are *boi*, *bosi*, the latter being the more emphatic; they follow the verbal particles *ku*, etc.: *ku bosi adoa* "I don't know"; *koti bosi kalasu aanga atu* "ye shall not go out in haste"; *moko boi sula* "and

thou art not comforted"; *me ke boi tagna na hehenggu* "and not of my spirit"; *bosi imanea na* "is it not he?" These negative particles may qualify nouns, or words which are nouns in form: *ku boi tinoni* "I am no man"; *keana bosi ninggua* "but not of, for, me"; *boi nigna* "he doesn't want to". The gerundival ending *gna* may be added to *boi*: *ke boigna na nggari duamami* "the lad is not (not being with us)".

29. The conjunction *nggi*. *Nggi* is used (1) as a connective particle, meaning "thereupon, then, and"; (2) as an illative, meaning "in consequence"; (3) with the verbal particle *e*, meaning "if, in order to"; (4) to denote "that" in dependent clauses; (5) of indirect speech; (6) with the short pronouns *u*, *o*, used as subjects, or with the verbal particles *e*, *ati*, *iti*, *oti*, *ena*, used as subjects; (7) with the verbal particles compounded with *ke* when these are followed by the future particle *da*: *nggovu nggi* "thereupon, after that"; *ngiha nggi oti vano* "when are you going?"; *kuda vetulara arahai nggi kedana ohoo* "I will send some to (that they should) carry it"; *nggi e veleu* "if he says"; *nggi e vanga me ke kou* "to eat and drink"; *nggi e talangia mai* "let him bring him hither"; *nggi e vathehea* "to kill him"; *koti hagorea nggi inau* "ye say that it is I"; *a Joseph ke vetula nggi e rote vonura na nidia na vuke* "Joseph bade them fill their sacks".

The vowel of *nggi* does not drop before the vowel of the verbal particle or the pronoun with which it is used. The personal pronouns, except *u* and *o*, are only used with *nggi* when the sense is future and the particle *da* is added to the verbal particle *ke* or those particles which contain *ke*.

30. The words *minggoi*, *gua*, *go*. These all mean "lest". *Minggoi* is used immediately preceding a verb: *koti minggoi veiuhugi* "see that ye do not quarrel"; it may follow the conjunction *nggi*, used with the verbal particle *e*, or it may follow *ngge*: *nggi e minggoi vareogo* "lest thou be destroyed"; *e minggoi sonovigita na thepa* "lest the earth swallow us up"; *gua* is used with the pronouns *u*, *o*, used as subjects, or with the verbal particles *e*, *ati*, *iti*, *oti*, *ena*, used as subjects; *minggoi* may be added: *gua oti minggoi manggoli* "lest ye faint"; *gua e minggoi auangamu* "lest ye be tempted"; *gua e iti thehe* "lest we die"; *go* is used only with the verbal particles *e*, *ena*, of the 3rd person, and *minggoi* may be added.

31. The dehortative is *sa*, or *sagoi*, the longer form being compounded of *sa* and *goi* "at all"; of these, *sagoi* is in more general

use: *sagoi matagu* "do not fear"; *o sa sigo au* "do not look out!"; *koti sagoi piapilau* "do not lie". Both *sa* and *sagoi* are used as strong negatives: *sa dorovia gua na matangu* "shall see my face no more"; *keana a Pharaoh da sa tango piapilau gua* "but let not Pharaoh deal any more deceitfully"; *a God keda sagoi hagore vanigami* "let not God speak to us"; *inai kuda sagoi mane piipisi* "I will not be a healer". (Compare the use of *sa'a*, the dehortative, in Sa'a.)

32. The use of nouns and gerundives, i.e. noun forms, as verbs has been exemplified above under "Nouns", *gna*; *agna*. Further examples are: *inarea ngge na jufu kori meleha i mono* "so they came to a place of abode"; *hava ko resugna na pohemu* "why have you torn your clothes?"; *nau tovongai tokenggu* "as soon as I am well"; *ena vanohehedia* "they desire"; *ke boi sonovia tokegna na vanga* "there is not a good swallowing of food, i.e. I can't swallow my food"; *ko sagoi matagu na horugna* "do not fear to go down".

33. Certain verbs are treated as nouns by the suffixing of the pronouns of possession, 1st pers. pl. incl., but the resultant phrase can only be translated as a verb in the imperative: *atu* "to go", *atuda* "let us go!"; *raraida* "let us awake!"; *nereda* "let us sleep!". This use may be compared with the Santa Cruz use of a suffixed pronoun with the verb. (See *ML*, pp. 489, 491, *mopenge* "my seeing", i.e. "I see".)

34. The Passive. There is no passive, but a passive sense is conveyed (1) by the use of the particle *ke* with a transitive verb: *arahai kena tinairaira* "those who are instructed"; *ke rote vonura na duke* "they have filled the bags, i.e. the bags have been filled"; *tagna ke birehira* "when they were made"; or by the use of particle and neuter verb: *na komi fata ke jou* "the things that are planted"; (2) by the use of the gerundive: *kena nia voliradiagna nigna na rongo* "they were bought with his money"; *na vatheheugna* "the killing of me, my being killed".

Passive endings. There is a passive ending in *a*, which doubtless is an extension of the adjectival suffix in *a*: *hangavia* "opened"; *hogaginia* "boundless"; *risoa* "written"; *rotea* "fallen down"; *soaravia* "flooded"; *siria* "burst"; *tavea* "flowed"; *vathehea* "killed" (see 22).

35. The order of the Bugotu sentence. The subject often comes, though not necessarily, at the end of the sentence: *na mane ma na vaivine ke birehira imanea* "male and female created he them"; *me ke vele tokera a God* "and God blessed them"; *ke poka na kidoru*,



*ke rugu au na manu* "the egg bursts, out comes the bird"; *na boiho ke gania na iu* "the dog seizes the pig"; *ke gani nggouu gohi inau* "I have eaten it all"; *ke kiligi na hinage, me ke luwu na tinoni* "capsizes the canoc, and drowns the man", i.e. "the canoe capsizes, and the man is drowned".

36. "When, time when" is rendered by *tagna*, *itagna* "in it, while, when": *tagna iangeni* "then"; *itagna na maiagna mai* "when he is come, at his coming"; *tagna koti sopou kori vathemiu* "when you sit down in your houses"; but a simple statement may serve the purpose: *inau ku thehe gohi, koti ngihuu inau* "(when) I am dead, ye shall bury me"; *inau ku mono mua* "while I stay".

37. Quotation. There is no particle which marks quotation, but certain phrases are employed: *e ahoru*, *e (ke) ania* "saying, says he, said he" (these may be added at the end of a sentence in addition to whatever verb meaning "to say" has been used as the predicate); *ke gagua* "said he, saying"; *mena ania, Ke havi a dathemu* "saying, Thy son liveth"; *gua* "thus" denotes a quotation: *ke hagore gua* "he spoke saying"; *mi manea* "then he (said)"; *ke unggai e ahoru a Jihova, ke velea* "thus spake Jehovah, saying"; *ea* also denotes a quotation, and may occur at the beginning or the ending of a sentence: *ea manea* "says he"; *a Hannah ke tarai, ea* "Hannah prayed, saying". The *a* of *ea* is probably for *ga* of *gagua* "to speak, say", the *g* having dropped, and *ea* in some connotations appears to mean "done".

38. Verbal Prefixes. The causative prefix is *va*, which is used with verbs, and with the numerals to form the ordinals: *aoaso* "to walk", *vaaoaso* "to lead by the hand"; *varuagna*, *varuai* "a second time, second"; *varatigna* "fourth"; *vavitugna* "eighth". A form *fa* also appears: *famaemane* "to be arrogant". There is a prefix *vi* which is used with the numeral *tolu* "three": *vitolu* "the third day", *vitolugna* "third". (Cf. Roviana *vina* in *vinarua* "second", and Wedau *vi* (*TSE.*, iii, p. 473).) The reciprocal prefix is *vei*; this is used with verbs, the verbal suffix *gi*, used intransitively, being generally added: *veihaohagoregi* "to converse"; *veidikahaginigi* "to hurt one another", show *gi* added to a verb already possessing a transitive suffix; *veirarovi* "mutual sympathy" is used as a noun. Some forms serve as both verb and noun: *veitotovigi* "to split up a village, dissension"; *veituagi* "to altercate, altercation"; *veithabuthabu* "to beat one another" is used without *gi* suffixed; *koti veimono soleana* "be at peace one with another" shows *vei* used without *gi*.

There is also a word *veinigi* meaning "mutually"; this is made up of *vei*, reciprocal prefix, *ni*, prepositional verb, *gi*, verbal suffix: *veinigi gagathai* "to bite one another"; *koti veinigi tango na dotho* "serve one another in love".

The prefixes *hai*, *fai*, denoting mutuality, appear in the verbs *haidu*, *faidu* "to gather together", cf. Sa'a *hāi*.

Condition is denoted by the prefixes *ma*, *mama*, *ta*: *malumu* "easy"; *mamaluha* "loosed"; *tavoga* "different". Other prefixes are *tata*, *tava*, *toto*: *tatangutu* "to assemble in crowds"; *tavalili* "to depart"; *tavaguguri* "to blow in gusts"; *tavaumu* "loosed"; *totopiti* "revolving, a wheel".

*Vari*, *fari*, is a prefix of reciprocity: *vari hotagigna Bethel ma Ai* "between Bethel and Ai"; *varinanaba* "to be equal with one another"; *variapo* "to toss about"; *faritango* "to work together"; *fari* is used as a verb meaning "to share", cf. Mota *var*.

39. Suffixes to verbs. These suffixes when added to the Bugotu verb do not make them necessarily transitive (i.e. a pronominal object is not necessarily added to them), though they are definitely transitive suffixes in the Sa'a and Ulawa languages. The suffixes are: (1) Simple: *i*, or *i* preceded by a consonant: *gi*, *hi*, *lei*, *li*, *mi*, *ni*, *ngi*, *ri*, *si*, *ti*, *vi*. These suffixes are used indifferently, and no particular sense can be assigned to any one.

*baka* "to be bruised", *bakai* "to bruise"  
*jathe* "to call", *jathegi* "to call attention to"; *veihaohagoregi*  
 "to converse".

*liohe*, "to look at" (Sa'a *lio*, "to look").

*piru* "to plait", *piruki* "to plait a thing".

*hanggu* "to be steep", *hangguli* "to climb up".

*iju* "to count", *ijuni* "to count things".

*matagu* "to fear", *mataguni* "to fear a thing".

*buta* "to open the eye", *butangi* "to stare at".

*tapo* "to strike", *tapori* "to brush with the hand".

*nggarusi* "to scratch something" (Sa'a *karu* "to scratch").

*pono* "to close over", *ponoi*, *ponoli* "to close over a thing".

*dodoro* "to see", *dorovi* "to see something".

A supplementary verb *la* also appears, attached to verbs, and meaning "to do": *boi* "not to be", *boiboila* "to be disobedient", i.e. (nothing do); *dika* "to be bad", *diadikala* "to damage (to do bad to)"; *havu* "to wash", *havula* "to wash someone (to wash do)";

*dua* "to be together with", *duaduala* "to increase in numbers (put together)". A transitive suffix *mai* is seen in *palamai* (*pala*) "to embrace".

(2) The suffixes *agi*, *gini*; *agi* is added to the consonants *g*, *h*, *l*, *ng*, *r*, *s*, *v*, the forms being: *gagi*, *hagi*, *lagi*, *ngagi*, *ragi*, *sagi*, *vagi*. These forms are often intransitive (i.e. a pronominal object is not attached to them), but *gagi*, *ngagi*, and *vagi* have a transitive force. A suffix *ni* is added to the suffixes *agi*, *hagi*, *lagi*, *sagi*: *liusagini* "to exceed", *liu* "to go beyond". The suffix *gini* is transitive in use: *kia* "to laugh", *kiagini*, *kiagi* "to laugh at a person"; *vakotha* "to be entangled, difficult", *vakothagini* "to be costly, valuable". Ray says that the suffixes *agi*, *gini* are derived from the Indonesian forms *akēn*, *kēn*, *kan*.

*havugagi* "to sacrifice", *haru* "to make an offering".

*thabuhagi* "to wink at".

*polohagini* "to conceal", *pola* "to be hidden".

*kekलगini* "to importune", *keke* "to cry aloud".

*jatangagi* "to be brimful of", *jata* "to be brimful".

*gnaoragi* "to subside", *guwo* "to subside, of water".

*livusagi* "to commit", *livusagini* "to put down and leave", *liu* "to put".

*boitagini* "to refuse to do", *boi* "not to be".

*kobathagi* "to be destitute", *kobathagini* "to strip off", *koba* "to be void".

*ahavagi* "to be angry with", *aha* "to be bitter".

The verb *veidikahaginigi* "to harm one another" shows the suffix *gi* added to *hagini*. The suffixes *agi*, *agini*, are added to the verb *talu* "to put": *talugagi* "to put"; *talugini* "to set an ambush for".

40. Reflexive. A reflexive meaning is conveyed by *tabiru* "back, again", and by *hege*, *gehe* "self (a noun)": *manea ke vathehe* (*tabiru*) *gehegna* "he killed himself"; *ke hotu gehegna* "it fell off of itself"; *imanea gehegna* "he himself"; "of one's own accord" is rendered by *puku* (a noun): *na ninggua na pukunggu* "of my own accord".

41. Reduplication of verbs. A verb of two syllables may be reduplicated as a whole: *ili*, *ilili*, "to totter"; *aru*, *aruaru* "to bore"; *ahu*, *ahuahu* "to smoke". The first syllable of a verb may be repeated: *vahi*, *ravahi* "to choose"; or the first two syllables may be repeated: *udolu*, *udoudolu* "whole"; with words of two syllables the whole may be repeated with the dropping of the second consonant: *vela*, *veavela*; *vene*, *veevene*; *hiro*, *hihihiro*. With verbs

of more than two syllables the first two syllables are generally repeated, and the second consonant may be dropped: *hagore*, *haohagore*; *putaka*, *paaputaka*; but *hagohagore* and *paaputaka* also occur. The general idea conveyed by reduplication is that of intensification of meaning: *hiohiro* "to search earnestly"; but this is not always the case, and many verbs occur only in a reduplicated form.

42. Auxiliary verbs: *talu* "to put, to continue" is used with other verbs as an auxiliary: *e boi talu polo* "is not hid"; *talu hage* "to enter"; *talu mono* "to abide"; *talu regi* "to see"; *talu piniru* "to encamp"; *eigna na hava koti nia talu sokara* "why stand ye here?" *Mono* "to dwell" also denotes "to be"; *vuka* "to begin", *vukai* "to become, to be"; *hangga* "to lack, to be short of" also denotes "to be about to, nearly, hardly any, somewhat": *inau ku hangga tuturi aura* "if I should tell of them"; *vano* "to go" denotes "to be": *na fata tavoga da vano olighina* "let another thing come, be, in its place"

## VII. ADVERBS

43. (1) Direction: *mai* "hither" is used as a verb meaning "to come"; it is used with the locative *i* to denote "from, place whence": *kena mai ivei* "whence come they?" *mai i Pirihadi* "from Pirihadi"; *tagna na turuguna mai* "from the beginning till now"; *na mai regiugna* "the coming to see me, to see me"; *atu* "away, out, forth" is used as a verb meaning "to go forth": *lau*, *i lau* "seawards"; *longa*, *i longa* "south"; *eta*, *i eta* "east"; *i etagna* "up east". The *ita*, *yta*, added by the Spanish discoverers of the Solomon Islands to the native name of the island which lies south-east of Ysabel, Mala (which they entered in their Log as "Malaita" or "Malayta"), is the Bugotu word *i eta* "east"; for it was from Ysabel that the Spaniards first saw Mala, and their informants would say, on being asked the name of that island over there, *Mala i eta* "that's Mala up there!" *Paka* "over there", of general direction; *gathaga* "up, eastwards" (Sa'a 'ala'a); *horu* "down, to go down".

(2) Place (see "Demonstrative Pronouns", 16). *Eeni*, *eri*, *ceri* "here"; *ia ani* "here"; *ngeni*, *ngengeni*, *ia ngeni*, *ia nggeri*, *nggeri*, *nggengeri* "there"; *garige* "near", used with *i* locative; *hau*, *i hau* "far"; *ivei* "where?" *iveimu* "what part of you?" shows *ivei* as a noun; it is also used as meaning "place where, anywhere"; *i sungga* "within"; *sungga i vathe* "in the house"; *i kost*, *i kosigna*

"without, outside"; *utu* "outwards"; *talugu, i talugu, talugugna* "outside, the outside".

(3) Time. The adverbs of time are generally used preceding the noun: *ngiha, i ngiha* "when?"; *ngihanggi* "when? how many? how much?"; *torongoi, torongai* "when, as soon as"; *nggeni* "to-day, of time past, already, just now"; *kenu gua* "to-day, of future time, presently"; *kenu gua vuovugoi* "to-morrow morning"; *vuovugoi* "on the morrow, to-morrow" (Sa'a hu'o); *vugei, vuvugei* "in the morning, this morning"; *(i)ke anggi eni* "now"; *ke anggai eni vaho* "this very day"; *valiha* "the third day, of past or future time"; *ku taviti gohi valiha* "I went the day before yesterday"; *kuda taviti valiha* "I will go the day after to-morrow"; *valiha gohi* "three days ago"; *i gnothu* "yesterday"; *nggi e giagilai* "until"; *goi*, "also, again, at all," precedes the verb; *inggai* "until, the time preceding an event"; *kidi* "for the first time, formerly"; *ku boi kidi regia* "I never saw him".

(4) Manner: *hava nia* "how?"; *e hava e ania, ivei ke ania* "how?"; *bali hava* "why?"; *e hava rae toke* "how good this is!" shows *hava* used indefinitely; *ia ngeni* "thus"; *anggai, ke anggai, ke anggainia* "thus"; *vaga, vagagna, hogogna* "as, like, like as"; these are used with the verbal particle *ke*, the possessive pronoun 3rd pers. sing. *gna* may be added; *ke vagagna na manu* "like a bird"; *gaonggai* "so", following *vagagna* "as"; *hitagi* "even, indeed"; *eigna* "because, for"; *eigna na hava* "why?"; *gua* "still, again, more, also"; *gua* "lest" is used with the verbal particle *e*, as is also *minggoi* "lest"; *gua ri* "perhaps, haply" used following the verb; *mua* "yet, still, more, again, also"; *kikimua* "slowly"; *ramua* "only, merely, forsooth, indeed, I mean (in explanations)"; *sikei vam* it doesn't matter "it's all one and the same"; *vavaha* "merely, for no reason, just"; *vaho* "very, certainly, just, thus"; *mugua* "certainly, really, indeed"; *e tutuni mugua* "truly!"; *vunegna, vuhagna* "because of"; these are nouns, and are preceded by the article *na*: *na vunegna na hava* "why?"; *tuni, toni* "probably, possibly, perhaps"; *na bule, kunabule* "perhaps"; these are followed by a gerundive; *gathi* "somewhat, few": *gathi ngiha* "too few"; *u gathi havi toke mua* "I am still fairly well"; *goi* denotes a definite preterite, and follows the verb; *tangomana, tangomalaga* mean "can, be able to": *o boi tangomalaga na regiagna na thepa* "you cannot look on the earth"; *keda boi tangomana na ijumiradiagna* "they cannot be numbered". *Teo* is "yes", *hii* is

“no”; *na* asks questions, and follows the interrogative pronoun *ahai* “who?” or occurs at the end of a sentence.

### VIII. PREPOSITIONS

#### 44. (1) Simple :—

Locative : *i, kori.*

Genitive : *i.*

Motion : *regi, thae; pungusi; sani.*

Instrumental : *nia.*

Dative : *ni, vani.*

The locative *i* used with the adverb *mai* “hitherwards” denotes “motion from”: *kena legua mai i Galilea* “they followed Him from Galilee”; *i nggarunggu mai* “from my youth up”; the locative *i* precedes place-names; *kori* means “within, at, in, of, from”; it is compounded of *kora i* “inside, at”: *hage kori hugu* “to enter the harbour”; *kori vido* “in the place”; when used with *au* “out, away” *kori* denotes “from”: *ruqu au kori* “to go out from”.

The use of the genitive *i* is shown above under “Nouns”, 8. It may be used of place, and is not to be confused in this connection with the locative *i*: *igita i Bugotu* “we of Bugotu”; *vaivinegna i Sion* “daughter of Sion”. The articles are not used with *i* and *kori*: *na ahehe i havi* “the breath of life”; *kori vathe* “in the house”. Two verbs denoting “change” and “begin” are used with *i* genitive: *tabiru i, tuguru i*; cf. *Sa’a achota* “to begin”, *oli* “to change”, *la* “to go, to be”, which are used with *i*, a genitive.

There is a use of *ni*, a genitive, with the noun *puku* “real”: *puku ni mana* “really powerful”; also with *pau* “head”: *pau ni mane* “adult, elder”; *pau ni taviti* “an uninterrupted going, to go straight on”.

The prepositions denoting motion are all verbs, and they always have the pronouns of the object suffixed; *regi* “to go, to see”, *thae* “to go”, both mean “to, towards”; *pungusi* denotes “against, in opposition to”; *sani* means “from”, and is generally used in composite phrases: *na taviti saniragna* “to leave them”. *Nia*, the instrumental, means “by means of, by, thereby, withal, therewith”; it precedes the word or phrase with which it is used: *ke nia voliradiagna nigna na rongo* “he bought them with his money”; *ke nia poko na poke* “he is clad with clothes”. There is a use of *nia* in *e hava nia* “why?” *o hava nia eeri* “what are you doing here?”

A form *niagna* is used as meaning "with".

*Ni* is called by Ray "a prepositional verb"; it precedes the verb, and the pronoun of the object is suffixed; it means "with, by, to, for": *me ke nira havugagi* "and sacrificed therewith"; *a Abraham ke nira udu haidu* "Abraham went along with them"; *me ke nira hage kori hugu* "and there is an entering for them into (they enter) the harbour"; *keda nia lealeaa na tootonggo* "they rejoiced with joy".

*Ni* is used with certain verbs, the pronoun of the object being suffixed in agreement with the object of the verb: *keda niu fate hatherugna na koakoa* "my sins will condemn me"; *ko nia tuhu vano na limamu* "stretch out thy hand"; *ko sagoi nia jike sania* "turn not away from it". Other verbs which have *ni* preceding them are *bati* "to resist"; *hugu* "to deny"; *raba* "to scatter"; *siriu* "to hate"; *tootonggo* "to rejoice"; *thare* "to be undecided".

*Vani* denotes "to, for" of the dative; *vania* is used as meaning "said to him"; the phrase *na ijumi vaniagna* "the reckoning to him, it was reckoned to him" is a composite noun in form.

The instrumental *nia* is probably formed from "the prepositional verb" *ni*.

The verbs *ani*, *vele*, mean "to tell to" a person, and they have the pronoun of the object suffixed: *me ania* "and said to him"; *he* means "to give to" a person, and has a similar use: *me hera* "and gave to them". *Ani* seems to mean "to do to a person" (cf. *Ulawata* "to do, to say").

(2) Nouns or verbs, with pronouns suffixed, used as prepositions:—

*Ta* "at, in, with, of, from"; *ei* "for, on behalf of"; *dua* "with, companion"; *kamene* "opposite to, fellow".

*Ta* is of very general application: *tagna na vido* "in the place, from the place, at the place"; *ke taviti tagna* "goes from thence"; *i* may be prefixed to *ta*: *na kuli itadia* "they have ears"; *ke sabiri itanggua* "he bought it from me"; but *ta-* not *ita-* is used when governing: *tagna na hehenggu* "of my spirit"; *tagna ia ani* "herein"; *tagna ia ngeni* "then"; *itagna na maiagna mai* "when he is come"; *tagna* also denotes "when, while". For *ta* see *ML*, pp. 159-60.

*Ei* is a verb in origin, and means "to do": *ei vathe* "to build houses"; *eigna* "the doing of it, because". When used as a preposition it has the pronoun of the object suffixed in agreement with the word which it governs: *eigna na hava* "why?"; *einggu, einggu inari* "for me"; *eida igita, eimami igami* "for us"; *eidia* "for them". The article *na* may precede: *na eidia na botho* "about the pigs".

*Dua* means "companion, fellow", and with the pronoun of possession suffixed it signifies "with": *duagna* "with him, i.e. his fellow, in his company"; *duamiu* "with you".

(3) Compound. The compound prepositions are nouns with suffixed pronouns, and the locative *i* may precede them: *popo*, *i popo* "above, next", *popogna* "its top, on it, above", *i popogna suasupa* "on the tops of the hills", *vula i popo* "next month"; *sara* "below, beneath, under", *sara i valhe* "under the house", *i saragna*, *i sasaragna* "underneath (it)"; *kora* "within, resting in", *kora i (kori) valhe* "in the house", *korangu inau* "in me", *i koragna* "within, in"; *thepa* "earth", *i thepa* "below"; *i thepagna* "underneath, below"; *legu* "to follow, after, behind, last, rear", *i legugna* "afterwards", *legugna na thehe* "after death"; *hiliga* "round, about", *i hiligagna* "near".

## IX. CONJUNCTIONS

45. Copulative *ma*; disjunctive *ba*, *ma*; consequential *ngge*, *nggi*; adversative *keana*; connective *kari*.

The conjunctions *ma*, *ba*, shift their vowels in agreement with the first vowel of the word that follows. There is a complete change of vowel in the case of *ma*, viz. *me*, *mi*, *mo*, *mu*, but the changes of *ba* are confined to *be*, *bi*. The form *mi* "and" is preferred even when the following vowel is other than *i*: *thervu mi thevu* "part and part"; but *ma* is used before the articles *a*, *na*, *sa*. The vowel of *ma* drops when used with the pronouns *u* "I", *o* "thou" and the verbal particles *ati*, *iti*, *oti*, *ena*, and the vowels of both *ma* and *ba* drop when the locative preposition *i* follows, the resultant forms being *mi*, *bi*. The vowel of *ma* drops before the initial *i* of the pronouns *inau* "I", *igoe* "thou", and the resultant forms are *minau*, *migoe*. In the case of the other pronouns beginning with the vowel *i*, this vowel replaces the vowels of *ma*, *ba*, but the resultant forms *mi*, *bi* are written separately from the pronoun; *mi gila*, *mi ia*, *bi maraira*, etc. The form *ma* is often used as a connective when the following vowel is other than *e*; *me* may also denote "or". Similarly the form *bi* is preferred to *ba*; *bi . . . bi* denotes "either . . . or"; *be teo* "or not, haply" may be used in questions, and occurs at the end of a sentence. *Ngge* has a consequential use only, and means "then, thereupon, after that"; its vowel drops before the pronouns *u* "I", *o* "thou", the resultant forms being *nggu*, *nggo*; the vowel of *ngge* also drops before the first vowel of the verbal particles *ati*, *iti*, *oti*, *ena*; *nggati*, *nggiti*, etc.; *ngge* is not used with the verbal particles which are compounded with *ke*; *ngge* may be followed by *minggoi* "lest": *ko vetulara na mavitu nggena minggoi hujuu mai* "bid the people not to come near"; *nggati minggoi thehe* "lest we die".

For *nggi* see par. 30.



## X. NUMERALS

## 46. Cardinals :—

<i>sikei</i> "one".	<i>ono</i> "six".
<i>rua</i> "two".	<i>vitu</i> "seven".
<i>tolu</i> "three".	<i>ulu</i> "eight".
<i>vati</i> "four".	<i>hiu</i> "nine".
<i>lima</i> "five".	<i>salage</i> } "ten".
	<i>hangavulu</i> }

The numerals from "two" to "ten" are used with the verbal particle *e*: *e rua* "two"; *tutugu* "a score"; *mola* "ten thousand"; are both used with the verbal particle *e*.

In counting a series *keha* "one" is used, and not *sikei*; *sikei* has the further meanings of "a, the first, once, the one . . . the other, each": *sikei gua* "one more"; *sikei na vula e salage vatigna na magavu* "the first month, the fourteenth day". There is a form *siesikei* = one. *Sakai* (Florida *sakai* "one") is used in Bugotu as meaning "together, with one accord, reciprocally": *sakai godo* "covenant, agreement".

The articles *si*, *sa* also denote "one": *si na mane* "a certain man"; *sa meleha* "a place"; *e leo sa uha* "there was no rain".

The forms *ro*, *ru* "two" appear in the pronouns of the dual number; they are a change from *rua*: *na ro matadia* "our eyes, the eyes of us two"; there is a separate use of *ro*: *ro vavinegna* "his two sisters"; *ro tadia* "the two of them"; and the pronouns are added to *tolu* "three": *sikei na tolu dia na tango* "they three had one trade".

*Salage* "ten" is made up of *sa*, the article, and *lage*; *kasa* "to be complete" (*Mota paso* "to be finished") is added to *salage*: *salage kasa* "a full ten"; *e salage sikei* "eleven"; *e salage rua* "twelve"; *mara e salage rua* "the twelve"; *salage* is used to denote "a great number": *e salage ngika* "how many tens!", i.e. "how numerous!"; *na salage thaba* "abundance".

*Hangavulu* "ten" is used only of tens which are not units of twenty: *e lima hangavulu* "fifty"; *e hia hangavulu me hia* "ninety-nine".

There is nothing to mark the unit over ten, but a word *tomaga* is used meaning "to be in excess, over and above": *e lima tomaga* "five and a few over"; *e salage me tomaga* "some over ten"; *tutugu* (a noun) is "a score, twenty": *tutugu sikei* "twenty-one"; *e tutugu lima* "twenty-five". A "hundred" is *hathangatu*, which is the Florida *hangalatu*, by metathesis: *si na hathangatu* "one hundred".

There is nothing to mark the unit over a hundred : *e ruu na hathangatu vitu hangavulu me ono* "two hundred and seventy-six". A "thousand" is *toga*; *mola* is "ten thousand"; *feferi* "a hundred thousand"; *vuthea* "a million"; *vathegila* "ten million". These are all nouns. The last two numbers are used of stored canarium almonds.

"How many?" is *ngiha*; *ngiha* has also an indefinite use: *gathi ngiha* "too few".

There is no distributive; *sopa, soasopa* "to be different" serves the purpose: *sopa hathangatu na thanggi* "by hundreds"; *e onoono sousopa na alodia* "six wings apiece".

There are certain words which denote a specific number of things: *sikei na aba* "a ten of turtles, ten turtles"; *sikei na boka i topa* "a ten of *topa* fish, ten *topa* fish"; *sikei na pangga* "a ten of pigs, ten pigs"; *sikei na pigu* "a ten of coconuts, ten coconuts"; *si na tuiha* "a fleet of canoes, ten, fifteen, twenty, or a hundred canoes"; *sikei na varipuku* "one knot, a hundred *buma* fish".

47. The ordinals are formed by adding the suffix *gna* to the cardinals, i.e. by using them as nouns; the article *na* may precede: *rua* "two", *ruagna* "second". "First" is *sikei* or *nago* "face, front, before": *ke nago* "first"; *na nago ma na legui vahui* "the first and the last".

There is a use of *horu* "times, repeated occasions" as a multiplicative: *ngiha horu i tuturiagna* "how many tellings?"; *e tolu na horu i vaniagna* "three times of telling"; *keda hangavulu i tangoliagna* "it will be ten the doing of it, ten times". The ordinals also have the same use: *ruagna, e ruagna* "twice"; *kidi* means "first, formerly, for the first time".

The cardinals with a gerundive denote a multiplicative: *e tolu ninggua na kaeagna* "it is the third time I have asked". *Vitolu* used with *magavu* "day" means "the fourth day", i.e. "three clear days"; *vitohugna* "third". This prefix *vi* is not used otherwise.

The causative prefix *va* is used with all the ordinals from the second to the tenth: *varuagna, vasalagegna (vasalage)*; these forms are used in general as multiplicatives, "twice, ten times," etc. *Varuai* means "second, a second time": *'na varuai ahagna* "a second name"; *na varuai laviti saniragna* "the second time of leaving them".

## XI. EXCLAMATIONS

48. *a* is used of summoning or of address: *a Moses* "Moses!"; *nige* is used in questioning, and to call attention: *ovi* "oh! hey!

come now!"; *toke* "well then! good! come now!"; *au* "who can say! don't know!"; *keke, akeke* "eh!" a cry of pain or fear; *namu* "aha!"; *ido* "mother" is used in *ido i meleha* "mother of countries!" to express wonderment.

## XII. EXAMPLE OF BUGOTU NARRATIVE

A translation of the story appended here will be found on pp. 365-6 of Dr. Codrington's *The Melanesians*. The original MS. story was written for Dr. Codrington.

### THE STORY OF KAMAKAJAKU

#### *Titionogna A Kamakajaku*

He dwelt on the hill at Gaji and he was  
*Manea ke-mono kori suasupa i Gaji, me*  
 mending nets and he looked at down the sea  
*suke bau, mi manea ke siromia horua na hugalu*  
 black very and they his grandchildren they about to  
*ke jongo puala; mara kukuagna kena hangga*  
 go down to the sea and collect shellfish and Kamakajaku  
*horu i tahi, mena vagoda; ma a Kamakajaku*  
 says to them you go dip in the place I  
*ke anira, "Koti vano toia mai tagna na vido ku*  
 saw mine the saltwater said he to them And they  
*regia na gagua na tahi," e anira. Mara*  
 his grandchildren they went forth down and they got shellfish  
*kukuagna kena atu horu mena vagoda*  
 and they netted fish and then they dipped the saltwater  
*mena unggura; me nggoru kena toia na tahi,*  
 and they went up and arrived at the village and they  
*mena hadi mena vula kori meleha, mena*  
 went gave to him and he said you give it here  
*atu hea, mi manea ke ahoru, "Koti hatia mai*  
 the dish and I pour down and I see (it) the  
*na nahu mu tilima horua, muku regia na*  
 blackness of it like I looked at it down says he  
*jongogna vagagna ku siromia horua," e ahoru;*

and he poured down and looked at it and did not find  
*me tilima horua me regia me bosi regi-pada*  
 like looked at it down dwelling on the hill And  
*vagagna ke regia horua na mono kori suasupa. Me*  
 next morning he took the saltwater vessel and went forth  
*vuevugei me hatia na tahi, me atu*  
 down and put (it) in his ear a piece of flint and  
*horu, me talua kori kuligna na vilo i nadi, me*  
 went down and came to the sea and put (it) down on  
*taviti horu, me vula i tahi, me talua i*  
 the beach his bag and club and shield  
*longa na nigna na ngoi, ma na tila ma na reoreo ;*  
 thereupon took (it) the vessel and swam and went seawards  
*nggi e tangolia na tahi me oiho, me sapa,*  
 and looked up to the hill on it he dwelt and not  
*me tada hadia na suasupa tagna ke mono, me bosi*  
 get sight of it yet and further went seawards still  
*regi-pada mua, me hujuu sapa mua,*  
 till saw the hill at Gaji Thereupon dipped and  
*nggi e regia na suasupa i Gaji. Nggi e toia, ma*  
 the surface of the sea sounded and bubbled then  
*na matagna na tahi ke tailangi me buaburara, ngge*  
 he heard come a *kobili* a fish big exceedingly and  
*rongovia mai na kobili na fei hutu puala, me*  
 it came swallowed him and with him went and went off  
*mai sonovia, me nia taviti me tahu vano*  
 to the rising (of) up the sun and with him went  
*tagna na songgalagna hadi na aho, me nia taviti,*  
 and went till with him arrived at place of shoal  
*me taviti nggi e nia jufu kori masa i kakaba,*  
 and turned from side to side till perceived Kamakajaku  
*me goro kililia nggi e rongovia a Kamakajaku*  
 that on shore already probably I here then  
*da i longa gohi tuni. "Nau eni nggi,"*

says he and then thought of the flint in his ear and  
*e ahoru : me ngge gagana na nadi kori kuligna, me*  
 felt for it and found it and cut open the belly of  
*tangolia hadia, me tango-pada, me thavikutua na kutugna*  
 the *kobili* and leapt out thereupon saw (it) a bright light  
*kobili, me thovo au ngge regia na raraha.*

And sat and pondered Where indeed I here  
*Me sopou me toatoga, "Mivei hiri nau eni?"*  
 says he. Then up comes the sun with a bang at one swoop  
*e ahoru. Ngge hadi mai na aho ke podilo me raraja.*

And the sun says Don't come near me here  
*Ma na aho ke ahoru, "Sagoi garaniu mai ;*  
 at once you die stay on my right says he And  
*kenu gua o thehe ; mono kori madothonggu," e ania. Me*  
 he kept far off still and rose up the sun then  
*haunia mua, me thovo haliu na aho ; ngge*

he followed to dwell up in heaven and went and arrived  
*legua mono hadi i popo, me atu jufu*

at the place of the children of the sun and he said  
*kori meleha ara dathegna na aho ; me gagua,*

Here you dwell says he to him Then he dwelt with (them)  
*"Eeni mo mono," e ania. Ngge e mono tadia*

the children his and the grandchildren his and the Sun  
*ara dathegna mara kukuagna, ma na aho*

departed. And Kamakajaku stayed and they asked him  
*ke taviti. Ma a Kamakajaku ke mono ; mena huatia,*

Where thou come hither And he says At  
*"Ivei ko turugu mai?" Mi manea ke velea, "I*

the earth I dwelt in my place then I dipped  
*thepa ; ku mono kori ninggua na mono ; nggu toi*

saltwater and a fish big swallowed me then I came  
*tahi, mu na fei hutu ke sonoviu, nggu mai*

arrived at your place good  
*jufu kori nimiu meleha toke."*

So dwelling together and eating raw food forsooth  
*Ngge na mono haidu ; ma na vanga deede vama*  
 they in heaven and he then showed to them fire  
*imara i popo, mi manea ngge tuturia vanira na joto,*  
 so they ate cooked food And they said  
*ngge ena vanga muamuka. Mi maraia kena velea*  
 to him Don't go to place that it is tabu  
*vania, "Sagoi vano kori vido iangeni, e tabu,"*  
 saying to him And they went for their part and he  
*e vania. Mena taviti nidia, mi manea*  
 keeping house and thought What they said to me  
*ke tautau vathe, me gagana, "Na hava kena niu ?"*  
 Don't go they said said he And went and went  
*"Sagoi vano, kena ahoru," e ahoru. Me taviti me vano*  
 set on edge the stone covering hole in sky and  
*bokihia na gahira tautafugna kilo i popo, me*  
 looked down on his place at Gaji and cried  
*siromia horua nigna na mono i Gaji, me tangi.*  
 They gave him food and he refused for his part  
*Ena hea na vanga, me boi nigna.*  
 They then asked him Did you go to the back end there  
*Nggena huatia, "Mo vano buriti nggeri ?"*  
 Don't go we said to you indeed yes And  
*"Sagoi vano, kiti anigo ri." "Hii." "Mo*  
 you want to go down And he says yes  
*magnahaginia na horu ?" Mi manea ke ahoru, "Hii."*  
 And they gave him a banana and they gave him a  
*Mena hea si na vudi, mena hea na*  
 seed of *pau* and they took (it) a cane and they tied it  
*sagaro i pau, mena hatia na gue, mena taria*  
 to the saddle-piece of the house and sat therein  
*kori kokopagna na vathe ; me mono i koragna*  
 he Kamakajaku and they let him down If  
*manea a Kamakajaku ; mena ulia horua. "Keda*

cry the birds and things don't you look out crying  
*tangi na manu ma na fata, o sa sigo au; me tangi*  
 the cicalas and things dwelling on the earth then you  
*na gnago ma na fata ke mono kori thepa, nggo*  
 look out And they lowered him and they lowered him  
*sigo au." Mena ulia, mena ulia*  
 down and short one cane and they joined on another  
*horu, me kudo si na gue, mena panggua sikei,*  
 done. And arrived down at hill (where) he dwelt  
*ea. Me jufu horu kori suasupa ke mono.*  
 And his friends they searched for him for they thought  
*Mara kulagna kena hiroa, eigna marea kena gagana*  
 he was dead already. And on the day he came  
*ke thehe gohi. Mi tagna na magavu ke horu*  
 hither coming at (from) heaven they at it rejoiced  
*mai turugu i popo kena nia lealea,*  
 because they again saw him and glad their hearts  
*eigna kena goi regia, me toke na hehedia.*  
 And he lived a long while then he died on his  
*Me mono me hau, ngge thehe kori nigna*  
 hill at Gaji. And finished yes just that  
*suasupa i Gaji. Me nggovu; hii; ia vamua nengi*  
 the story of Kamakajaku  
*na tikionogna a Kamakajaku.*





## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS RECOVERED FROM TUN-HUANG BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., PRESERVED IN THE SUB-DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL PRINTS AND DRAWINGS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND IN THE MUSEUM OF CENTRAL ASIAN ANTIQUITIES, DELHI. By ARTHUR WALEY. 10 × 7½ in., pp. 328. London: Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum and of the Government of India. 1931.

As Mr. Laurence Binyon tells us in his preface, the paintings described in this volume "form a collection of incalculable value both for the student of Buddhism and for the student of Asiatic, especially Chinese, art". It is therefore fortunate that the Catalogue has been prepared by a scholar of the calibre of Mr. Waley. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that he is the one man in this country who combines sufficient knowledge of Buddhism, Oriental art, and the Chinese language to undertake such a task. It has been done with the thoroughness that one associates with the publications of the British Museum: each painting is fully described and explained in the light of the legends which it may happen to illustrate; colours and measurements are specially noted; and all the Chinese inscriptions are transcribed and translated at length. Inasmuch as the more important paintings have already been reproduced in *Serindia*, *The Thousand Buddhas*, and elsewhere, no illustrations are given in this volume, but only references showing where they are to be found in those works.

It must not be imagined that the book is free from blemish. On the contrary, it is sadly disfigured by all manner of mistakes, largely arising from carelessness; and I never remember to have seen a book issuing from the Oxford University Press with such a formidable number of misprints. Most of these, however, occur in the Chinese text, and the author, not the printer, must be held responsible for them.

Professor Pelliot has written a long review of the work in *T'oung Pao*, vol. xxviii, pp. 383-413, but there are many points he has not touched upon. I propose, therefore, to run through it page by page, noting briefly what appear to me to be mistakes, but omitting such corrections as have already been made, except where confirmation may be needed from the original documents, to which I have had free access. Readers

should bear in mind, of course, that many of the Chinese inscriptions are so much damaged as to be more or less illegible. Only one who has attempted to decipher badly mutilated Chinese texts can appreciate the difficulties that must have been encountered in the compilation of this catalogue.

p. xvii, n. 2. The latest date found in the Stein Collection of MSS. is not A.D. 993, but 995, which appears in S. 4172, an interesting document fixing the boundaries and extent of certain pieces of farm land in the possession of different owners. This has been for some time on exhibition in the King's Library. But S. 5850, a commentary on the Hṛdaya-sūtra, would seem to have been copied not earlier than 1022, for a prefatory note mentions the third Sung emperor by his temple name of 眞宗 Chên Tsung.

p. xviii: For "k'uei" read "kuei" (軌).

p. xx: 支謙 Chih-ch'ien translated not the Lesser but the Longer Sukhāvati-vyūha. The earliest existing version of the former is that of Kumārajīva.

p. xxvii: Mr. Waley has confused the two apocryphal sūtras of the Ten Kings (Kyōto Supplement C. xxiii, 4, Nos. 8 and 9). S. 3961 is not the Kṣitigarbha sūtra with the colophon containing the date "10th year of 天聖 T'ien-shêng" (A.D. 1032), but the 十王生七經, a fragment of which is also preserved among the paintings (CCXIII). Unfortunately, one confusion has led to another; for assuming, so it would seem, that nothing in the Stein Collection could be as late as 1032, Mr. Waley fastens upon a dubious *nien-hao* 天聖 said to have been adopted by the rebel 董昌 Tung Ch'ang, which lasted only one year (895-6). The impossibility of this being right has been shown by M. Pelliot, who, however, also rejects the date 1032 on the ground of the popularity of the sūtra at Tunhuang when the cave-library was bricked up about 1035. Although it is the other sūtra which appears in the Stein Collection, this argument will perhaps hold good for both, seeing that they are said to have been transmitted by the same person. But the whole colophon is obviously unreliable and legendary in character. Last line but one: For "forest" read "priest".

p. xxxii: For "Saddharmapundarika" read "Saddharma-pundarika". (Mr. Waley treats these "damned dots" rather after the fashion of Lord Randolph Churchill; he usually ignores them, but is by no means consistent.) The chapter dealing with Avalokiteśvara is not the 24th but the 25th.

p. xl, 6th line from bottom: For "Dharmakshema" read "Dharmaraksha". Note 4: For "No. 662" read "No. 663". Note 7: For "Dhṛtarāstra" read "Dhṛitarāshṭra".

p. xliii, 4th line from bottom: For "Dharmatāra" read "Dharmatrāta".

p. xlvi: For 緣 read 緣.

p. xlvii: For 蛤 read 蛤.

p. xlviii, l. 4: For "po-tou" read "po-t'ou".

p. lii: With regard to the pronunciation of Tun-huang, there can be little doubt that the first syllable 嫩 was aspirated in the T'ang dynasty: see K'ang Hsi *sub voce* and Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary*, p. 323. Mr. Waley is wrong in saying that the modern pronunciation Tun-huang is already indicated by the *I ch'ieh ching yin*, for it seems that even 遁, the sound there given, was aspirated in ancient Chinese.

p. 6, Chinese text, l. 1: The missing character here is certainly 永 ("live perennially in the Pure Land") and not 神 as conjectured by M. Pelliot. Further on in the same line, for 界 read 果. 登佛果 "to attain the fruit of Buddha", i.e. the state of an Arhat, is a well-known phrase. It occurs, for instance, in the colophon of S. 791.

p. 7, l. 9: The eighth character is not 兼, and the one following is written 伎. "Craftsman's apprentice" is the meaning of 伎術子弟 rather than "artist" or "musician". Note 3: There is no need to refer English readers to a Paris MS. for a list of priests in the Yung-an Monastery, for there is a similar list in S. 2729 at the British Museum.

p. 10: 本使 means not the Emperor's envoy but "the present Governor" (of Tunhuang).

p. 11: Mr. Waley again refers to a Pelliot MS. for a priest named 神威 Shên-wei, when he might have found him in the colophon to S. 2701. The respective dates are 864 and *mou-hsü* (probably 878), so that the two may very well be identical.

p. 16, l. 9: For "dharpālas" read "dharmapālas".

p. 18, l. 4: Dele 及 for 乃.

p. 21, Chinese text (scene 2): For 兩 read 煞, and below, for "attack" read "kill".

p. 22, l. 2: The last two characters, left blank, are 父母.

p. 23, scene 12: Transpose the characters 蓮 and 七.

p. 24, scene 15: For 思(?) 其捨命 read 恐其捨命.

p. 25 (1): The missing character appears to be 勝: "the female novice Shêng-chên." (2): 大乘寺 Ta-shêng Ssü. This was a large

nunnery at Tunhuang. Two complete lists of its inmates at different dates, one perhaps of the ninth and the other of the tenth century, have been preserved to us in S. 2614 (v°) and S. 2669. The former MS. records a total of 173 names, the latter 209, with details of age, place of birth, surname, religious name, and familiar name. (3): The fourth and fifth characters should be 婆姨, and the sixth is probably 章, not 孟.

p. 27 (2): The third character, as written, is not 試 but 識.

p. 27 (3) and 28 (5) *ad fin.*: For 切 read 功: "note made on completion of the task".

p. 28 (5): 礼 does not stand for 祀 but for 禮. For 威 read 惑.

p. 33, dedicatory inscription, l. 5: For 錫 read 錫. The missing character is 迷.

p. 39, main inscription: The third line should end at 灾. After 創造 add 功德. Donors' inscriptions (1): M. Pelliot scented something wrong here, and on looking up the text I find that 弟亡娘子 is a misreading for 女六娘子 "the sixth daughter".

p. 43, l. 6: For "three hundred" read "thirty".

p. 44, inscriptions, l. 3: The last character but one should be 哉 (for 灾).

p. 45, inscriptions (3): For 敵 read 故.

p. 50 (1): For "Mantel" read "Mantle".

p. 51, ll. 8 and 10: For "Amogāvajra" read "Amoghavajra".

p. 62: Note 2 should be transferred to p. 63 and become note 1.

p. 63, note 1: The meaning of these references to CLXXVIII and CCXLV is obscure.

p. 64, inscriptions, l. 2, and p. 65 (2), l. 3: For 今 read 令.

p. 65 (7), l. 1: 菩 is omitted before 提.

p. 67 (1): Line 2 should begin at "cause all living creatures", and line 3 should take the place of line 2. For "deficiencies" read "deficiencies".

p. 68, l. 6: After "he" insert "shall".

p. 69 (12): 當爲其人請苾芻僧轉讀禮懺 "he must ask some one to bring him a Bhikshu priest who shall perform the ritual and service", etc. Translate rather: "On behalf of that man one must ask a priest to recite the ritual of confession." (19): "Indured" seems to be a misprint for "injured"; but as a form of violent death is in question, the word should rather be "killed". This is a common meaning of 害.

p. 71, 2nd line from bottom: For 枉 read 枉.

p. 76, l. 9: 二塗 is evidently a mistake in the text for 三塗 "the three inferior paths of transmigration or states of sentient existence, namely *prêtas*, animals, and beings in hell". l. 10: For 大合 read 六合, and for 板 read 枝.

p. 77, l. 11: For "quickly" read "all", 蚤 being a vulgar form of 齊.

p. 85, inscriptions (5): For 季 read 李. Chavannes, I think, was wrong in saying that a deceased mother cannot be recognized as a donor (*Serindia*, pp. 1336-7). For not only here but on p. 45 and elsewhere we find paintings dedicated by a deceased mother. 新婦, as M. Pelliot has pointed out, should not be translated "new wife" but simply "daughter-in-law". Correct also p. 231 (5) and (6).

p. 88, main inscription, l. 1: Instead of 貢, M. Pelliot suggests 員, which may be right, though the character looks more like 貞 (which would also go better with 德). l. 4: For 乎 read 平. The phrase 國安仁泰社稷恒昌, which recurs several times on these paintings, is translated here by Mr. Waley: "In order that the land may enjoy peace and its inhabitants contentment, that its altars may flourish continually . . ." 仁 would thus be written for 人. This reading is proved correct by the actual occurrence of 人 in No. CCXLV (p. 200) and the substitution of 民 in No. CCXVII (p. 188). But on p. 96 Mr. Waley translates the same phrase: "With the prayer that the country might enjoy peace, benevolent rule and prosperity, and that the harvests might be always abundant." On p. 188 the translation runs: "May the land be peaceful and its people prosperous; may the rural shrines continually flourish." On p. 201 we get another variation: "That the land may enjoy peace and its people quietness; that the village shrines may never cease to be kept up." On p. 237: "That the land may be peaceful and its inhabitants at rest; that the village shrines may flourish continually." On p. 202 the second half of the sentence is rendered: "May village and clan altars flourish"; and on p. 318: (社稷康泰) "May the gods of the soil be peaceful and unassailed." Mr. Waley ought to have made up his mind as to the best translation and stuck to it. 泰 certainly means "prosperity" rather than "contentment" or "quietness", and 社稷 are the spirits of land and grain, figuratively used for the country as a whole.

p. 89 (7): The fourth character, which Mr. Waley conjectures to be 迺 *tsa*, is really the ordinary manuscript form of 延 *yen*. See, for instance, the date 延昌 *yen-ch'ang* in S. 2067. (8): For 兒 read 興.

(17): For 供 read 子. Last line: For "Ch'u-ting" read "Ch'ou-ting"

p. 91, No. LVII: For "MANSUŚRĪ" read "MAÑJUŚRĪ".

p. 92, note 1: The suggestion that the flat circular objects in the painting are iron draughtsmen for the game of wei-ch'i is not a happy one, seeing that this game has no resemblance to draughts, and is not played with disks, iron or otherwise, but with semi-globular pips.

p. 94, l. 6: 迹 should be transliterated *chi*, not *ch'ih*. Chinese text, l. 1: For 栗 read 粟. 方便 are the necessary means for salvation. "The diplomacy of the soul" is a very fanciful, not to say inaccurate, rendering.

p. 95, main inscription, l. 1: For 專 read 惠. l. 3: The first character is 躬, the fifth is 宅.

p. 97 (3), l. 2: The third character seems to be 智.

p. 98, l. 1: 仰 倒 is to fall, not head downwards, but face upwards.

p. 99, right side (2): For 廷 壽 僉 read 延 壽命. Left side (5): For 剛 金 read 金 剛. Mr. Waley has ignored the flick of the brush which shows that two characters are to be transposed. A similar case is 赤 松 on p. 318, note 2. Donors' cartouches (2): For 卿 read 鄉. Tun-huang Hsien is one of the twelve districts into which Tun-huang Hsien was divided. The next character is certainly 書. (3): The seventh character cannot be 卒. The tenth seems to be 頭, the twelfth and thirteenth 再 廷. (4): The sixth character is 姨.

p. 100, main inscription, l. 2: After 是 add 以. l. 5: After 李 文 add 定 (Li Wên-ting). l. 8: After 永 無 add 刁 斗 ("May the battle-gong never be heard"). Cf. p. 200 (where Mr. Waley incorrectly has "war-trumpet") and p. 318.

p. 101, Chinese text, l. 10: For 卒 read 率. l. 11: Before 尊 insert 稱 (?), and before 佛 insert 瓷 (= 齊) 助. l. 12: 安 仁 is not "peace and benevolence", but part of the stock phrase that recurs so often: 國 安 仁 泰. See above, on p. 88. At the end of the line add 吉.

p. 102, main inscription, l. 1: For 已 read 己. l. 2: The fourth and fifth characters, left blank, are 座 都. l. 3: For 已 read 亡. l. 4: The last character seems to be 願. l. 5: 香 is certainly wrong. It is followed by 大, omitted in the transcription.

p. 104: For "Fu-Mo-ên-chung Ching" read "Fu-mu", etc. The same mistake occurs on p. 183. For this apocryphal sūtra, Mr. Waley refers to S. 149, which is very fragmentary, and in a note on

p. 106 he says that the latter portion of the text yields no meaning, and that there must be many mistaken characters. This is not so; there are several other copies of the sūtra in the Stein Collection, some very nearly complete, e.g. S. 2084, from which the present inscription can be entirely reconstructed.

p. 105 (6), l. 2: For 去 read 云.

p. 106, (8): 歸義軍節度押衙 is "aide-de-camp to the *chieh-tu-shih* (Governor) of the military district of Kuei-i (the new name bestowed on Tunhuang after its return to allegiance under Chang I-ch'ao)". Both Mr. Waley and Professor Pelliot are wrong here, the former with "member of the Bodyguard of the Military Controller, attached to the Kuei-i regiment", the latter with "... commandant l'armée Kouei-yi". Cf. pp. 187, 199, and 316.

pp. 115, 116: For 弟 (five times) read 第.

p. 120: For 緣 (twice) read 緣.

p. 126: "The landscape backgrounds have an astonishing dramatic force." This is a regrettable lapse into meaningless art jargon. But it must be admitted that Mr. Waley does not often sin in this way.

p. 129: 河岸 means "river bank", not "river bed".

p. 159 (2): [十] 一面寺, as the name of a temple, seems to M. Pelliot "assez surprenant". The characters, however, are almost obliterated and suggest to me rather 靈圖寺 the Ling-t'u Temple, which is mentioned many times in the Stein MSS. Two defective characters follow, but neither of them, I think, is 僧. (3): For 幸 "Hsing" read 辛 "Hsin", a much commoner surname. 主窟 is more likely to be a superintendent or person in charge of the cave-temple than "the cave-owner".

p. 165 (3), l. 1: For 却 read 却.

p. 166: There is a difficulty about translating 此帝釋須頭取心 "this is Indra: his head must [also] be put in the centre-circle"; for below we have: 其四面蓮花及寶珠並須頭取心, which is translated: "These lotus flowers and treasure pearls on the four sides must all face the centre." What becomes of 頭 here? Fourth line from bottom: "Golden rope loosened way" is a poor attempt at translating 金繩解道. I would suggest "golden rope symbolical of the Way".

p. 167, sixth line from bottom: For "Garbhadātu" read "Garbhadhātu".

p. 169: After No. CLXXIV there is a gap, Nos. CLXXV and CLXXVI being omitted without explanation.

p. 170 (1), back, l. 2: The second character is probably 齒 "teeth". (2), front, l. 1: The missing character is 口 "mouth".

p. 171, above, l. 3, and p. 196, main inscription, l. 1: For 變 read 變. The third character is 却, not 卽. l. 4: After 害 insert 此. l. 5: For 又 read 叉. Back, l. 1: For "Shih-chu-ning" read "Shih-chü-ning".

p. 172, last line but one: For "Ch'u" read "Chu". The same mistake occurs on pp. 173, 241.

pp. 173-5: Nos. CLXXX-CXCI are described in the order in which they were mounted, a proceeding which seems both unnecessary and awkward.

p. 174, No. CLXXXI: According to my reading, the missing characters are 寶 and 善.

p. 178, last line: No. XXVIII\* is dated 892, not 891.

p. 182, No. CCVIII: For 耶 the text has 耶. It may, of course, be a mistake, but Maya does not seem a probable name for a *dēvarāja*.

p. 183, ll. 2 and 3: M. Pelliot has questioned the names Jambhika and Loka. 禪 叱 迦 looks all right, though the second character might be 比; but in the other name the first character is written 勤, not 勒. Below, it is exaggerating to say that the 無常經 *Wu ch'ang ching* was "exceedingly popular at Tun-huang". I can only find ten copies of it in the Stein Collection as opposed to hundreds of copies of the really popular sūtras. At this point there is another gap, Nos. CCIX-CCXI being omitted.

p. 184, l. 8: The third character should be 第. No. CCXIII (2) and p. 185 (10) and (15): For 譜 read 讚.

p. 185 (8): 司錄 does not mean "Controller of Salary" but "Registrar", i.e. the underworld official who keeps a record of men's deeds.

p. 186 (2): For 藏 read 嚴. (3): For 多 read 南无. Inscription (1), l. 3, and p. 199, l. 4: For 揅 校 read 檢 校. l. 5: After 朝 add 刺血 "pricked himself so as to draw blood"—which was doubtless to be mixed with the ink or paint. We find a parallel in the colophon to S. 5451: 八十三老人手自刺血寫之 "Copied by an old man of 83 who pricked his own hand so as to draw blood"; and again in S. 5669: 刺左手中指出血以香墨寫此金經 "... pricked the middle finger of his left hand so as to draw blood, which he mixed with fragrant ink to copy out this Diamond Sūtra."

p. 187, l. 7: The fourth character seems to be 曳. l. 8: For 溟



read 海. In the next line, the character transcribed as 原 is really 京. The sentence will then run: 次爲京中父母長報安康在此妻男同霑福祐. Mr. Waley translates: "Next, it is the object of this offering that his father and mother in the plain may long continue to announce themselves to be in health and security, and for them are desired the same blessings as for their son and his bride." I would suggest the following: "Next, I pray that my father and mother, living in the capital, may long retain their health and happiness, and that my wife and son, who are living here, may also share in the blessings (that may result from this donation)." M. Pelliot is right in making 報 = 保.

p. 188, Chinese text, l. 2: The second character is 宅. Mr. Waley translates 闔宅清吉 "May the whole house be clean and happy". The meaning is rather: "May the whole family enjoy unsullied good fortune."

p. 192, No. CCXXXI: This fragment of a treatise on divination is part of a long roll (S. 3326) in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. The subject is not meteorology, as here stated, but the interpretation of vapours or emanations rising from the ground. Here is an example: "Whenever in a man's house or garden there is a vapour in the shape of a wolf or tiger, prancing or squatting on the ground, one of the sons will become a general, or be created a duke or marquis, in less than three years' time." Mr. Waley compares Taoist Canon, No. 283 (contained in vol. cxxxvi of the Shanghai 1923 edition), which Wieger calls "Traité de météorologie"; but the two treatises have nothing at all in common.

p. 195, l. 3: 先應禮敬 does not mean "and then submit and do obeisance", but "he must first make respectful obeisance". ll. 4 and 5: The three characters in brackets need not have been so treated, for they are all quite plainly written. 離染性 is rather "escape from his own tainted nature" than "put away all turbid emotions".

p. 196: For "a million times" read "ten million times" (一千萬遍). No. CCXXXIV, which has been omitted, is a duplicate of No. CCXXXIII, with the addition of a little colour.

p. 197, l. 11: For 略 read 略. (2): "To propagate and encourage interest, offering, acceptance, and faith" is a thoroughly bad translation of 普勸志心供養受持, and another version on p. 201 (where the last two characters are omitted and 至 takes the place of 志) is hardly better: "Dedicated in earnest desire for the propagation

and encouragement (of the Faith)." 受持 (literally, to receive and hold) does not refer to the faith but to the donation, and 志心 (steadfast heart) does not go with 供養, but is the direct object of 勸. My translation, then, would be: "Dedicated as an enduring possession for the universal encouragement of steadfastness in the Faith." Main inscription, ll. 1-5: 天人相 surely means "the marks of a celestial being", not "the marks of a *deva* or man".

p. 198, l. 8: Dele "inhabiting".

p. 199: There is a muddle in the numbering here. No. CCXLI has been exchanged as a duplicate, being the same as Nos. CCXLII and CCXLIII, which are omitted altogether. No. CCXLIV, which also does not appear in the Catalogue, contains nine prints of Avalokiteśvara, with the following inscription: *Right*: 歸義軍節度使檢校太傅曹元忠造 "made to the order of Ts'ao Yüan-chung, Governor of the military district of Kuei-i and additional Grand Preceptor". *Left*: 大慈大悲救苦觀世音菩薩 "The Great Merciful Great Compassionate Rescuer from suffering, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara". Main inscription, l. 1: For 爪 read 瓜. l. 2: 處置...使, left untranslated by Mr. Waley, was a kind of Legal Commissioner.

p. 200, l. 5: "The workman Lei Yen-mei" appears twice again in the printed documents of the Stein Collection: in P. 9, also dated 4th Aug., 947, he is called simply 匠人, as here; but in P. 11, dated 天福十五年己酉, which may be either 14th June, 949, or 3rd June, 950, he has been promoted to the rank of 彫板押衙 "Superintendent of Block-engraving". Note 1: The reference to the Sung History concerning Ts'ao Yüan-chung is wrongly given as ch. 49, fol. 96. It should be ch. 490, fol. 15 v° (in the British Museum edition). As to the date of his accession, we know that it must have been between 940 and 942, though he was not accorded the title of *chieh-tu-shih* until 955.

p. 201, main inscription, l. 7: For 斲 read 齡. l. 8: The second character should be 死.

p. 202, main inscription, l. 2: 楊洞芋 Yang Tung-ch'ien was the author of a history of Kua-chou and Sha-chou of which only a prefatory note and five columns at the beginning are preserved in S. 5693 (not S. 5193 as stated here in the footnote). M. Pelliot throws doubt on the character 芋, but it is clearly so written in both places, though there is just a possibility of its being 𦵏. 芋 No. CCXLVII, l. 3: For 舍 read 舍. Note 3: The character in question is certainly

a shortened form of 藝, commonly used in archaic texts of the fifth century.

p. 203, l. 4: 並願同登異常妙果 is not well translated "and desire all of them together to ascend to pure, firm, lovely effects". Bearing in mind the original meaning of 果, I would suggest rather: "and pray that all of them together may attain the truly permanent, wonderful fruit (of Arhatship)."

p. 204: The fourth of the Eight Emblems is not written 劍, as Mr. Waley has it, but 劒, which K'ang Hsi tells us is only another form of 刀. Donor: Before 知順 insert 李 (Li Chih-shun).

p. 205, Chinese text, l. 6: For 乎 read 乎. l. 7: After 二十 insert 五. Main inscription: For "bring success" read "achieve success" (得勝).

p. 206: "Prosperity and virtues" is not quite the meaning of 福德. The phrase is nearly equivalent to 功德 "stock of merit"—to be acquired by the use of this dharanī or spell. 太平興國五年六月二十五日雕板畢手記: This concluding note has been badly bungled by Mr. Waley. He omits the second 五 and translates: "T'ai P'ing Hsing Kuo 5th year, 6th month, 10th day this hand-record was ready to be engraved on wood (July 24, 980)." It should be: "On the 25th day of the 6th moon of the 5th year of T'ai-p'ing Hsing-kuo [8th August, 980] the engraving of this block was completed. Personally recorded."

p. 210, l. 7: For "Wu-fên-lu!" read "Wu-fên-lü". l. 14: For "pressed the palms of their hands together" (撫掌) read "clapped their hands". In the story as recounted here, the laugh appears to be against the poor nun; but in the sequel the Elder is severely reprimanded by Buddha for his disgraceful practical joke. See 大藏經, ed. Takakusu, vol. xxii, p. 48 *ad init.*

Part II, beginning on p. 213, describes the paintings which have been allotted to the Museum at Delhi. They are no longer in this country, and the transcriptions are therefore not always verifiable.

p. 214, note 1: The two characters are almost certainly 堅護 (literally "strong protection").

p. 218, l. 4: For "Vaiśravaṇa" read "Vaiśravaṇa's".

p. 237, third line from bottom: Allowing that *i-mao* is A.D. 955, the 20th day of the 10th moon would be not the 11th but the 6th December.

p. 245: The character 宅 is not *T'o* but *Chai*. But probably it is a misprint for 宅.

p. 248: For "mohter" read "mother". Chinese text, ll. 3-4: 法界羣生同霑斯福 "May all living things in the realms of Dharma be equally wetted with (the dew of) this good fortune". Such a rendering shows a misconception of the purpose of these temple offerings, namely to acquire merit and thus create a stock of happiness on which all may draw. The meaning then is: "May all sentient beings share in the blessings which will flow from the merit acquired by this pious donation." In Buddhism everything is strictly regulated by the law of causality: a pious act will automatically produce a certain quantity of "merit", which again will result in a certain stock of "happiness". There is no question of "good fortune" at all.

p. 261, Chinese text, l. 1: The date is 11th March, 890. Last line: 同心勸校. For "joins in this act of piety" read "collated and revised (the MS.) in the same spirit of piety".

p. 262 (2): For 穎 read 賴.

p. 268, Chinese text, l. 2: 飭 should evidently be 飾. For 膽 read 瞻. In the next line, for "Maghada" read "Magadha". Note 2: The second word should be Yü.

p. 277: For "XXVII.004" read "Ch. xxvii.004".

p. 279: For "Five-headed" read "Fire-headed" (火頭).

p. 286, note 1: The seventh moon of the second year of Ch'ien-yu (949) began on the 28th July, not June.

p. 291 (1): For "third" read "thick" (darkness).

p. 298 (5): For "Mandalyāyana" read "Māudgalyāyana". The same misprint is twice repeated on p. 301 and once on p. 307.

p. 315, l. 3: 鄧 "Têng" is the surname of the camel-man and his wife which Mr. Waley was unable to decipher. And the name of the second daughter is not Ch'ang-chin but 長延 Ch'ang-yen. l. 7: 近日尊身本何似 means "How has your health been keeping lately?" Mr. Waley wrongly reads the second character 日 and translates: "We now say: How is your honourable health?" l. 8: 遠城望也 does not mean "We look longingly towards the City", but "Such is our hope in this far-off city (i.e. Tunhuang)". After the first two paragraphs, the translation of the letter becomes almost purely conjectural, and was hardly worth attempting. l. 16: For "confort" read "comfort".

p. 316, ll. 9 and 11: For "Li Chê-li" read "Li Shê-li". The character before Hsing-tê is again 鄧 Têng. Text of LXXVII, l. 2: The date is 31st May, 966. l. 8: 避炎天宰煞之惡 is translated.

by Mr. Waley "to avoid the pain of the Fiery Lord and of Heaven's importunities"—whatever he may mean by that. Literally the sentence runs: "In order to avoid the evil of the killing (quality) of the fiery sky," i.e. the discomforts of the hot weather. Note 1: For 檢校太師 read 檢校太師.

p. 317, l. 16: For "delapidation" read "dilapidation". l. 18: "To the General Controller of the Clergy, to the Great Teachers (Ta-shih) . . ." These words cannot be divided up thus. As on p. 319, l. 8, they must represent the title of a single dignitary of the Buddhist Church, corresponding more or less to our "bishop".

p. 318, l. 12: For "Epidridum" read "Epidendrum". ll. 17-21: "In spring may the silkworms successfully mature; in summer may the fields (?) 麥(?) be fertile that mounting to the Eastern Bank we may gather from far and wide an abundant harvest in a thousand baskets. On the southern plantations may we get increase from ten thousand ridges (?)." The Chinese text, as I should read and punctuate it, runs as follows: 春蠶善熟。夏麥豐登。東臯廣積於千箱。南畝倍收於萬百升。The character tentatively written 麥 and translated "fields" by Mr. Waley is really 麥 "wheat". The stop should come after 登, otherwise the balance of the sentence is destroyed. 東臯 is a stock phrase for which see *P'ei wên yün fu*, xix, 48. 臯 here means flooded fields (水田), and 東 conveys the idea of spring. In 千箱 and 南畝 there is an evident reminiscence of Odes II, 6, vii, 4. The last character is an unrecognized form of 升 *shēng* "pint measure", or it may possibly denote a measure of 100 *shēng*. My translation would therefore be: "In spring, may the silkworms successfully mature; in summer, may the wheat spring up in abundance. May the produce of the eastern fields be heaped up into a thousand carts; may the south-lying acres yield a double harvest of ten thousand measures." l. 23: "May the wise and holy add to their secret power, and (since the sacred dragon cannot be kept) may they eventually fly away into the sky." This cannot be right. The Chinese is 賢聖加威龍神何護然後空飛. Perhaps 何 is a mistake for 可 or 合 or some other character; but the meaning in any case seems to be: "May our wise and holy Prince put forth his majestic power, and may his Dragon spirit lend us his protection before he flies up into heaven." Fourth line from bottom: For "months" read "month". Note 3: The "Palace of Divine Herbs" refers to the lady's earthly abode, not to any "Taoist paradise".

p. 319, l. 13: For "twenty-eight" read "twenty": The MS. referred to at the bottom of the page is S. 5973.

The index is not as full as it might be. Some important names, such as Śuddhodana, Lü Ling, and Māyā, do not appear at all, while others are only partially indexed. Ts'ao Yüan-chung is not missing altogether, as M. Pelliot says, but is slightly out of place.

LIONEL GILES.

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THE GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION CATALOGUE OF THE CHINESE AND COREAN BRONZES, SCULPTURE, JADES, JEWELLERY, AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS. By W. PERCEVAL YETTS. Vol. III. Buddhist Sculpture. 17 in. × 12½ in., pp. viii + 93, plates lxxv. London: Ernest Benn, 1932. £12 12s.

This magnificent work is produced in the same luxurious style as the earlier volumes in the same series with wonderful illustrations in collotype and colour reproduction. According to the Preface, it deals "with works in stone, bronze, iron, wood, lacquer, and stucco made during a period of more than a thousand years. Though only three bear inscriptions which give exact particulars, most of the others may be placed with little hesitation in their proper setting". The bulk of the material is formed by the stone sculptures; at the side of these, the others are of comparatively minor importance. The catalogue proper is, however, preceded by an Introduction devoted to "a historical sketch of early iconographic practice in China", and in order to make a solid foundation for this study the author gives a very substantial account of the beginnings of Buddhist religion in China. It is based on all the best sources available in European languages, and offers thus a mass of valuable information concerning this vast problem.

The sources concerning the vicissitudes of the Buddhist religion in China are as a matter of fact much more abundant than the records about the early sculptures which must have existed already in the third and fourth centuries. According to a text quoted by Omura from *Hou Han shu*, the Emperor Hsien Ti (190-220) ordered the construction of Buddhist temples and their decoration with gilded statues, and there are also said to have existed other Buddhist statues draped in garments of cloth or silk. All these have perished, and we have nowadays no Buddhist statues in China which can be dated with certainty before the beginning of the fifth century. The great

efflorescence of Buddhist art seems to have set in about the middle of the fifth century, right after the serious persecution of the foreign religion in 446-7, coinciding with the rapidly growing power of the Northern Wei dynasty in northern China. This dynasty has thus been credited with the greatest merit for the propagation of Buddhist sculpture but, as the author rightly points out, it should not make us forget that there were other centres of Buddhist art and religion, particularly in southern China. The sculptures made here have, however, perished with few exceptions, and if we want to form some idea about the style of the South in contradistinction to that of the North (usually named after the Northern Wei dynasty) we must have recourse to more or less plausible hypotheses, one of which I advanced in my book on Chinese Sculpture (p. xxxiv). It may be, however, that the style of the South did not differ so very much from that of the sculptures produced within the territory of the Northern Wei dynasty. The principles of style were always in China—even at periods when the country was divided between contending States—rather homogeneous; they prevailed as the general characteristics of the artistic products in spite of many local and individual differences. This is particularly noticeable in the sculptural works which were largely executed by craftsmen who kept strictly within the limits of the prevailing style, and it is one of the reasons why Chinese sculptures can be dated with comparative accuracy.

The historical account of Buddhism in China is not continued beyond the fifth century, which to me seems a matter of regret. The later vicissitudes of this religion in the Far East were of no less importance for the production of sculpture, and the collection contains many interesting specimens of later periods. The author found it, however, more important to devote the latter half of his Introduction to a discussion of Buddhist scriptures, which have been of some consequence for the production of sculpture, and to questions of iconography. He emphasizes with good reason the particular importance in this respect of the *Lotus sūtra* and the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*, the two scriptures which inspired the most frequent motives in Chinese sculpture of the fifth and sixth centuries. This is also verified by the inscription on one of the main monuments of the collection, the stele of 520, which illustrates most graphically certain motives borrowed from the above-mentioned *sūtras*. The great fondness of the Chinese for the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* the author explains by pointing out that it is "packed with trenchant argument,

enlivened with dramatic and imaginative episodes and free from those repetitions which render so many *sūtras* wearisome", but one may well wonder if there was not some other special reason for this predilection. Vimalakīrti became, as a matter of fact, one of the most popular motives of Buddhist art in China, represented not only in sculpture but also by the great painters of the T'ang and Sung periods, who regarded him as an ideal of purity and wisdom. To some of them he became almost like a patron saint.

The motives based on the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* have the advantage of being easily recognizable, there can be no hesitation as to their identity, which unfortunately cannot be said about some of the other frequently occurring Buddhist motives. Thus, for instance, the most common of all the Buddhas, represented in standing position with hands in *abhaya* and *vara mudrā*, may be either Śākyamuni, Maitreya, or (more rarely) Dīpaṅkara. When the sculpture has no inscription, it is often impossible to tell with certainty whether the figure is intended to represent Śākyamuni or Maitreya. Circumstantial evidence, the accompanying Bodhisattvas, and the like, may help us to decide in favour of the one or the other of these two Buddhas, but when the figure is isolated, there is no mark of distinction between the two. The same difficulty of definition applies to the representations of the "Meditating Bodhisattva", which may be either Maitreya or Prince Siddhārtha before his enlightenment as a Buddha. I pointed out this difficulty in my somewhat scanty iconographic remarks (*Chinese Sculpture*, p. cxiii): "If he is not Maitreya, he must be explained as the future Śākyamuni in the state of a Bodhisattva," and in spite of the special studies that have been devoted to this subject during the intervening years, the author is still obliged to admit practically the same thing. This, I think, may serve to show how little the Chinese cared about iconographic distinctions, how far removed they were from the Indian attitude towards the Buddhist motives, and how futile it is, in many cases, to argue about the name of their Buddhas. The men who made the majority of the Buddhist sculptures in China were evidently not very well versed in the scriptures; they were less concerned with the intellectual meaning of the figures than with their shapes and their conformity with certain principles of style. Iconographic considerations offer a very insufficient support for the historical classification and dating of the Chinese sculptures, a fact of which we are reminded several times in reading through the catalogue.



It would require too much space to dwell here on all the points of iconography brought up by the author in this very valuable and learned introduction; the subject is a vast and difficult one, or as the author says in regard to the Dvārapāla motive, it "is too large a theme to be investigated here". A few remarks about this important motive would, however, have been welcome; its origin in Indian art has been demonstrated by Foucher, and I have ventured some remarks about its development in China, which would require to be completed (*A History of Early Chinese Art*, vol. iii, p. 51). The introduction closes with a translation of the well-known list of the statues which Hsüan-tsang brought back from India and quotations from his *Life* in which these statues are further described.

Proceeding to a closer study of the Catalogue proper, it may not be necessary to dwell on the iconographic descriptions, which complete and illustrate the more general remarks in the Introduction. I will mainly consider the objects from a stylistic and historical point of view and add a few suggestions as to their dates, though my remarks must necessarily be very short. The two stelae which are provided with inscriptions indicating the years of their execution (520 and 535 respectively) and the places of their origin, need thus hardly detain us. They are both examples of the somewhat rustic type of Buddhist sculpture executed in southern Shansi at the beginning of the sixth century.

C 9-10 represents an attractive little Bodhisattva seated in the Maitreya posture with crossed ankles; the lions at the sides and the large halo, which formed a background, are partly broken. Similar figures among the early cave sculptures are not uncommon, and on the ground of this correspondence, the author dates the figure to "the latter half of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth". It should, however, be recalled that a figure in exactly the same posture and *mudrā* (though with the marks of a Buddha) is represented on a stele in the Prince Li Museum in Seoul, and dated 578; which tends to show that the iconographic considerations do not offer sufficient ground for establishing an exact date. More important in this respect is the peculiar mannerism in the treatment of the mantle folds which is the same in these two sculptures. The Korean piece gives us also an idea of the original shape of the broken halo, though the decoration has been different. I do not think that the two monuments are quite contemporary, but the above observations together with the facial type of the Bodhisattva make me believe that it

cannot have been executed before the middle of the sixth century, i.e. at the end of the Eastern Wei or the beginning of the Northern Ch'i dynasty.

C 21-23, a standing Bodhisattva of remarkable sculptural refinement, I have previously placed in the Northern Chou period (557-581) and expressed the supposition that the figure originally had a circular halo. The author dates it "not long before or after the beginning of the seventh century" and remarks that it shows no traces of a halo. It is probably difficult to ascertain to what extent such traces may have been obliterated; I am not able to express an opinion on this point without a renewed examination of the statue, but as all the corresponding statues have a circular halo, it seems unlikely that this did not have one, if it was not placed in a group of three figures against the background of a large nimbus (which seems less probable). In regard to the more important question as to its date of execution, I feel no hesitation: the general character of the figure, the way the garment is cut and the facial type (which is not very far removed from that of the above-mentioned seated Bodhisattva) point to the third quarter of the sixth century; the most probable date would be about 560-70. Whether it was executed in the territory of the Northern Chou or in that of the Northern Ch'i State, is more difficult to tell, because the stone material is in this instance not particularly characteristic; I placed it in the Shensi group because of similarities with other figures which come from that part of the country.

C 24-25, a standing Kuanyin, is correctly placed in the Sui period. It belongs to the same group of statues as those reproduced on plates 312 and 314-316 in *Chinese Sculpture*, though the figure is of uncommonly clumsy proportions.

C 26-27, a seated Buddha accompanied by two Bodhisattvas, is reproduced on pl. 276a in *Chinese Sculpture*, and described among the later works of the Northern Chou dynasty, which would make its date about 570-80. The author prefers the K'ai-huang era of the Sui dynasty (581-601) and draws attention to two minute reproductions in Omura's work which are hardly sufficient for establishing the date. The divergence is, however, too slight to be discussed here, but it might have been worth while to point out that this unpretentious little group is made of the yellowish serpentinous limestone, which makes it possible to place it among the sculptures from Shensi.

C 28-33, a four-sided stele decorated with a number of Buddhas

and Bodhisattvas in deeply-hollowed niches, seems to have been the cause of some perplexity and hesitation. The author draws attention to points of iconographic and stylistic resemblance in works from many periods (ranging from the Northern Wei to the T'ang), but winds up with the statement: "The problem is to decide whether the piece actually dates from about the seventh century or is an archaistic work belonging to a later period." The answer is not very reassuring: "A tentative attribution to the latter part of the sixth or to the seventh century seems reasonable." According to my experience of Chinese sculpture, old and modern, there is not the slightest reason to throw any doubt on this monument or to express hesitation as to its date. It is a characteristic example of the Northern Ch'i period, executed about 575, the date inscribed on a stele in the University Museum in Philadelphia, with which it shows the closest stylistic correspondences (see *Eastern Art*, vol. iii), not to mention several minor works of the same period which exhibit the same elements of style and decoration.

C 34-36, a large standing Buddha, without head, hands, and feet, draped in a closely fitting mantle with ridged folds. The information supplied by Mr. Walter Weinberger, who acquired the figure at its place of discovery, that it was excavated at the Hsiu-tê pagoda in Ch'ü-yang, is perfectly correct. I have had occasion to investigate the spot, and we have good reason to presume that it originally stood in a temple at that place which is now destroyed. "This work of Chinese genius . . . proclaims the mason to have been also an artist—a combination rarely displayed in Chinese Buddhist sculpture." The first part of the statement may be accepted with some reserve, but the latter part would, no doubt, be denied by all who have had occasion to study the sculptural decorations of the numerous Buddhist cave temples in China, such as Yün-kang, Lung-mên, T'ien-lung-shan, Yün-mên, T'o-shan, and several others, which until some decade ago (when the wholesale destruction of these places took a new impetus) contained an abundance of religious sculpture of the very highest order. Illustrations or photographs, often taken under adverse circumstances, can never give an idea of the beauty and significance of this art which marked one of the summits of religious sculpture in the world.

The statue is placed by the author in a comparatively late period; he calls it "Sung or earlier", which reasonably may be interpreted as Sung or the preceding epoch of the Five Dynasties, leaving it to the

reader to date it more definitely within this range of some 300 years (c. 900-1200).

The author may have been led astray by circumstantial and iconographic considerations. If criteria of style are taken into account, it becomes evident, beyond doubt, that the great statue is at least 300 years earlier, i.e. a characteristic specimen of the K'ai-huang era of the Sui dynasty (581-601). As I have pointed out in my various writings on Chinese sculpture, the unfailing evidence for the dating is offered by the stylization of the mantle folds and hems, which here (as in most specimens of early sculpture) is carried out in strict accordance with the prevailing style of the period.

C 37-40, "a large balustrade in white marble," or rather, the frontal of a platform for a Buddhist statue. It is assigned "to the latter part of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh". If this somewhat inclusive dating is taken to indicate not only the Sui dynasty (581-619) but also the Northern Ch'i (550-581), it includes the correct date, which is about 560-570. This is proved by a comparison with the sculptured pedestals or platforms under the votive stelae in the Museum in Cologne and in the Hara collection at Sannotani, the latter being provided with a dated inscription of the year 569. The frontal as well as the two stelae and a number of similar minor sculptures are typical specimens of the workshops at Ting-chou, Ch'ü-yang, and neighbouring places in the Northern Ch'i period.

C 41-44, an octagonal piece decorated with four *yakṣas* (or *Lokapālas*) and four lions in niches, which has formed one of the lowest sections of a so-called *sūtra* pillar or *ch'uang*. Dated: "probably about the tenth century." It is another characteristic specimen of the Ch'ü-yang workshops, though of a comparatively advanced period; in fact, it is one of the rare instances when the date proposed by the author seems to me too early. There are a number of similar pieces still standing or lying about in a more or less dilapidated condition in Ch'ü-yang and the neighbouring villages, though unfortunately without dates. Complete pillars of the type in question are to be seen at Fêng-ch'ung ssü in Hsing-t'ang and at Lung-hsing ssü in Chéng-ting-fu; the former is dated 1014 and the latter 1180, and they both contain lion bases similar to the above-mentioned piece. The fashion seems to have survived during a comparatively long period. The pillar of which the above-mentioned piece formed part was evidently not one of the earliest, but it may well have been executed in the eleventh century.

C 101-103 offer the reproductions of another section of such an octagonal "*sūtra* pillar", decorated with eight musicians seated in niches which are framed by banded pillars. It is dated "Sung or later". The style of the draperies and the architectural elements are here, however, considerably earlier. Pillars of this peculiar type are found on monuments of the Sui and T'ang periods (for instance, at Yü-han-shan, c. 585, and at Shên-t'ung-ssü, 657), and the drapery-like arches ending in volutes are still of T'ang design. The most probable date for this fragment would thus be, according to my knowledge, about the middle of the T'ang period. It is certainly earlier than the previously mentioned piece.

C 45-50 is the large lunette-shaped door lintel with a Buddhist Paradise executed in quite low relief and engraved design, which now is difficult to see, as it has been eaten away by the wear of weather and wind. The proposed date, "probably about the seventh century," appears to me too late. The author points out the resemblance between this lunette and two large reliefs in the Freer Gallery (one of them likewise representing a Paradise), and I think this correspondence, which includes essential features of style, is sufficient ground to consider the two monuments of approximately the same period. The reliefs in the Freer Gallery, which are executed in higher relief and less corroded, conform to the style of the Northern Ch'i dynasty; the lunette cannot be much later—it seems to have been executed at the end of this same period.

The following numbers in the Catalogue are allotted to several small bronze statuettes of slight importance, which hardly call for comment, and to two wooden statues to which we will return presently after we have studied the sculptures in stone and iron.

C 86-87, a Bodhisattva head in yellowish veined stone (called popularly *yü-shih* in China). The author says: "This interesting head may be archaistic, or the product of a poor craftsman; date doubtful," and leaves it to the reader to form a more definite idea about it. I have never examined the original, but venture to suggest, on the ground of the excellent reproduction, that it is a thing made in quite recent years.

C 88-89, a large Buddha head in cast iron with traces of colour and gilding. According to the author, "a definite date can hardly be assigned to it; the type is a late one, which continued for many centuries." This sweeping statement seems rather surprising, since the author himself has observed the resemblance between this head

and those of some of the iron statutes in the temple on Shih-pi-shan in Shansi, reproduced by Tokiwa and Sekino (Vol. III, 4). The Japanese authorities do not assign any definite date to these statues, but they inform us that the temple, according to an inscription on a tablet, was founded in 823. Those who have visited this most picturesquely situated temple at the bottom of a high mountain gorge, will have observed that the iron statues in the Ch'ien-fo hall are of various periods; the later ones are certainly not made before the Ming period, while the earlier may go back to the end of T'ang or the beginning of the Sung period. Their comparatively early date becomes evident in the noble shapes, the subtle treatment of the mantle folds and also in the facial types. They may still be of the ninth century, though it is difficult to ascertain, because dated specimens of this century are extremely rare. It may at least be said that their stylistic criteria do not contradict such a supposition. The head in the Eumorfopoulos collection belongs to the same early group; it may be from the end of the ninth century—it is certainly not later than early Sung.

The same head has caused a learned dissertation about the earlobes, the coiffure, and the *uṣṇīṣa* of Buddha. Without entering into the details of this discussion, I would venture to suggest that the bulbous *uṣṇīṣa* (here somewhat broken) has been formed after the traditional shape of the sacred jewel, *cintāmaṇi*, the symbol of spiritual enlightenment, which in earlier sculptures often was placed at the feet of Buddha, but here seems transferred to his head.

C 90-91, a Buddha head in more than life size, executed in white marble; said to be "probably Sung or later". The rather definite stylistic features of the head, the type, the treatment of the eyes, and particularly the ridged eyebrows, afford sufficient reason to date it three or four hundred years earlier. It is altogether a typical specimen of the Sui period, probably of the K'ai-huang era (581-601).

C 92-93, a monk's head, is correctly compared and coupled in date with a similar head in the National Museum in Stockholm. The author might safely also have followed my indication as to the provenience, i.e. the province of Honan. These heads belong to the class of T'ang sculpture which was made either at Lung-mên or in workshops radiating from this great centre of sculptural activity.

C 94-95, two Bodhisattva heads, made of compressed clay and mud (*ni*) coated with a kind of gesso and pigments. They "are said to come from beyond the frontiers of China proper", and catalogued as of "doubtful date". The legendary indication as to the origin

of these heads may have been the cause of the somewhat surprising observation that they "manifest Hellenistic tradition". Similar heads made in mud and clay have been exported in dozens from the province of Shansi, and there are still many figures of the same type and material in situ. The most important ensemble of such statues may be seen in Hsia Hua-yin-ssü in Ta-t'ung-fu, and they were most probably made in connection with the restoration of the temple in 1140 or shortly after. Reproductions of some of them are included in *Études d'Orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier* (1932), and I may particularly draw attention to the figure reproduced on plate lxiii which shows the same type as the head C 95. There can be little doubt as to their unity of date and origin.

C 96, a small representation of Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa*, said to be "probably of the eighteenth century". The sculpture is evidently of little consequence, but to judge by the reproduction, it can hardly be later than Sung.

C 97-98, a seated Buddha in dry-lacquer with traces of pigment, dated "Ming or earlier". The rather free naturalistic treatment of the mantle as well as the type point, in fact, to the Yüan dynasty.

C 99-100, a small seated Bodhisattva of rather unusual type, executed in grey sandy stone with traces of paint. When publishing this attractive figure nine years ago (*Chinese Sculpture*, pl. 566) I placed it in the Sung period, a dating which the author accepts, adding, of course: "or later." The scanty material of stone sculpture remaining from this period makes it difficult to arrive at a more definite date, but among the sculptures known to me, I would refer to the figures executed in relief on one of the small pagodas at the side of the so-called *Nan t'a* or South Pagoda on Fan-shan in Chihli, which was erected in 1117 during the reign of the Liao dynasty. This is probably also the approximate date of the Bodhisattva statue.

C 114, a Bodhisattva head, is the last stone sculpture in the catalogue. It is dated "Ming or later", but the type and style of the head are quite characteristic of the Sung or Chin period. It may be compared with the clay heads mentioned above, and should be dated to about the same period, i.e. the middle of the twelfth century.

The collection includes also half a dozen wooden figures which might invite to a more detailed discussion than can find place here. The material of wooden statues from China has in late years grown very abundant; I made a beginning in the sifting of it in an article

in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1927, but only a minor part of the material could there be taken into consideration, and the treatment is thus quite incomplete. I may, however, refer to this article for the dating of two of the statues in the Eumorfopoulos collection; they are there placed in certain stylistic groups together with similar figures. C 82-85, a Kuanyin Bodhisattva in the *mahārājakālā* posture, which in the catalogue is dated to the "thirteenth century or later", is, according to my chronology, a work of the latter part of the twelfth century, while C 77-78, a seated Bodhisattva, which is dated in the catalogue to the "fourteenth century or later", belongs to a series of figures which probably were executed in the early part of the thirteenth century, though the type survived later.

C 106-107, a standing Kuanyin, "perhaps an archaistic product; date doubtful." As this same expression is applied to several sculptures of widely diverging dates and merits, it is difficult to say just what it may imply. If it is intended to throw a doubt on the object, it is properly used in the present case, because the figure is obviously a quite modern work. C 108-109 is, I should think, correctly classified as a work of the Ming period, but the two smaller "Bodhisattvas" described under C 112-113 as "Ming or earlier", are fairly crude but powerful representatives of the kind of wood sculpture which was produced in northern China (particularly in Shansi) towards the end of the twelfth century. They belong to a series of four Bodhisattvas (two standing and two kneeling) which evidently were arranged at the sides of a larger central statue. The two corresponding figures of this group are preserved in the Museum in Boston, and if the information offered by the firm which imported these statues is correct, the central figure would have been the large Kuanyin in *mahārājakālā* posture, now in the Art Institute in Chicago. The small figures would thus be acolytes of Kuanyin in the attire of Bodhisattvas, an interpretation which is quite possible.

Of the three clay reliefs included in the catalogue one (C 73) is evidently a fine work in early T'ang style, though somewhat damaged, whereas the two others would require a closer study before I can express any opinion about them.

The volume as a whole is an admirable production, which nobody interested in Chinese sculpture should pass over without careful study. It contains, as said before, much valuable information, historical as well as iconographic, which cannot be affected or belittled by the comments that I have attached to the classification of some of



the items. I ventured to offer them in the interest of the very important material, and to further the study of Buddhist sculpture in China.

OSVALD SIRÉN.

CONFUCIUS AND CONFUCIANISM. By RICHARD WILHELM. Translated into English by G. F. and A. P. DANTON. pp. x + 181. Kegan Paul, 1931. 6s.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF CONFUCIANISM. By Leonard SHIH-LIEN HSÜ. pp. xxii + 257. Routledge, 1932. 12s. 6d.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE CULT OF CONFUCIUS. By JOHN K. SHRYOCK. pp. xiii + 298. The American Historical Association (The Century Co.). New York, London, 1932. 18s.

MENCIUS. Translated by L. A. LYALL. pp. xxviii + 277. Longmans, 1932. 12s. 6d.

The abandoning of the Confucian cult and the Confucian ideal by modern China appears to have resulted in a new and detached view of the sage and his teachings, and the present group of books, widely different as they are, have this in common.

The late Dr. Wilhelm, whose death at the time when he was in process of developing a School of Chinese Studies at the University of Frankfurt-on-the-Main is a great loss to sinology, has given the student of the Confucian classics an excellent and concise guide to the life and teaching of the sage. The book includes a translation of the biography of Confucius in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi* as well as a critical examination of the data on which the life was based, and should find a place among those constantly referred to by all students of the pre-Confucian books and those of the Confucian school itself.

Dr. Hsü's aim is to explain the social and political psychology of the Chinese people in relation to their social and political development and to furnish some new points of view in political philosophy. His discussion of the sources of Confucian political philosophy and their reliability forms a useful introduction to the student of textual criticism which, until recently, has been almost unknown in China. For the "average reader" referred to in the Foreword, Professor Hsü's constant use of the Chinese terms for words which have a generally accepted equivalent in English (*li* and *yüeh*, for example, might quite satisfactorily be translated "ceremonies" and "music", in many

if not all instances) is to be regretted. Some inaccuracies of phrase are surprising, as for instance the statement on p. 103 that *li* [*sic*!] "provides a foundation for crime and lawsuits". Dr. Hsü is, none the less, to be congratulated upon his interpretation of the social and political theories of Confucianism. Their influence on China for twenty-five centuries will be less surprising to the reader of his book than their wholesale rejection at the present juncture when China is seeking a democratic and virtuous government.

From the theories of the Confucian school, we turn to the Confucian cult as practised in China from the second century B.C. till modern times. The worship of the sage was not in the nature of an innovation. It was an outcome of the old ancestor-worship, and spread from the family of Confucius to the emperor and to the whole Chinese people. Only at certain periods was he regarded as a god, and since he himself refrained in his teachings from any discussion of spiritual beings, this phase can only be accounted for by the extending of the cult to the uninitiated. He was at other times rather the patron saint of scholars and officials, a great man and the ideal gentleman. Dr. Shryock's study, though it does not pretend to exhaust the material, carries us far beyond anything that has been done previously and opens the way for further investigation of the available sources.

Whether or not the reader will enjoy Mr. Lyall's new rendering of Mencius must depend upon his preference for things ancient or modern. The present writer confesses to visualizing a Chinese Henry Ford on reading of a "land of ten thousand cars", but for the general reader, Mr. Lyall is doubtless more readable than the rather stilted text of Legge. A new translation should make the old clearer, and it may be questioned whether the attempt to use a single English equivalent for a specific Chinese term conduces to this end. One great advantage of the present version of Mencius is that the form in which it is presented makes it attractive to a wider public than the earlier, annotated versions, intended primarily for students and sinologues.

E. EDWARDS.

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EIN BEITRAG ZUR KENNTNIS DER CHINESISCHEN PHILOSOPHIE : T'ung-shü des Čeü-tsi mit Čü-hi's Commentar nach dem Sing-li Tsing-i. Chinesisch mit mandschuischer und deutscher Übersetzung und Anmerkungen. Herausgegeben von WILHELM GRUBE : Kap. 1-20 ; fortgeführt und beendet von WERNER EICHHORN : Kap. 21-40.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . pp. xvi + 173. Leipzig, 1932.

We have in this volume the continuation and completion of a work published more than half a century ago. The *T'ung shu* is quite a short treatise, even with the commentary added, but it occupies an important position in the history of Chinese philosophy, for its aphorisms may almost be regarded as the foundation of the Sung school of Confucianism, culminating in the system of Chu Hsi. We have every reason, therefore, to be grateful to Herr Eichhorn for undertaking what usually proves to be rather a thankless task—the completion of another man's unfinished work. He has done it with great care and thoroughness, following the general lines laid down by his predecessor, but showing an even wider range of research if not of sinological knowledge. It was all the more unnecessary for him to make the following apology in his preface: "Trotz alledem, fürchte ich, werden sich für scharf eindringende Geister noch genügend Gelegenheiten finden, durch die strahlende Helligkeit ihrer überlegenen Sachkenntnis mein kleines Licht zu beschämen" (in spite of all this, I fear that plenty of opportunity will still be found for sharp and penetrating minds to put my little light to shame with the radiant splendour of their own superior knowledge). This sounds more sarcastic than sincere.

Herr Eichhorn tells us that his aim has been not to couch his translation in smooth-flowing language, but rather to give a faithful rendering, so far as in him lay, of the Chinese text. What he overlooks is that to a skilled translator a combination of the two ideals is, in some measure at least, by no means impossible. Fidelity need not necessarily mean cumbrousness ; and much of the translation before us is distinctly cumbrous, besides being disfigured by the too frequent use of brackets. To take an example, 故孔子之教既不輕發又未嘗自言其道之蘊 is translated (p. 121): "Was daher die Lehre des Kung-tze angeht, so hat er, nachdem er (sie) schon (einmal) nicht in leichter Art und Weise offenbart hat, auch (anderseits) nicht einmal selbst die Tiefe seines Tao durch die Rede dargelegt." I think that "indem" should be substituted here for "nachdem", and that the sentence simply means: "Since Confucius' teaching was not lightly imparted, he did

not himself put into words the concentrated essence of his Tao." Another passage where the translator would have done well to imitate the terseness of the Chinese original runs as follows: 力而不競天也 "Having strength but striving not—such is the way of Heaven." Here he gives what is surely an indefensible rendering (p. 111): "Wenn man, nachdem man seine Kraft aufgewandt hat, doch nicht zum Erfolg gelangt, ist das (Schickung vom) Himmel" (if, after expending our strength, we still fail to attain success, that is the dispensation of Heaven).

It is a question whether the Manchu version, which is printed in romanized form in parallel columns with the German and takes up a good deal of space, need have been included at all. It may have proved of some use to the translators as a guide to the sense of difficult passages in the Chinese, but very few nowadays have even a bowing acquaintance with this moribund language.

An excellent Chinese index is supplied, but it takes one a little time to discover that it is arranged under the 214 radicals. Moreover, the references are to section and paragraph; as the sections are not marked so as to catch the eye very readily (except in Grube's portion of the book), page references would have been more convenient for the reader.

LIONEL GILES.

LES ORIGINES DE L'ASTRONOMIE CHINOISE. By LÉOPOLD DE SAUSSURE. 10 × 6½. pp. x + 598. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1930. 150 francs.

Léopold de Saussure was born in 1866, and died in 1926. He came of a French Protestant family which had emigrated to Geneva prior to the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. Attracted to a life at sea, he regained the nationality of his forefathers and served in the French navy till he retired in 1899, with the rank of lieutenant. The last twenty years of his life were devoted mainly to the study of Chinese astronomy, when he turned to good account the knowledge of the stars and the Chinese language first gained during his naval service. His earliest article on this subject appeared in 1907, in the *Revue générale des Sciences*, under the title "L'Astronomie chinoise dans l'Antiquité", and this was followed by others in the same journal, the *Archives des Sciences physiques et naturelles*, *Journal asiatique*, *New*

*China Review*, and *T'oung Pao*. The majority, twelve in number, appeared in the last-named.

In this volume, all but one of the *T'oung Pao* articles are reproduced in photographic facsimile, only the pagination being changed so that the numbers run consecutively. It is a great convenience to have in handy form the most important of these scattered writings which have corrected many erroneous notions concerning Chinese astronomy. All sinological students must regret that the author did not live to fulfil his intention to revise and incorporate them in one work. M. Gabriel Ferrand contributes an illuminating preface in which he quotes a letter from de Saussure, written a month before he died, varying his earlier opinions on the problem of origin. Instead of the view that the Iranian system had been borrowed from China, he then stated belief in the converse at an early date—some 2,000 years B.C.

W. P. Y.

WIRTSCHAFT UND GESELLSCHAFT CHINAS. By K. A. WITTFOGEL.

Vol. I.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$  pp. xxiv + 768 + map + 23 figs. Leipzig: Verlag von C. L. Hirschfeld, 1931.

This is the first of two volumes, and it deals with agricultural production and distribution. The second will treat these subjects in a more comprehensive manner and include a study of social and political institutions, a bibliography, and an index. The author states that he cannot claim to be a sinologist, nor does he appear to have had personal experience of conditions in China. Thus he is somewhat handicapped in having to form conclusions from second-hand evidence which is limited to writings in European languages. Many of these sources are not easily accessible, and the information is widely scattered. This systematic digest, collected with laborious thoroughness, provides a most useful compendium.

Herr Wittfogel, following the method of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, investigates the history of early agrarian communism, feudal life, and later social evolution in China. This involves a detailed study of natural conditions: geological, geographical, and climatic. At the time of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, Marx came to the conclusion that China, once drawn out of her isolation, would rapidly fall to pieces. He predicted, however, the strong resistance to change exerted by village pursuits, coupled with the system of small holdings,

even in face of modern industrial production. Powerful new factors in communication—by rail, motor, and air transport—have brought about fundamental changes which seem likely to upset many of his carefully reasoned arguments.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE GILDS OF CHINA. By H. B. MORSE. Second edition. Longmans Green and Co., 1932.

The first edition of this small volume was published so long ago as 1909. But though it has had to wait twenty-three years for its reprinting, that must be ascribed to the neglect of the public rather than to any other reason. It forms an admirable *résumé* of the customs regulating these private associations of Chinese merchants and artisans, and provides the reader with a clear conception of the methods governing their organization. We warmly welcome this new edition at the present time. We know of no other volume which illustrates better the basis of contemporary Chinese developments, which have been founded on the principles and methods of the secret society.

H. D.

LE SHINTÔ : RELIGION NATIONALE DU JAPON. Par GENCHI KATÔ. Publication de la Société Zaidan Hôjin Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai : traduite en français par la Maison Franco-Japonaise de Tôkyô. Annales du Musée Guimet : Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, Tome 50. 7½ × 5. pp. 250, 5 pls. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1931. 36 francs.

The original of this book, *A Study of Shintô, the Religion of the Japanese Nation*, was published in 1926, and was briefly reviewed in vol. xxiv (1926-7) of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, London. To the same issue the author contributed an article entitled "An Outline Sketch of Shintô", which is practically a *résumé* of the present work.

With his wide and profound knowledge of world's religions, ancient and modern, Professor Katô has set forth "une étude sur l'origine et l'histoire du Shintôisme, d'un point de vue scientifique", the method employed being "strictement historique, en dehors de tout dogmatisme". Thus he finds in Shintô all conceivable forms of superstition and religious belief, such as Animatism, Animism,

Fetishism, Phallicism, Spiritism, Anthropolatry, Ancestor Worship, Totemism, Primitive Monotheism, and Polytheism.

However, it is a problem whether "les règles les plus strictes de la religion comparée", to use the author's expression, can be applied indiscriminately to all religions. In a country like Japan where various peoples immigrated, ultimately to build up the Japanese nation, diverse beliefs and religions, some primitive and others more advanced, would in all probability have been introduced and mingled before Shintô took its crudest shape, and hence it would seem unwise to conclude that "le Shintô s'est développé du polydémonisme au polythéisme dans le vrai sens du mot" (p. 75). All that is known to us is that both polydemonistic and polytheistic elements, as shown by the author with a wealth of citations, are found in the religious belief of the Japanese people of the eighth century A.D. The five reasons given by Professor Katô in support of his theory as to the existence of monotheistic element in primitive Shintô betray the partial diffusion alone, if not the entire absence, of such an element in Shintôism.

In a study of early Shintô, as in other problems concerning ancient Japan, the language offers considerable difficulty, affecting not a little the interpretation of the subject matter. Does the word *Hiruko* really mean "un jeune soleil, une étoile" and not "l'enfant sangsue"? Professor Katô adopts both interpretations to suit his argument (cf. pp. 22-3; 88). What is the real signification of *sagiri* in *Ame-no-sagiri* and *Kuni-no-sagiri*? Does it denote "boundary" as suggested by Motowori, or does it signify "brouillard" as translated by Professor Katô (p. 135)? Can we agree with the author in his opinion that "nous pouvons en toute sécurité conclure que l'ancienne conception japonaise de l'âme ou esprit est celle de souffle et que l'expression: mourir (*shinuru* pour *shi-inuru*) signifie: rendre son dernier souffle, l'âme quittant le corps" (p. 43)? If the ancient Japanese concept of the spirit or soul were that of breath, and if *tama* meant "spirit, soul" and *shi* (?) "breath", why were not these two words interchangeable in ancient Japanese? Besides, there is a greater possibility that the word *shinu* "to die" is not a compound, and that its fundamental meaning is "to become quiet", indicating the cessation of one's activity. Similar examples are too numerous to quote here, and it is plain that any theory based on such doubtful grounds can hardly meet with universal acceptance.

The above remarks go to show how difficult it is to draw out what

facts there may be hidden behind the myths that are recorded in a language not clearly understood, suggesting all the more the intrinsic merit of the present book. Indeed, Professor Katō's work is beyond all praise, particularly in his elucidation of the ethical aspect of Shintō. Parallel cases cited from other religions of the world make the book extremely interesting to the general reader. The five plates illustrating the Ise and Idzumo Shrines and the procession of the removal of the Divine Mirror representing Amaterasu-Ōmikami are excellent, while the exhaustive Bibliography and the Index offer a useful reference to all students of Shintō.

The French translation is somewhat abbreviated and augmented, without altering the general theme of the work. Several misprints found in the names of places, of persons, and deities, can be easily corrected by referring to the Index, where they are printed accurately. La Maison Franco-Japonaise of Tōkyō is to be congratulated on its undertaking of this translation work, an admirable effort to bring deeper understanding of the Japanese nation to the French-speaking people.

S. Y.

TRANSLATION OF "KO-JI-KI" or "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS".

By BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN. Second edition, with Annotations by the late W. G. ASTON. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6. pp. lxxxv + 495, 1 map. Published with permission of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Kohe: J. L. Thompson; London: Kegan Paul, 1932. 20 s.n.

Of all the translations of Japanese literature, those that have rendered the greatest service to the academic world are perhaps Prof. Chamberlain's *Kojiki* and Dr. Aston's *Nihongi*. Unfortunately they both have long since been rather inaccessible, often compelling a student to make a daily visit to a library in order to consult the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan and of the Japan Society in which respectively these translations appear. It is for these reasons that the second edition of the first-mentioned work is a welcome publication. It has been prepared from Dr. Aston's copy of the Supplement with his own annotations, which had been inserted before his translation of the *Nihongi* was issued. For the convenience of readers, however, reference to the latter publication is added in this new edition, and a list, prepared by Professor Tsugita, of Japanese



works published on the *Kojiki* since the first appearance of Professor Chamberlain's translation in 1882.

It is idle to speak of the value of the present book, for it is a monumental work of one of the greatest living authorities on the Japanese language. It stands uncontroverted not because we are in a position to assume the absolute accuracy of the translation throughout, but because we have not, even during the intervening years, attained sufficient further knowledge of the eighth century Japanese to add anything. And this inability is in spite of Professor Chamberlain's happy imagination that "the history of the Japanese language is too well known to us" (p. vii), which is by no means true. What do we know of the phonetic system of eighth-century Japanese? Does the specific usage of the *Man-yō-gana* indicate that there were more vowel sounds in the early part of that period than there are in modern Japanese? Or does it suggest the existence of palatalized consonants? Such points have not as yet received due consideration. The limitation of our knowledge of the *Kojiki* language is not confined to its phonetic system. Are not the meanings we attach to some of the words occurring in the eighth century literature sheer guess-work? Are we clear about the functions of all suffixes? Until we have acquired a sound knowledge of these seemingly trivial elements we cannot profess that we understand the language. It is true that since Professor Chamberlain published his translation of *Kojiki* attempts have been made to clarify various doubtful elements in ancient Japanese by Professors Andō, Hashimoto, Pierson, Yamada, Yoshizawa, and other researchers. Notwithstanding all these efforts we have not discovered anything important that would seriously affect Professor Chamberlain's translation.

From what has been said above it is clear that the present translation is on the whole accurate to the best of our knowledge of the language in which the original text is written. The only regrettable feature of the translation is that, while denouncing the explanations of early Japanese scholars regarding the structure of words as "etymological gymnastics" (p. 130, n. 16) the translator himself has fallen into the same error by trying to translate proper names. We may accept his contention that since it is so extremely difficult to draw a line between a proper name and a description of the personage (p. xx) one is tempted to translate the names where possible. But why the etymology of unmistakable place-names? We might almost ask, why the mention of etymology at all? The value of the

book would be infinitely greater if the translator had ignored the groundless etymological expositions advanced by the early commentators instead of following them. As an example of such errors may be cited the name *Oho-wata-tsu-mi*, translated "Great-Ocean-Possessor", where *-mi* is, according to Professor Chamberlain, equivalent to *mochi* "possessor" (p. 31, n. 8). If this derivation be correct, how are we to account for the presence of *-tsu-*, which he doubtless regards as a "genitive" particle? Is not *Oho-wata-mi* sufficient, or even more adequate, to convey that meaning, like *Oho-na-muji*, translated "Great-Name-Possessor" (p. 81)? There must be something at fault in the analysis of these names.

In his long Introduction the translator explains (1) the authenticity of the nature of the text, (2) the method he has adopted in his translation, and (3) the relation between the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. Further, he proceeds to deduce from the text the manners and customs, the religious and political ideas of the early Japanese, and finally discusses the beginnings of the Japanese nation and the credibility of the national traditions. These inferences alone present a very interesting piece of literature, and add considerably to the usefulness of the volume.

There is, however, one point to be noted. Speaking of the Chinese influence on Japanese culture, Professor Chamberlain quotes *narikabura*, a bumming attachment to the arrow, as an example of such influence (p. lxxix), telling us that "it was used in China in the time of the Han dynasty" (p. 87, n. 7). The earliest mention of *narikabura* seems to be found in the *Shih-chi* (史記) where it is described as having been used by the *Hsiung-nu* (匈奴). This at once shows that the object under consideration was not of Chinese origin, and hence the Japanese may not necessarily have learned its use from the Chinese.

Another and still more significant problem raised by Professor Chamberlain is the question of early Chinese loan-words. Important as it is, this problem is nevertheless a very difficult one to solve and some of the identifications given on p. lxxix cannot be accepted readily. If the word *fumi* "document" has really been derived from the Chinese 文 (Anc. Chin. *mwen*) as is believed by the translator (p. xlix, n. 56), then we must consider that the Chinese final *n* was replaced by *-m* in Japanese under the influence of the preceding labial syllable *fu*. There seems no other explanation for this sound substitution. But then, how about *kume* "army (?) " (p. 134, n. 7)

and *kuni* "land", which Professor Chamberlain is inclined to identify with the Chinese 軍 (Anc. Chin. *k'iuən*) and 郡 (Anc. Chin. *g'iuən*) respectively? If *g'iuən* gives rise to *kuni* in Japanese, *k'iuən* must also become *kuni*, not *kume*. Thus the etymology of one at least of these two words is incorrect, unless there is some other reason to account for this inconsistency.

The following suggestions as to details of translation may prove useful to the serious student of ancient Japanese.

p. 25, n. 5. *Ye-hime* should read *E-hime*, since *ye* and *e* were clearly distinguished at the time when the *Kojiki* was compiled. For the phonetic value of *h* see Professor Pierson's *The Manyōshū*, book i, pp. 38-43.

p. 29, n. 31. Motowori does not suggest that "*nu* may mean 'moor' and *de* (for *te*) 'clapper-bell'," but says that *nude* may mean 鐸 "a clapper-bell" (*Zenshū*, vol. i, p. 217).

p. 41, n. 6. The word "moreover" is Professor Chamberlain's rendering of 且, *shibaraku* "just", of the Shimpukujibon (the edition of 1371-2). Motowori's readings *madzu tsubara ni* (*Kojikiden*) and *ashita ni tsubara ni* (*Kokun Kojiki*) should be rejected.

p. 88, l. 16. "floor" should read "door" (for 戸).

p. 96, ll. 13-14. *Mushi-busuma* translated "warm coverlet" seems to mean "a hemp coverlet" as suggested by Mr. Matsuoka (*Kogo Daijiten*, p. 1234). The word *mushi* "hemp, linen (?) " is probably akin to *fusa* "hemp", and its cognates seem very widely distributed over the globe: Goldi *boso*, Oroche *boso*, *busu*, Manchu *boso*, Mongol *bōs* "linen", and in many other languages, both ancient and modern. Compare, for example, *byssus*.

p. 112, n. 5. *Ari keri*, translated "it is", is Motowori's careless emendation of the original *ari nari*, 有那理. The same is true of "it is" (p. 163, l. 13 and n. 11) for *ari nari*, 阿理那理, and "it was" (p. 297, l. 14) for *mashi nari*, 坐那理. This *nari*-form should be distinguished from the *keri*-form which occurs in *ari keri*, 在那(?)理, "I have!" (p. 46, l. 7 and n. 1); *ari keri*, 有那理 "no!", *mashi keri*, 坐那(?)理, "no!" (p. 117, l. 9); *imashi keri* 坐那理, "there is" (p. 251, l. 16 and n. 16).

p. 116, l. 10. "head-hanging" should read "head-inclining", for 傾 means "to incline".

p. 123, l. 27. The word *todaru*, here translated "rich and perfect", has been interpreted by Professor Andō as signifying "brilliant, shining" (*Gengo to Bungaku*, vols. i and vi). It occurs again in the

expression *todaru ama no nihisu no susu*, here translated "the soot on the heavenly new lattice of the gable" (p. 125, ll. 10-11).

p. 134, n. 10. The *tsuchi* in *kabu-tsuchi* and the *tsutsui* in *kabu-tsutsui*, *ishitsutsui* seem to mean "haft, hilt". They are probably derived from \**tut-* "to hold, grasp, withhold, restrain, refrain", from which also come the words *tsutsumi* "captivity, hindrance, mishap", *tsutsushimu* "to refrain, be prudent", etc.

p. 150, l. 8. "head" should read "neck" (for 頸).

p. 178, l. 13. "the lovely [one]" is Professor Chamberlain's translation of 延 (in the Shimpukujibon) which Motowori took for 延, *ye*, and interpreted as 愛, *e*, "lovely". But since *ye* and *e* were carefully distinguished at the time of Kojiki it would be more appropriate to consider the character 延 as representing 吉 "good, fine, beautiful".

p. 193, l. 8. "eleven" should be "eight".

p. 210, n. 18. "the first two of these three characters" should read "the first and the last of these three characters".

p. 232, n. 7. The word *agitofu* is derived from *agi*, *agito* "jaw" and is best translated "to open and close the mouth, to babble". Motowori's rendering "to say 'agi' (my lord)" is far-fetched (*Zenshū*, vol. iii, p. 1295).

p. 244, n. 7. There is no such word as *me-guna* in Japanese. This is a result of Motowori's wrong etymology of *woguna* "boy" which assumes the meaning "male" in the first syllable *wo*.

pp. 248-9. The word *negi* (泥 疑) is here used in two different senses "to entreat" and "to entertain". Thus, "Be thou the one to take the trouble to teach him [his duty]" (p. 248, ll. 15-16) means "Be thou the one to entreat and make him understand", and "I have been at that trouble" (p. 249, l. 5) signifies "I have already asked [him]", whereas "How didst thou take the trouble?" (p. 249, ll. 6-7) must denote "How didst thou entertain [him]?"

p. 290, l. 1. "firmly standing" should be followed by "[as] the Deity of Medicine" which is the usual interpretation of *kushi no kami*, 久志能加美.

p. 297, n. 2. According to Professor Andō *chidaru* (知 陀 流) is identical with *todaru* (登 陀 流), already mentioned under p. 123.

p. 362, l. 8. "Come" should be followed by some such word as "stealthily" which seems to be the meaning of *shitata ni mo* 志 多 多 爾 毛.

p. 375, l. 12. The sentence "At this time there came over people

from Kure" should follow "Again the Kahase Retainers were established" in l. 13.

p. 394, n. 4. In the Shimpukujibon the two words *asato* "morning" and *yufuto* "evening" appear in the forms *asako* (阿佐許) and *yufuke* (由布計) respectively. The *-to* in the former pair of words, like *-ke* and *-ko* (?) in the latter, is a locative suffix; it has no such signification as "doors", in which Professor Chamberlain has followed Motowori's interpretation (*Zenshū*, vol. iv, pp. 2098-9).

p. 399, l. 2. "Song" should be "Song-Hedge".

p. 400, n. 12. "so" after "the original being" should read "*shi*", as it is written 斯.

Lastly, the following misprints and omissions may be noted. The forms as printed are given first:—

I. *Chinese Characters*.—p. xxxviii, l. 11, 景; 影. p. xxxix, l. 39, 網; 綱. p. 30, n. 2, 士; 土. p. 36, n. 11, 桂; 柱. p. 64, n. 9, 項; 頂, 棟; 棟. p. 73, n. 9, 項; 頂. p. 102, n. 3, 羅; 羅 or 羅. p. 114, n. 10, 羅; 良. p. 137, n. 6, 遂; 還. p. 159, n. 26, 浪; 波. p. 162, n. 5, 力; 刀. p. 165, n. 2, 鳥; 烏. p. 218, n. 17, 廂人; 其廂人. The more correct translation would therefore be "people of that side [-building]", meaning "you".

II. *Proper Names*.—p. 30, n. 3, *-zu-bime*; *-su-hime*. p. 42, n. 12, *Nara*; *Naru*. p. 49, n. 17, *-ne*; *-no*. p. 49, n. 18, *Nika*; *Naka*, *-komi*; *-kami*. p. 53, n. 12, *-fumi*; *Afumi*. p. 106, n. 2, *-musu-bi*; *-subi*. p. 120, n. 9, *Tori*; *Ame-no-tori*. p. 125, n. 37, *Kumu* . . . *-kami*; *Kami* . . . *-mikoto*. p. 128, n. 5, *-no-nigi*; *-no-ni-nigi*. p. 199, l. 7, *Mato*; *Maito*. p. 204, l. 4, *Mimi*; *Miwi*. p. 205, l. 12, *Oho*; *Oto*. p. 206, l. 4, *-be*; *-ne*. p. 213, l. 1, *Igaka*; *Ikaga*. p. 222, l. 11, *Otokuni*; *Ohokuni*. p. 257, l. 8, *Sugamu*; *Sagamu*. p. 293, n. 21, *Ayuchi*; *Aguchi*. p. 325, l. 1, daughter of the Duke of Muragata in Himuka; daughter of Ushimoro, the Duke of Muragata in Himuka. p. 348, l. 1, *-iratsume*; *-iratsume* (three Deities). p. 360, l. 7, *Thereupon Anaho*; *Thereupon Prince Anaho*. p. 375, l. 4, *Wake*; *Waka*. p. 376, n. 6, *Himokuma*; *Hinokuma*. p. 407, l. 27, *Hirataka*; *Hiroataka*. p. 408, l. 6, *-wake*; *-waka*. p. 408, l. 18, *Kara*; *Kata*. p. 410, l. 28, *-kura-tama*; *-kura-futo-tama*. p. 411, l. 6, *Inawe*; *Iname*. p. 411, l. 8, *Ihakumo*; *Ihakuma*.

III. *Songs*.—p. 418, l. 13, *yo*; *ya*. p. 418, l. 18, *ko-ra*; *ko*. p. 420, l. 5, *Shigekoki*; *Shikekoki*. p. 421, l. 17, *tatanamu yo*; *tachi ni keri*. p. 422, l. 3, *o*; *a*. p. 422, l. 6, *Tatanatsuku*; *Tatanadzuku*. p. 422, l. 17, *Wotomo*; *Wotome*. p. 422, l. 22, *-motorofu*;

-motoshorofu. p. 423, l. 12, Isa; Iza. p. 425, l. 10, wo; ha. p. 426, l. 20, watari no; watari ni. p. 428, n. 19, mikahoshi; migahoshi. p. 433, l. 13, hi; ni,

S. Y.

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THE PHONETICS OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE. With Reference to Japanese Script. By P. M. SUSKI. 7 × 5. pp. 123. Los Angeles: The Science Society; London: Kegan Paul, 1931. 9s.

The author of this work seems unaware of the fact that since E. R. Edwards published *Étude phonétique de la langue japonaise*, nearly thirty years ago, many books have been written on Japanese phonetics, as, for example, A. Imagawa's *Tōkyōben* (1915), K. Jimbo's *Kokugo Onseigaku* (1925), G. Mori's *Pronunciation of Japanese* (1929), and H. E. Palmer's *The Principles of Romanization with special Reference to the Romanization of Japanese* (1930). Naturally the present book does not give us any further information on the subject than that with which we are already familiar.

The first half of the book is devoted to a study on the system of Japanese writing. This is because Mr. Suski felt it "a necessity to describe how Japanese sounds are outcome of Chinese sounds and ancient Japanese; the language itself is based, not on spoken tongue but rather on written words, which allow varied sounds, circumstantial or personal" (p. 55). Here it must be pointed out that the author uses the word "sound" with three distinct meanings. When he tells us that "there are 101 single sounds in spoken Japanese, which may be written in Romaji" (p. 97), we should not wonder how these 101 different sounds can be adequately represented by 26 Roman letters, for the author means by "101 single sounds" as many syllabic sounds. But when he speaks of "Chinese sounds" (p. 55) and "304 Japanese sounds" (p. 8) he refers in both cases to the *On* of the Chinese characters. His third use of the term is normal.

Despite this wide application of the word "sound" the author's intention can be sufficiently gathered from his statement cited above, i.e. to explain the history of the sounds as heard in modern spoken Japanese. Most unfortunately, however, he has not made adequate use of the valuable materials we have before us for such a purpose. He should have taken into consideration all the known facts relating to the phonetic system of Japanese since the eighth century instead of giving the lists of "304 Japanese sounds of Kanji" (pp. 8-11) and

the *Man-yō-gana* with an antiquated Roman transcription (pp. 46-8). Not only do these serve no purpose in a book on phonetics, but they are also misleading, because the phonetic values of the *Man-yō-gana*, the *Kana* signs and the *On* of the Chinese characters have undergone a series of changes in the process of time.

Although the book under review cannot be called a serious work it may benefit the beginners of Japanese who wish to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of the modern system of Japanese writing and of the sounds as heard in careful speech of Tōkyō citizens. Space does not permit us to point out the errors, which are not infrequent in this volume.

S. YOSHITAKE.

DIE LEGENDÄRE MAGHĀZĪ-LITERATUR. By RUDI PARET. pp. viii + 251.  
Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1931.

In his earlier studies in the Arabic folk-literature Dr. Paret has shown what a fertile and little-explored field still awaits investigation outside the familiar range of the *Arabian Nights* and the 'Antar and Hilāl romances. In the present work he has developed more fully his own method in relation to an important but neglected section of this literature, which he first summarizes and then subjects to analytical examination, with results not only interesting in themselves but also of value for the study of the inner aspects of Islamic thought. The importance of the *Arabian Nights* for such a study has long been recognized; that of the popular romances associated with the history of Muḥammad (the *Sīra*-romances) and his wars (the *Maghāzī*-romances)—the latter of which form the subject of this work—is no less great, though specialized within a narrower range, and to some extent coloured by the peculiar conditions of a particular period. Moreover, the fact that several of them have been printed and reprinted of recent years shows that they have not yet lost all their meaning for the present day.

These romances naturally concentrate upon the *jihād* and the relation of Muslims to non-Muslims of all kinds, and do not step far outside these limits. By the picture which they give of the popular attitude to these questions they furnish an interesting commentary upon and supplement to the theoretical expositions of the Muslim jurists and the data supplied by historical and literary works. In the second part of his book Dr. Paret methodically arranges the

information thus gleaned under separate heads, which often throw illuminating side-lights on the orientation of popular Muslim thought (e.g. its positivism and optimism, pp. 171-2; the magical value of ritual recitations, pp. 178-180; conversion and missionary activity, pp. 232-3). The period from which the principal redaction of the romances dates, (the first half of the fourteenth century) has left its mark on their contents; on the one hand there was the stimulus of Islamic feeling caused by the reaction from the Crusades and the Mongol domination, on the other the close alliance between the new Šūfi fraternities and the trade guilds, which had just reached full development, and explains the strong 'Alid sympathies within their Sunnī framework. One may even be tempted to describe them as a kind of *Šīrat 'Alī*, but the manner in which the more definitely Shi'ite doctrines are whittled down to conformity with Sunnī views is very well illustrated by the author (p. 207). The romances show in general a somewhat monotonous lack of imaginative power, diversified only where they are based on incidents related in the genuine historical sources, the general reliability of which thus receives confirmation in an unexpected way. These reflections of the historical works are carefully noted by Dr. Paret; those of the Qur'ān are occasionally referred to, but not made the subject of a special investigation. Among the unhistorical materials too, however, there are some interesting details. It is a surprise to find a Muslim version of the mediaeval Christian legend of Muḥammad's coffin—here it is a heathen idol which is suspended between magnets (p. 215); and the story of Haddām's artificial Paradise (pp. 99, 221) might be taken for an echo of the familiar story of the "Old Man of the Mountain" were it not for the counterpart of an equally artificial Hell.

H. A. R. G.

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VORISLAMISCHE ALTERTÜMER. By CARL RATHJENS and HERMANN V. WISSMANN. (Rathjens-v. Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise. Band 2.—Hamburgische Universität. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet des Auslandskunde. Band 38.) pp. xvi + 212. Hamburg, 1932.

The authors of this work were, by a fortunate chance, enabled to carry out in 1927 a short archæological tour in the vicinity of Ṣan'ā, and even to supervise the excavation of a South-Arabian temple at the village of Ḥugga. Hurriedly though it was done, and at a none



too promising spot, the results of their investigation have thus a certain historic importance as the firstfruits of excavation in the Yaman. Its tangible results were, indeed, rather meagre, and it is greatly to the credit of the authors that by a careful piecing together of their fragmentary materials with those of earlier explorers, they have induced them to yield such a respectable body of evidence and conclusions. Apart from the archaeological finds, which provide confirmation of the remarkable architectural and constructional ability of the Sabæans, and their simple but effective decorative processes, some additional light has been thrown on the ancient culture of the Yaman, particularly as regards burials. Whether, however, the existence of two types of temple plan and two types of burial is sufficient to support the hypothesis of an old Hamitic culture, which fell about 1000 B.C. before the advance of the more familiar Semitic culture from the north, is still doubtful, as also is the suggestion (p. 72) that the South Arabian temple was the architectural forerunner of the Islamic mosque. But the gradual accumulation of evidence for some sort of relations between Arabia and the Hamites is becoming more and more impressive, and there will be general agreement with the authors' conclusion that the key to these oldest racial and cultural problems must be sought in the Yaman.

H. A. R. G.

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HISTORICAL FACTS FOR THE ARABIAN MUSICAL INFLUENCE. By  
H. G. FARMER. pp. xii + 376. London: William Reeves, n.d.  
12s. 6d.

Readers who are not acquainted with Dr. Farmer's earlier writings on the musical contribution of the Arabs to medieval Europe would be well advised to read carefully his chapter on "Music" in *The Legacy of Islam* before attempting this book. This for two reasons: one, that the present work expressly excludes the subject of mensural music, which the author himself regards as the most important legacy of the Arabs; the other, that in order to grasp the bearing of many of the arguments, it is essential to have some idea of the process as a whole. The genesis of the book was a series of articles in the *Musical Standard*, replying to a criticism of Dr. Farmer's original pamphlet on the Arabian Influence; to these have been added a long introductory chapter and forty-eight Appendices dealing with individual points in detail. The greater part is taken up with the defence of medieval

Arabic musical science against the ill-informed depreciation of the critics, and Dr. Farmer has little difficulty in dislodging them from this singularly weak position and driving home his counter-attack. On the other hand, he admits that definite proof of Arabian influence in the Western systems of solmization and notation are still lacking. The difficulty with which he is faced is the same as that which confronts nearly all students of medieval culture. *Literary* evidences are late and not very satisfactory, and the kernel of the problem lies in the extent to which *viva-voce* transmission, both practical and theoretical, can be demonstrated on more or less indirect testimony. Of the probative value of the "clues" which Dr. Farmer brings forward it is hardly for a layman to judge, but there will be general agreement with his claim that they are entitled to serious consideration.

H. A. R. G.

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THE MUSLIM CREED. By A. J. WENSINCK. pp. 304. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 15s.

"There is no God but God and Muhammad is the prophet of God." It is a shock to learn that Islam existed without this declaration. Both parts of it are contained in the Kuran but they were not at first united in a challenge to the unbelieving world. In Medina Muhammad was busy in persuading the tribes to acknowledge him and was so bothered by material cares that he was more concerned with the payment of the religious tax than with the form of words in which his headship was recognized. As the elements of the confession are found in the Kuran so are the beginnings of a creed, "Each one believes in God, his angels, his scripture, and his apostles." The spiritual history of Islam from the prophet's death till about A.D. 750 is contained in the traditions. Most of these are comparatively late or have been revised to agree with later fashions of thought or action. One can only admire the insight with which Professor Wensinck has sifted the mass of tradition and written a convincing history of Muslim thought. Even such an elementary creed as the "five pillars of Islam"—faith, prayer, the religious tax, fasting, and pilgrimage—was of slow growth. One form of this says that Islam has four commands and four prohibitions, the things forbidden being vessels for keeping wine. This is clearly early, but it has been revised by the insertion of the confession. Another defines the duties of a Muslim as the service of God, performance of prayer, payment of tax, and

keeping the bonds of relationship. Another says five daily prayers, the fast, and payment of tax. Islam has moved a long way from the first sermons of Muhammad; the great problem is no longer how to escape hell but how to distinguish a Muslim from other men. The same circumstances gave rise to traditions on the difference between faith and Islam; the definition of faith is not philosophical but a statement of its content, belief in God, his books, and his prophets, following the example of the Kuran. When men flocked into Islam in crowds the old believers doubted the newcomers' sincerity. The words, "he who takes part in the holy war does so to his personal profit," reveal the doubts felt by some at the course Islam was taking. Opposition to the Khawārij produced the statement that the pronouncement of the confession was enough to make a man a Muslim. One variety of this tradition ends with the words, "even though Abū Dharr should turn up his nose"; such obstinate doctrinaires as he were forerunners of the Khawārij. Islam never got beyond the position of Ezekiel that the last moment's of a man's life decided his destiny.

Discussions about God did not begin till the making of traditions had almost ceased, though one, which denies the intercession of the prophet, agrees with the teaching of the Mu'tazila. If the canon of tradition had been closed a little later we should have had the opinions of the prophet on the attributes of God and the relations of substance and accident. With the Mu'tazila the book reaches a subject which is comparatively well known and loses the interest of novelty, for up to this point the matter has been quite fresh. There follows a sketch of their teaching, the reaction led by al Ash'ari, and later developments. Then come translations of several creed-like documents with a commentary clause by clause and elaborate cross-references. In the latest creed God is a deduction from the existence of the world; there could not be a better proof of the change that Islam had undergone. This second half of the book is heavy going, upholding the epigram that religion is interesting till it becomes theological. Indeed, one is tempted to say that the first hundred pages must have been written by a Frenchman and the rest by a German. In the book as it stands many subjects are treated in three commentaries representing three stages in the history of dogma. It would probably have been easier reading if the texts had been given with the briefest notes possible and the history of each doctrine given connectedly in a joint commentary.

It is instructive to find that in the heat of controversy a practice (p. 158) is declared to be necessary, when passions had cooled somewhat it became commendable, and later still allowable. A change of terminology may be noted. Al Ash'ari uses *makān* for *substratum*, Shahrastāni uses *maḥall*.

A few details are open to question. The phrase, "pretend to remove *tanzīh*" (p. 90) is a slip. The advocates of allegorical interpretation claimed to distinguish the qualities of God from those of men while their opponents charged them with denying these qualities to Him. "*Maintain tanzīh*" is wanted. Ma'had (p. 53) took his ideas from Sūsan. Maqrizi calls this man Sansōē. In Pehlevi one sign does duty for both *w* and *n*; is there any authority for preferring one form of the name to the other? "Beauty and ugliness, beautiful and ugly" (p. 63) should surely be "right and wrong". The problem is the origin of our ideas of right and wrong; some said that a thing was right because God willed it to be so while others held that right would be right though there were no God. 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'īd (p. 136) and Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'īd (p. 144) are probably the same man though there are two entries in the index (it is called Register, p. 204). There is some doubt about the name but everyone calls him ibn Kullāb or al Kullābi not al Kilābi. The author quotes (p. 44) the tradition, "Whoso commits fornication cannot be faithful at the same time, etc." The translation gives the meaning attributed to the words by the exegetes, but the words themselves are frankly antinomian. The sentence at the top of p. 213 scarcely makes sense.

To turn to bigger matters. It may be asked if enough weight has been allowed to the influence of Christianity. We may doubt if the religious ideas which al A'sha learnt at Hira had much effect on Muslim theology, but 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar had a friend in Syria who was unsound on predestination (quoted by Vlieger, p. 201). This would show that Baara was not the only place where new ideas fermented. John of Damascus is quoted (p. 71), "The divine light and workings, though one and simple and indivisible, shine in various ways in the individual beings, according to their goodness," which is like the theory of Abu 'l Hudhail that the attributes of God differ according to the variations of what is known and done (*Maqālāt*, p. 486). His views on heaven, too, recall the Christian idea of rest from labour; this or Neo-Platonism is the more likely source, not elaborate speculations on the nature of finitude. Islam made the same distinction between the will of God and his good pleasure as did Christianity

(p. 145); and an attempt is made to separate *kalām* from *qawl* as λόγια are distinct from ῥήματα. A problem of interest is the origin of *istafā'a*, "faculty" as it is translated. Muslims argued whether it existed before or with the act or both before and with; whether the faculty for faith was also the faculty for unbelief or not. It may be that the word comes from the Kuran, like *kasb* and *khadhlan*, for the Kuran and the comments of popular religion on it had more influence on religious thought than is usually recognized. Thus the Mu'tazilite interest in scorpions was due to those as big as camels which public fancy put in hell to torment sinners. But it is noteworthy that Theodore Abu Qurra uses this word, faculty. "In the body is the existence, equipment, and faculty for all the movements of man's nature." He also speaks of "the faculty of powers" and "power of faculty". By going outside the limits which Professor Wensinck has set himself we could find other points of contact. The innovations of early Islam were not true heresies but symptoms of growing pains. Those, whom the historians of dogma condemned as non-Muslims, were sincere in calling themselves Muslims.

It is tempting to suggest that the power of intercession given to the prophet (p. 181) is a survival of the Arab spirit. The Kuran shows that the Arabs regarded the minor Gods as intercessors; history tells that mediators were employed in every branch of life, and this custom has not died out. The intercession of the prophet is this habit carried into religion.

A turning point in the history of Islam is connected with al Ash'ari. The author inclines to the view that the doctrine usually called his really belongs to his school. There is no doubt that al Ash'ari went over to the right wing of Islam, Shahrastāni called him a disciple of Ibn Kullāb. Would the conversion of a prominent Mu'tazilite have caused such a stir? Could anyone give up the habits of thought of a lifetime? The words put into his mouth, "I do not begin a discussion on theology, but when others go deeply into what is not fitting, I call them back to God's decrees," do not exclude reasoned discussion of religion, though revelation not reason is the foundation.

The footnotes need revision; the references to the *maqūlāt* do not agree with the copy in the School library.

Professor Wensinck has paid us a compliment by writing this book in English and we appreciate it. The first five chapters can be recommended to all who want to know something about early Islam and students cannot do without the whole book. There is something

in it for all, language, history, and law, besides theology. Only those who have worked through a collection of traditions can appreciate the immense labour that has gone to the making of this book. The professor has never let his material get out of hand; his facts are carefully arranged and point to his conclusions without ever obscuring them. It is a human book and a wise.

A. S. T.

LE PÈLERINAGE DE LA MECQUE. Par Dr. Duguet. pp. 337. Paris :  
Les Éditions Rieder, 1932. Fr. 30.

The true subject of this book is not named in the title, yet two-thirds of the whole are given up to cholera. To introduce his subject the author gives a description of the pilgrimage which is so readable that it is almost ungracious to say that one or two points are open to criticism. The world-wide appeal of Islam is made clear by tables showing the lands from which the pilgrims come. The problem is the poor pilgrim; two of them walked across the Lybian desert where the space of 300 kilometres produces nothing but stones. A chapter is given to the sacred towns in Irak and the traffic in corpses from Persia. In the body of the book the author describes the epidemics at Mecca, the hospitals (!), the development of preventive measures outside the Hedjaz, and his hopes for the future. The policies of the Turks, King Husain, and Ibn Sa'ūd, the change in defence from long quarantine to inoculation and disinfection, and the growth of the International Sanitary Conference are explained. He records inhuman wickedness and magnificent courage and generosity. A squeamish layman should not read some of the pages just before dinner or bed. In former days the deserts formed a sufficient shield for the health of Europe; a caravan rotten with cholera was clean before it was out of the desert. The steamship and motor have changed that. The great danger has always been secrecy and the contraband traffic. The conclusion is that all pilgrims should be protected by inoculation against cholera, plague, and smallpox before leaving their homes; then the Hedjaz will not be in danger itself no. a danger to others. There are a few misprints, one of which makes the name of Dr. Olschanietzki even less pronounceable than it is by nature. A very useful book.

A. S. T.

TA'RĪKH-I JAHĀN-GUSHĀY OF JUWAYNĪ. Vol. iii, being a facsimile of a MS. dated A.H. 690, with an introduction by Sir E. D. Ross. pp. 108. London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1931.

The first volume of Juwaynī's *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-gushā* was published in 1912, and was followed by the second volume in 1916. Of vol. iii, pp. 1-184 (covering 69 out of 108 pages of the present edition) had long been printed, but other urgent work delayed the completion of this most important enterprise by Mīrzā Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī. Persons interested in Persian history will be glad to hear that the learned editor is now actively passing the volume through the Press, and before long the critical edition of the whole of Juwaynī's text will be in every orientalist library.

This good news does not in the least impair the value of Sir D. Ross's initiative in bringing out a facsimile of this very good manuscript of vol. iii, dated 690/1291. This new copy will be welcome for the preparation of the printed text, and even when the latter is ready, this photographic reproduction will keep its utility both on account of the documentary value which every ancient and consistent manuscript possesses, and for scholastic purposes. There is no better philological exercise for scholars and students than the study of a manuscript which has always some personal problem about it.

In the English table of contents a slip must be corrected: on p. 93 of the MS. it is Jalāl al-dīn, master of Alamūt who is in question and not the homonymous Khwārizmshāh.

V. M.

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THE DAMASCUS CHRONICLE OF THE CRUSADES. Extracted from the Chronicle of Ibn al Qalānisi. By H. A. R. GIBB. pp. 368. Luzac, 15s. 1932.

The editing and translation of this volume must have been a troublesome and difficult task. Professor Gibb is therefore the more to be congratulated on its accomplishment. It is a great thing for the student of the early crusades to be provided with a text which shows them how those expeditions appeared in the eyes of a pious Muslim gentleman. In a number of details the latter differs materially from the narratives of the Christian chroniclers. Many of these differences are matters of chronology, on which, at least so far as appears at first sight, nothing very much depends. More interesting is a detail of the crusaders' siege of Damascus. According to William of Tyre, the crusaders

abandoned a good camp for a bad one owing to the treachery of some among them who took a bribe from the Muslims for so doing, and, the chronicler adds, were paid, as they deserved, in leaden coins gilt over to deceive them. Ibn al Qalanisi says nothing of this, but points out that the crusaders moved from their original camp because the Muslims had diverted the course of the canal by which they had been supplied with water, and adds that their second camp was more comfortably placed than their first. In this matter the Muslim writer is more likely to be right than the Christian. He was probably an eye-witness of the siege, and records that when the crusaders abandoned the siege their corpses stank so as to sicken the very birds.

It is, however, as presenting the other point of view that this Muslim chronicle is specially valuable. No one, of course, would be likely even without his aid, to forget that another side existed. But it is well to be reminded of the delight with which the people of Damascus watched the heads of their enemies being carried on spears through their streets, and that this pious public servant regarded the Latins as idolaters and polytheists. Another very interesting point emerges from his narrative. Readers of the Western chronicles certainly are led to regard the Muslim dominion in Syria as a united thing. But, in fact, it was far otherwise. Damascus for example passed from the hands of a Berber garrison holding it in the name of the khalif of Egypt into those of a Turkoman garrison holding it in the name of Saljuk Alp Arslan. Syria was divided out among a host of warring princelets, whom Sultan Nur-ud-din and later on Saladin, had a world of difficulty in uniting against the common enemy.

H. D.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, 1890-1908: With a Survey of Policy since 1849. By C. COLLIN DAVIES, Ph.D. (Cantab.). pp. xii + 220, 3 maps. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 12s. 6d.

This is an admirable and clearly written study of what the author rightly describes as one of the most difficult, but at the same time one of the most interesting, frontier problems in the world. The book gives an excellent survey of the intricate history of the North-West Frontier of India since 1848, together with a more detailed discussion of various defence schemes that have been adopted or



suggested since 1890. Dr. Davies, who is a thorough master of his subject, has based his account upon official documents and other original sources, and has presented the results of his careful research work in a lucid, impartial, and well-balanced form. The interest of the book is greatly enhanced by the fact that the author has a considerable personal knowledge of the border country and has made a first-hand study of the racial characteristics, customs, and religious beliefs of the tribesmen.

The book opens with a detailed discussion of the relative merits of the four possible lines of defence—the line of the Indus, so warmly advocated by Lord Lawrence despite all the lessons of history, the old Sikh line which Lord Roberts declared to be an impossible frontier, the line which was demarcated in 1893 as a result of the negotiations conducted by Sir Mortimer Durand and which possesses no strategic merits, and the so-called scientific frontier commanding the passes between Kandahar and Kabul. From the military as well as from the political point of view not one of these frontiers is entirely satisfactory, but the force of circumstances, the restless and marauding activities of the tribesmen and the Russian advance in central Asia, has compelled us, often against our will, to move forward almost continuously towards the scientific line. British policy regarding the North-West Frontier has fluctuated incessantly and has not infrequently suffered as a result of conflicting political opinions at home. Even a Viceroy as pacific in his intentions as Lord Ripon, however, who came to India with strict injunctions to reverse the forward policy of his predecessor, Lord Lytton, and who had made up his mind to withdraw from the recently acquired positions in Baluchistan, when confronted by the steady advance of the Cossacks upon Merv was forced to admit that a policy of retirement was impossible. Not only was Baluchistan retained by the Liberal Viceroy and the railway reconstructed at considerable expense, but an extension of the line to Chanak was also undertaken.

Dr. Davies's intimate knowledge of the character of the native population and his detailed description of British relations with individual tribes bring home to the reader the great political difficulties of the frontier problem. We never have had, and probably never can have, a single uniform policy for the whole frontier zone. The system employed by Sir Robert Sandeman of granting allowances to friendly tribes was eminently successful in Baluchistan, a region in which the tribal chiefs were powerful enough to control their followers;

but it proved an utter failure when tried by Mr. R. I. Bruce in Waziristan among the lawless, undisciplined hordes of the Mahsuds.

The formation of the North-West Frontier Province during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon was, in the opinion of Dr. Davies, a necessary part of the reconstruction following the rising of 1897—a rising that was due primarily to the forward movement of the early 'nineties, but was stimulated by an outburst of fanaticism among the Afridi tribes and by the sinister influence of Afghan intrigues. Lord Curzon's frontier policy of "withdrawal and concentration" undoubtedly led to a sounder system of border administration and "gave to India a longer period of rest from border warfare than had been experienced for many weary years".

A separate chapter is devoted to the study of Anglo-Afghan relations. The establishment of a strong, independent, and friendly Afghan State does not, as Dr. Davies points out, in itself solve the problem of Indian defence. Russia is still a potential danger to our Indian empire, nor can the Government shirk the responsibility of protecting the friendly tribesmen of the Frontier Province against the incursions of robber bands from across the border. The vulnerable portion of the Frontier lies between Peshawar and Quetta and military strategists are almost unanimously of the opinion that to protect this area it is necessary to hold both the eastern and the western extremities of the five main mountain passes. In normal times the defence of the Frontier, in Dr. Davies's opinion, can be entrusted to native troops, but he emphasizes the importance of greater mobility in cases of emergency which can only be ensured by the construction of a more efficient road and railway system to enable British troops to be rapidly concentrated at any point of danger.

The final pacification of the Frontier, if such a thing is indeed possible, must necessarily be a slow process. Waziristan, it should be remembered, is not a self-supporting country and from time immemorial economic necessity has compelled the tribesmen to eke out their precarious existence by means of robbery and plunder. Dr. Davies, however, produces convincing evidence to show that from 1890 onwards political propaganda, instigated directly or indirectly by the Afghan Government, has been a potent cause of unrest among the tribesmen. Until the blockade of the Persian Gulf, too, in 1910 warfare on the Frontier was certainly augmented by the alarming increase of gun-running that was going on. It is essential for the security of India and the maintenance of peace on the Frontier that

British predominance in the Persian Gulf should be maintained and that any recrudescence of this illicit traffic in arms should be instantly suppressed.

Politicians of all schools of thought who are interested in the well-being of India, should most certainly read Dr. Davies's book and should bear in mind his warning that "any Great Power which fails adequately to protect its frontier ceases to be great; any empire that neglects this important duty of self-preservation is eventually overthrown".

The book contains three excellent maps prepared by the author, and a most useful bibliography.

CUTHBERT HEADLAM.

THE JESUITS AND THE GREAT MOGUL. By Sir EDWARD MACLAGAN. pp. xxi + 434, 12 plates, 2 maps. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1932. 17s. 6d.

This well-written and well-arranged work provides the student of Indian history with the first comprehensive account of Jesuit activities in Mughal India from Aquaviva's mission in the reign of Akbar to the death at Lucknow in 1803 of Father Wendel, the ex-Jesuit. Although Sir Edward MacLagan offers an apology to his readers for the frequency with which they are introduced to the authorities on which his narrative is based, no such apology is necessary, for much of the value of this book lies in the excellent arrangement whereby future investigators may readily find references to information scattered throughout numerous publications. Useful work on this subject has already been done by Father Hosten, a list of whose articles will be found in Appendix ii, and by Mr. C. J. Payne whose *Akbar and the Jesuits* and *Jahangir and the Jesuits* were published in 1926 and 1930 respectively. It is interesting to note that manuscript copies of several works in Persian written by the Jesuit missionaries form part of the Marsden collection in the School of Oriental Studies. These are described in considerable detail in Chapter xiv.

When it is remembered that the Persian sources for the last ten years of Akbar's reign are of little historical value, some idea will be obtained of the importance of the Jesuit reports for any reconstruction of the history of this period. The *Tabākāt-i-Akbari* does not extend beyond the year 1593; Badaoni's work ends in 1595; and the

*Akbar-nāma*, which is historically unimportant in its later chapters, comes to an abrupt conclusion with the murder of Abul Fazl in 1602. More than this, the testimony of the Jesuits, like the general body of European evidence, serves as a useful corrective to the official historians so prone to eulogistic descriptions of the activities of contemporary monarchs. Badaoni, a stern and orthodox Sunni, is of course violently opposed to Akbar's eclecticism. Again, the Jesuit Fathers, unlike Hawkins and other rough sailors of the period, were cultured men and skilled observers. At the same time, in order to arrive at the truth, it is always necessary to take their religious and political views into consideration, for not only did they represent the forces of the Counter-Reformation but they were also leaders of deputations from the Portuguese settlement at Goa. It must always be borne in mind that they were not casual travellers but men who came into the closest contact with Akbar and Jahangir. Residing at the Mughal court, they had, in the early days of the mission, unrivalled opportunities for observation, and, if it were for this alone, their opinions must carry great weight.

At first the Jesuits turned their attention to the conversion of Akbar, but the attempt ended in failure. There were many reasons for this. The Jesuits attributed their lack of success to the fact that Akbar was a bad listener; that he was quite unable to give up the pleasures of the harem and confine himself to one wife; and that he was seeking a sign, such as the fire ordeal, but no sign was forthcoming. Akbar himself stated quite frankly that he found the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation to be the chief obstacle. Bohlen in his *Alle Indien* and Noer in his *Kaiser Akbar* suggested that Akbar was influenced by reports which had reached him of the cruelties of the Inquisition at Goa, but Sir Edward points out that there is nothing in the records to show that Akbar had heard of the Inquisition.

The chapter on Shah Jahan contains an excellent and detailed examination of all the available evidence relating to the attack upon Hugli and the fate of the Christian prisoners. Opinions will always be divided as to whether this can be cited as an example of religious or political intolerance. It is now generally recognized that the orthodoxy of Aurangzeb was not so abrupt as has sometimes been imagined, for there was a gradual growth of intolerance after the death of Akbar. Nevertheless, as the author points out, the Fathers had hopes that in the person of Dara Shikoh they would once more be able to establish their influence in high places. The victory of Aurangzeb,

however, sealed the fate of the Jesuit missions. But, even under the greatest Puritan monarch of Muslim India, certain Fathers were exempted by a *parwana* in 1693 from paying the *jizya*. This privilege was continued by Bahadur Shah. Similar exceptions were granted by Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah. In analysing the failure of the Jesuits it should not be forgotten that the decline of Portuguese political power also adversely affected their interests, for the Portuguese alliance was no longer regarded as important.

Other interesting and important subjects dealt with in this valuable work are the Indian Bourbons, Akbar's Christian wife, the influence of the missions on Mughal painting, and Jesuit enterprise in Tibet. Readers who have forgotten Cicero's advice in *De Senectute* will be interested in the chapter on cemeteries.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CASTE IN INDIA. Vol. I. By NRIPENDRA KUMAR DUTT. pp. xi + 310. Kegan Paul, 1931. 12s. 6d.

CASTE AND RACE IN INDIA. By G. S. GHURYE. pp. vii + 309. Kegan Paul, 1932. 10s. 6d.

THE CASTE SYSTEM OF NORTHERN INDIA. By E. A. H. BLUNT. pp. ix + 374. Oxford University Press, 1931. 15s.

INDIAN CASTE CUSTOMS. By L. S. S. O'MALLEY. pp. ix + 190. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 6s.

This diversified group of volumes approaches the problems of caste from very different angles. Both Mr. Blunt and Mr. O'Malley deal with the caste system as it exists now. Mr. Blunt is concerned almost exclusively with the United Provinces, and has aimed at gathering together into one volume the various information scattered through census reports and the works such as those of the late Mr. Crooke. Mr. O'Malley's purpose is much more general. He seeks to draw a general picture of caste as it exists to-day in India as a whole, and to estimate the extent of the changes which have been introduced into it by modern conditions. Both volumes are well done, and succeed in their purpose. Mr. Dutt's volume forms the first of a work intended to survey the history of caste throughout the whole period of Indian history. At present he has reached the year B.C. 300. He is mainly concerned with expounding the traditional theories of caste contained in the classical texts, and, so far as the present volume goes, does not seem to have anything very new to say. Mr. Ghurye's work is perhaps

the most original of the four, and contains much matter of interest. He, too, has much to say that will be familiar to many of his readers ; and on the whole he must be adjudged to have exaggerated the position of the Sudra even under the early Hindü régime. But he devotes part of his volume to a criticism of the theories of the late Sir Herbert Risley, especially the theory that the nasal index corresponds closely with the social precedence of the caste-men concerned. Mr. Ghurye concludes that while this theory is true in a broad sense for northern India, and especially for the United Provinces it cannot be applied at all to the other provinces, such as Bombay or Madras. He is therefore inclined to think that whereas in northern India the population is as a whole homogeneous, elsewhere Brahmanism was carried by a small number of men who found themselves obliged to take women of the country as wives and so introduce new complications into the problem of the relations of caste and race.

H. D.

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COLONIAL POLICY. By A. D. A. DE KAT ANGELINO. 2 Vols, pp. viii + 530 ; vii + 674. The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff, 1931.

These volumes are an abridged translation of Dr. De Kat Angelino's massive work on the development of colonial policy. Such translations are most welcome. The work itself is concerned not with colonial policy as a whole, but with the development of Dutch colonial policy—that is to say, with the development of the Dutch possessions in the East. Very little has been published in English on this most interesting topic, in which every Englishman concerned in any way with Anglo-Eastern interests ought to be well-read. For the problems of the Dutch, and the goal of their policy, are much the same as our own. Both nations are seeking to deal with their responsibilities as trustees for others ; and if in some respects the Dutch task has ever been easier than ours, that does not rob their proposed solutions of value. The present work is divided into two parts. The first is concerned with matters of principle ; and those who are acquainted only with the older history of Dutch colonial administration will be surprised at the liberality which pervades the expression of Dr. De Kat Angelino's views. His subject of discussion is the difficult and evasive problem of the relations of East and West. He discusses such questions as the modernization of Eastern States and more particularly the methods by which the cultures of Europe and Asia can best be synthesized. He then proceeds to supplement his

theory of the relations of Holland and its Eastern dependencies by an analysis of the actual facts of those relations. Here his work bears most closely on such topics as the relations with the protected states of India or with the Federated States of Malaya. The Dutch were always peculiarly careful to preserve as far as possible the older forms of government and with them the families of the rulers. They consciously sought to perpetuate the indirect mode of government which in large parts of India the English were too impatient to preserve, although elsewhere and in more recent times we seem to have changed our attitude. Here, specially, the present work should provide English readers with food for thought. We hope that they will take advantage of the opportunity provided for them by the publication of these volumes.

H. D.

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THE LIFE OF THE ICELANDER JAN OLAFSSON. Vol. II. Edited by the late SIR RICHARD TEMPLE and L. M. ANSTEY. Hakluyt Society (Bernard Quaritch), 1932.

The value of this volume lies in the interesting and minute detail which the writer, a gunner in the service of the Danish East India Company, gives us of life aboard ship and life in garrison at Tranquebar, in the early years of the seventeenth century. Olafsson wrote many years after the events which he describes; his memory plays him false regarding names and dates; his love of the supernatural invests his dreams with a portentous significance; his love of the marvellous creates a sea-serpent off the Indo-Danish settlement; his self-importance evidently exaggerates the affection and respect shown to him by the rest of the ship's company. But despite these limitations of his accuracy, his narrative forms just the sort of story which hundreds of returned mariners, Dutch and Danish, English and Portuguese, must have related to their friends and families after their return from the remote East Indies, amid a hushed and not over-credulous silence. Every now and then he records a detail which reminds us pointedly of the difference between his generation and ours. Such is the remark that when he was undergoing a surgical operation on his hand, he had six men to hold him fast. He shows us the garrison at Tranquebar mounting guard, and closing its gates at service-time and dinner-time. He notes (to the present writer's great surprise) that the garrison bathed daily. He illustrates the early practice of

casting lots to determine which of a body of condemned prisoners should actually be put to death. On the technical side perhaps the most interesting detail which he has preserved is the method of loading the ship's guns at a time before it was the custom to allow the guns to be carried inboard by the recoil of their firing and when, therefore, it was necessary to load them from a platform outside the ship itself.

H. D.

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ACROSS THE GOBI DESERT. By SVEN HEDIN. Translated from the German by H. J. CANT. pp. xxi + 402, 3 maps. Routledge, 1931. 25s.

The interest of Dr. Sven Hedin's account of his latest expedition into Central Asia lies even more, perhaps, in what he promises to tell us than in this preliminary record. The story of the journey, interestingly as it is told, is yet unimportant when compared with the scientific work of the Mission, of which we hear just enough to wish that the account had been published in full.

The discovery of the bed of the ancient Lop Sea, of which the mysterious Lop-nor is but a shrunken remnant, and the fulfilling of the predictions which he made thirty years ago regarding what he believed to be an inevitable change in the position of the lake, must have given Dr. Hedin great satisfaction. If, as he himself says, the expedition had done no more than solve the Lop-nor problem which has so long intrigued geographers, it would have justified itself. But it did much more; and we hope that it will not be long before the record of the scientific side of the expedition becomes available.

Already both European and Chinese members of the party have published in part their discoveries in geology, archaeology, topography, etc., but the relation in English of the scientific results of the expedition would greatly increase our knowledge of Central Asia, and enhance the author's reputation as an explorer.

Dr. Hedin has been fortunate in his translator.

E. EDWARDS.

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MYAMMA MIN OKCHOKPON SADAN. Compiled by U. TIN. 2 parts. Rangoon: Government Press, 1931-2.

As its title indicates, this is a book on the public administration of Burma in Burmese times. It covers a period of over five centuries, from the reign of the Shan King of Ava, Min Kyiswa Sawke (1368-1401),



to that of King Thibaw, who was deposed by the British in 1886. Besides historical information, it contains much that is of great interest to the research student regarding old customs and beliefs of the Burmese.

For the information given, the compiler, U. Tin, has had recourse not only to royal orders, vernacular histories of Burma and Arakan, records of the Hlutdaw, or supreme court, stone epigraphs, and inscriptions on pagoda and monastery bells, but also to private documents which heretofore do not appear to have been made public, and the subjects range from coronation rituals and the duties of kings to the duties of slaves to their masters. There are also sumptuary laws which include rules prescribing the kind and texture of cloth to be worn by persons of each class of society.

Some of the depositions of *thugyi*s, or village headmen, that were recorded when the *Sittan*, or Revenue Inquest of King Bodawpaya, was made in 1784 contain curious details. For example, every villager who grew *himmunwè* (spinach) had to give the headman a hundle, and those who grew gourds, two gourds; each householder was bound to give him a bundle of firewood a month, and when a buffalo or ox died, the *thugyi* was entitled to receive two ribs of beef, a privilege which must have been appreciated when the slaughter of cattle was strictly forbidden on religious grounds. When the headman died he was buried, or burnt, in a specially ornamented coffin. Some of the depositions show that gynæcoeracy existed in certain villages where the *thugyi* was always a woman.

The population of Burma, according to this inquest, was about two millions. It is now well over thirteen millions, but the hill-tribes could not have found a place in the census of 1784. Bodawpaya's *Sittan* is regarded as forming an epoch in the rural annals of Burma. It was based on the sworn statements of village headmen and forms a complete record of the population and resources of the Empire, and as the boundaries of headmen's jurisdictions were recorded it is referred to even at the present time. Like the English Domesday Book of 1086, it was popularly regarded as an instrument of fresh exactions.

It has been said that Empalement has never been a legal penalty in Burma, but on p. 5, vol. 2, it is mentioned as being one of the thirty-two kinds of punishments which kings may inflict on their subjects. Of the remaining thirty-one, nearly all are ahominably cruel according to our notions.

At the end of the book is an account, which evidently has been

taken from private sources, of how Thibaw, the last of the Burmese kings, came to succeed his father instead of one of the elder princes, of whom there were many, and it is stated that during the first year of his reign, the young king had resolved to visit London, and actually had begun to select the members of his suite, when he abandoned the project owing to the opposition of Queen Supyalat and a favourite Minister, the Taingda *Mingyi*, who feared, doubtless with good reason, for distrust and treachery between brothers has been the inveterate canker in the royal families of Burma, that one of the senior princes might seize the throne during the King's absence. Had Thibaw made this visit, the subsequent history of Burma might have been written differently, the wholesale massacre of princes and their families, a massacre which greatly exceeded in the number of persons executed all previous massacres, might not have taken place, and Thibaw would not have gone down to posterity as Madayat pa Min, the king who was taken to Madras.

W. A. HERTZ.

A HISTORY OF URDU LITERATURE. By T. GRAHAME BAILEY. Heritage of India Series. pp. xii + 120. Calcutta: Association Press, 1932. 3s.

It is hardly creditable to British scholarship that no history of Urdu literature by a British author has hitherto appeared, and that Garcin de Tassy's *Histoire de la littérature hindoue et hindoustanie*, of which the first volume was published over ninety years ago, still remains a standard work. It is only quite recently that anything comprehensive was again attempted, this time by an Indian scholar, Ram Bahu Saksena's *History of Urdu Literature* being published in 1927. This is on the whole an admirable book, but it lacks references and, being intended rather for the general reader than the specialist, it tends to avoid minutiae. In the circumstances the limitations imposed by the small scale of the "Heritage of India" series must have been galling to Dr. Grahame Bailey; but perhaps he will be able to expand the present work into something more substantial on the lines, though not necessarily of the proportions, of Professor Browne's volumes on Persian literature, with illustrative extracts. No one is better qualified for such a task, and Urdu, if only for the reason that it is almost certain to have a distinguished future, deserves detailed historical treatment.

For the present, Dr. Grahame Bailey has given us a useful sketch history of the language from its beginnings down to 1928. Writers

who were alive in that year have been excluded, with the exception of Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl, while not much is said about the Press and the various literary journals, in which, as a matter of fact, some of the best contemporary writing is to be found. Most of the book is taken up with a list of some 250 writers of poetry and prose, with notes on their lives and works. Some of the notices are naturally very brief, but those on the chief personalities and movements are sometimes models of felicitous compression, hardly anything of first rate interest being omitted.

Two special features of the book are the importance attached to the influence of the Panjab and Panjabi on the early development of the language, and the lucid account of the growth and influence of Dakhnī Urdu—the latter a remarkable phenomenon to which insufficient attention has hitherto been given, and on which the author furnishes some fresh details, the fruit of recent research.

As regards the influence of the Panjab, Dr. Grahame Bailey makes an original point in observing (page 6) that "Urdu is always said to have arisen in Delhi, but we must remember that Persian-speaking soldiers entered the Panjab and began to live there nearly 200 years before the first Sultan sat on the throne of Delhi", and that what is supposed to have happened in Delhi must, in fact, have taken place in Lahore centuries earlier. On the other hand it is easy to overrate the importance of this. No doubt some kind of mixed Urdu or camp-language existed in the Panjah before Delhi became the main capital, but Panjabi left little or no trace on the literary or spoken idiom that survived, the grammatical structure deriving from Western Hindi.

There is no space here to discuss Dr. Grahame Bailey's appraisal of the leading figures in Urdu literature. Mir, Anīs, and Gh̃ālīb, he says, are probably now regarded as the three greatest poets in the language, while he implies that Saudā's reputation has declined. It is interesting to compare this judgment with Blumhardt's remark that Saudā "is universally considered to be the greatest of Hindustani poets", and with that of Ram Babu Saksena, that he is "generally considered to be the greatest and most powerful of Urdu poets."

The definition (page 3) of *divān* as "a collection of poems, chiefly gazals", might be amplified. Though the word *divān* is sometimes loosely used, it usually implies in Urdu as in Persian an alphabetical arrangement. Juvainī's *Jahān-kushāi* (page 11) was completed in A.D. 1260, not in 1150.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

VELI KRISAN RUKMAṆĪ RĪ. By PRITHIRĀJ. Translated by the late JAGMĀL SĪH. Revised (in translation) and edited by TĪHĀKUR RĀM SĪH and SŪRAJ KARAJ PĀRĪK. 9 × 6. pp. 9 + 914. The Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1931. Price 6 rupees.

Prithirāj was a gallant sixteenth-century prince as mighty with his pen as with his sword, upheld by an equally brave wife. His famous letter to Pratāp Sīh may be adduced as characteristic of his warrior spirit. But while his bravery in the field has been recognized, his merits as a poet have not. The editors of this book hold that he ranks with the great souls of Hindī literature and can commune on equal terms with Tulsī, Sūr, Cand, and Hariścandr. Not much of his work is extant, but what exists, both in Pīngal and in Ḍīngal, particularly in Ḍīngal, is of excellent quality; indeed in the latter he excelled all other poets. He must, of course, be distinguished from Prithirāj Cauhan, Cand Bardāī's hero.

A long introduction by Sūraj Karaj Pārīk mentions the four principal dialects of Rājputānā, and gives useful information about the literature. Mevātī, which resembles Bāgarī, is very "rough and ear-piercing", and has no literature. Another dialect of no literary importance is Mālvi. At the present day all Rājputānī prose is written in Dhūdhārī, known also as Jaipurī, which is spoken in Jaipur, Alwar, and Hārōtī. The most important dialect is Mārvārī, in which the authors include Mevārī, Thālī, and Jodhpurī. Its poetical literature is both extensive and inspiring. The old literary form of Rājputānī is called Ḍīngal. In the sixteenth century when Prithirāj wrote, it was already different from the language of prose, and now even educated Mārvārīs find it difficult to understand.

Rājputānā has always been the home of hardy, and the time of Prithirāj was specially prolific in poems of martial prowess, narrating great deeds, human or superhuman. Foremost among these, not unworthy companions to *Krisan Rukmaṇī rī Velī*, are *Rukmaṇī Māngal* by Padm Bhakt and *Narasī ro Mahero*, the author of which was a humble woodman.

The Introduction contains a few pages on Ḍīngal grammar by Narottam Sīh, who compiled also the vocabulary (2,500 words). The text of Prithirāj's poem, 610 lines in length, is printed along with a commentary, followed by over fifty pages of "various readings" and 300 pages of Notes. The commentary is founded on four others, the best of which, written in Dhūdhārī and contemporary with the poem itself, is printed in extenso as an appendix; another in Mārvārī

is by a Jain paṇḍit. Two others are in Sanskrit, and one of these is given in a second appendix.

The date of the poem is 1580. This appears from a somewhat obscure statement in the last couplet, where we read :—

*varasi acal guṇ āṅg sasi sāvati*  
*taviyan jas kari śrī bhartār.*

i.e. in the Vikramī year of the (seven) mountains, the (three) qualities, the (six) Ved-subjects, and the (one) moon I have sung the praise of Rukmiṇī and her husband.

The figures give us 7361, which read backwards yields 1637, corresponding to A.D. 1580.

Altogether the volume before us is a valuable work, reflecting the greatest credit on the editors and those who have helped them. The only suggestion I permit myself to make is that in all similar works which the Hindustani Academy may publish, it should be an instruction to authors and editors to broaden the basis of their literary criticism, so that, while all that is best in the older and more conventional Sanskrit and Hindi methods is preserved, the writings of more modern schools of thought may be laid under contribution and new light thrown on the treasures of the past.

T. G. B.

YŪRAP MĒ DAKHNĪ MAḤṬŪTĀT. By NAṢĪR UD DĪN HĀSHIMĪ.  
9½ × 6½. pp. 11 + 714. Hyderabad, 1932.

During the last few years there has been great activity in connection with the Osmaniya University and allied institutions. Young men who are all Dakhnīs, and older men who often come from the north, have vied with each other in the production of literary works. Among the former it is sufficient to mention the names of Abd ul Qādir Sarvarī, Muḥiuddīn Qādri, Sayyad Muḥammad and the author of the volume before us. Much of their work is good, but their Urdū style frequently leaves something to be desired, for they feel it incumbent on them to prove that their mastery of Urdū has not been impaired by their living at a distance from Delbi and Lucknow, the great centres of the language, and this unfortunately they do by employing unnecessary Arabic and Persian words. If only they would realize that simplicity is one of the ornaments of style and would prefer simple, indigenous words to little-known foreign ones, their books

would gain much and their readers still more. Having said this, I must add that among the younger men the writer of the work under review is perhaps the least addicted to exotic words.

Mr. Hāshimī is already known as the author of *Dakan mē Urdū*, in which he traced briefly the history of Urdū literature in his native land. He has followed up his theme in a very interesting fashion. Taking advantage of a travelling scholarship he came to this country and made a study of the Dakhnī MSS. mentioned in the catalogues of our libraries and in that of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. In addition to translating part of the material in the catalogue, he here describes the MSS. and their writers, but does not attempt to discuss Dakhnī literature as a whole or divide the MSS. into periods; he takes them in approximately chronological order without relating them to one another. The work is thus a kind of supplement to his former labours. It is useful for scholars here who may wish to learn what is known about the Dakhnī MSS. which are available in Great Britain.

How important they are will be realized when we remember that practically all Urdū literature before 1732 is Dakhnī. A study of the dates shows us how many unpublished works written before then are now in our libraries. The list is:—

India Office, 24.  
British Museum, 11.  
Royal Asiatic Society, 3.  
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1.  
Bodleian, 1.  
Edinburgh University, 1.  
(Paris, 3.)

They come to forty-one, excluding Paris, but some are found in two libraries. If we omit these, we have thirty-one, and three in Paris. The oldest is *Quṭb Mushtarī*, 1609. But actually there are two, passed over by Mr. Hāshimī, older than any of them, viz. *Khūb Tarang*, 1578 (India Office) and *Nūr Nāma*, late sixteenth century (British Museum). So thirty-three distinct unpublished Dakhnī works, older than all but two or three of those in north India, can be studied in our country.

Mr. Hāshimī gives his opinion on some points which I left uncertain in my *History of Urdū Literature*. Thus he states that the two Afzals (p. 42 in my book) were different men. I suggested that possibly they were one and the same.

Again, I mentioned only one poem, *Lailā Majnūn*, by Ahmad Daknī (p. 22), but Mr. Hāshimī attributes to him a fragment of 1,200 lines from an unnamed poem which he calls *Musibat i Ahl i Bait* (India Office, Cat. 73, 6). This name is, of course, a description of the contents.

The kings of the Quṭb Shāhī and 'Adil Shāhī dynasties are not represented in Europe. This is regrettable, particularly in the case of M. Qulī Quṭb Shāh, who was the first writer of literary Urdū, a man of wide sympathies and considerable poetic power.

The transliteration of English and French names is not always good. "Edinburgh" is given in three different forms, "Paris" in two. "Bibliothèque Nationale" appears as *bibliāṭak dī naishanal* instead of *bibliṭaiṭak nāsyonāl*; "de Tassy" is written *ḍī ṭāsī* instead of *datāsī*, the form used by 'Abdul Qādir Sarvarī (the *da* being separate in Urdu). The phrase "Agréez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération la meilleure" is understood as a promise on the part of the librarian to give his best consideration to the author's suggestions.

Finally, Mr. Hāshimī deserves our cordial thanks for having brought to a successful conclusion a big bit of work. The book is both useful and interesting.

T. G. B.

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HINDĪ ŚABD SANGRAH. Compiled by MUKUNDĪ LĀL and RĀJ VALLABH SAHĀY. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 7. pp. 600. Benares, 1930. Rs. 4-8.

The two compilers of this dictionary deserve our gratitude for the labour which they have put into it. In their search for words they were successful in discovering 600-700 which had escaped the editors of so large a work as the *Śabd Sāgar*. Of these, 250 were unknown, and their meanings could not be given. In 1928, when the Supplement to the *Śabd Sāgar* was in preparation, they sent 125 for incorporation in it, and they regretfully mention that only seventy or eighty of these were accepted.

These facts draw attention to a matter of some moment which can be illustrated by a recent experience of my own. It has been my lot to work through one of Tod's Rājputānī MSS. with a student for a Higher Degree, and we discovered a number of words which we failed to recognize and which are not given in any dictionary. It ought to be possible to produce a supplement (say to the *Śabd Sāgar* or *Śabd Sangrah*) which would give every word used in published

literary works, and even in a limited number of important MSS., but not found in our present dictionaries. This might be succinct, only a few pages in length. It would be unnecessary to insert words which could be found in every Sanskrit dictionary. The chief desideratum would be a list of words found in works written in Hindi languages other than Khari. The volume before us contains, it is claimed, those in existing lexicons and vocabularies including pure Sanskrit ones used by the earlier Hindi writers. The total number is 36,259.

A feature, notable in a work of this size, is the inclusion of quotations from old authors; over 7,000 words are illustrated in this way.

Many scholars and students will be glad to have a dictionary as small as this and yet so full, at such a low price, and will join me in thanking the two men who have prepared it.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

SYRISCHE GRAMMATIK. VON A. UNGNAD. 2. Auflage. pp. 123 + 100\*.  
Muenchen: Beck, 1932. RM. 7.

The aim of the series to which this grammar belongs, the *Clavis Linguarum Semiticarum*, is to enable a beginner to read a strange language without the help of a teacher. This book gives all that is needful and not a word more. The grammar is concise and clear, the forms of the verb and noun are set out in tables in full, and an elaborate system of cross-references shows where the necessary explanations are. Syriac exercises, beginning with forms and rising to simple sentences, numbered according to the paragraph of the grammar illustrated, lead up to the chrestomathy which is well chosen. The notes to the texts and the vocabulary are given in both German and English. The English is correct. The use of some technical terms presupposes a knowledge of Hebrew grammar. This, the second edition, is a photographic reproduction of the first. Some of the Syriac words are smudged and hard to recognize, especially in the vocabulary. A few vowels and other diacritics are misplaced and the first two lines of paragraph 1b are in sad disorder. It might be argued that in North Semitic verbs first "n" are weak; but there are arguments on both sides.

A. S. T.



A COPTIC DICTIONARY. Compiled by W. E. CRUM. (Parts II and III, ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ and ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ-ⲧⲟⲩⲛ.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930, 1932. 42s. net each. (To be completed in five parts: subscription price for the whole, £7 7s.)

The first part of this magistral undertaking was noticed in the *Bulletin*, Vol. V, p. 611 sqq., when an attempt was made to give some account of Crum's lexicographical principles and to indicate the manner in which this work was compiled. It is satisfactory to know that it is now more than half printed, and though the end is not yet in sight, Coptic scholars have already a very substantial and indispensable aid to their work.

Crum's skill in arrangement, which was mentioned before, may be judged by reading through some of the longer articles, such as ⲕⲓⲟ, ⲕⲁ, ⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ, ⲛⲁⲧ, ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁ, ⲛⲟ, ⲕⲁ, ⲕⲟⲁⲓ, †: his modesty (and the amount of elucidatory work still to be done in Coptic) by the number of entries "meaning unknown" or "uncertain". In the third part he draws upon the important new Manichaean papyri found in the Fayyûm, which will provide a plentiful crop of addenda for the earlier letters in the final indices, for he has been able to incorporate them in his text only from ⲛ onwards. I am told that to the reference given (or rather anticipated) by Crum for these in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte* we may add Lüders in *D.L.Z.*, 1932, col. 1772, and Carl Schmidt in *Forschungen u. Fortschritte*, 1041, 1932, pp. 354-5.

A certain austerity in etymologies sometimes provokes our curiosity without satisfying it. If ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉ is derived from ⲕⲁ (man) + ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉ, why is the initial c dropped in the plural ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉ? And Peyron's erroneous derivation of ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲕⲟⲩⲉ (*venditor Alexandriae*) is not even mentioned. But it is an interesting suggestion that a misreading of this word may have produced the enigmatic *Sarabaita*.

S. GASELEE.

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GUÉBRE SELLASSIÉ: CHRONIQUE DU RÈGNE DE MÉNÉLIK II. Traduite de l'amharique par TÈSFA SELLASSIÉ, publiée et annotée par MAURICE DE COPPET. Two vols., with portfolio of maps and plans. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères. 500 francs.

The first volume of this work was reviewed in Vol. VI of the *Bulletin* (p. 816): the second begins in the middle of the Italian war,

and, after a general description of the organization of Menelik's expeditionary forces (which applies to all his campaigns as well as to this), we reach the junction of Menelik's and Walda Giorgis's armies and their victory at Adowa. There is no new material to enable us to decide whether, as is sometimes stated, the Abyssinians were so short of supplies that the Italians came within an ace of turning the fortunes of the day: but there are some interesting details as to the part played by the women of the Royal family (especially the Empress Taitu) in encouraging the Abyssinian troops to advance when they seemed in danger of wavering and breaking their line.

The chronicle then proceeds to describe the rest of Menelik's reign—the conclusion of peace with Italy, the consolidation of the Ethiopian empire by the defeat of Ras Mangasha and the conquest of Tigre, and the advance of civilization as shown by the institution of a mint, a telephone, and the restoration of churches both in Abyssinia and in the Abyssinian properties in Jerusalem. It concludes with the appeal of Menelik on his death-bed to all the princes to recognize Lij Iyasu as his successor.

The final instalment of the chronicle occupies rather less than half of the present volume: it is followed by a series of appendices, all useful, but of varying value, on subjects connected with the Church of Abyssinia, the languages spoken in the country, the calendar, slavery, coinage, and finally a concise sketch of Abyssinian history from 1909 to 1916. Then follows a really excellent bibliography—the most complete<sup>1</sup> I have yet seen, which will be of immense value to students, and a full alphabetical index, too often absent from French learned publications.

This second volume is as richly illustrated as the first, with representations of seals, photographs of places of importance mentioned in the text, and portraits of notabilities (Menelik himself at various ages, Hapta Giorgis, the Empress Zauditu, Gugsa-Walie, the Empress Taitu, Ras Tessamma, Lij Iyasu, the dejach Balcha, and the present Emperor). A coloured frontispiece represents the battle of Adowa by a contemporary Abyssinian artist in which it is interesting to note the continuance of a very ancient convention of Abyssinian art: the good (i.e. the Abyssinians) are all represented in full or three-quarter face; the bad (i.e. the Italians) all in profile.

S. GASELEE.

<sup>1</sup> But add Simpson, *An Artist's Jottings in Abyssinia*, 1888.

CINQ ANNÉES DE RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES EN ÉTHIOPIE. Par le R. P. AZAÏS et R. CHAMBARD. One vol. text, with album of illustrations. Paris: Geuthner, 1931. 350 francs.

Father Azaïs returned to Paris from Thrace at the end of the Allied occupation in 1920, with the results of his diggings there, and General Charpy, who had been his chief, proposed to take him with him to Asia Minor on similar work: but M. Pottier, the Keeper of the Louvre, recollecting that he had been fifteen years in Abyssinia prior to 1914, thought that he was especially well equipped for work in that country, and thither he went, supported by grants from the French Ministry of Public Instruction, the Quai d'Orsay, and the French Geographical and Photographical Societies: the École des Langues Orientales supplied him with a young student and helper, M. Roger Chambard (trained under Marcel Cohen), whose name appears on the title-page as joint author. The last and longest of their five excursions, lasting seven months, was at the expense of the enlightened Regent Tafari, now the Emperor Haile Sellassie I.

The results of the work of these five years are well summed up in M. Pottier's preface:—

(1) In the province of Harar, a series of sepulchral dolmens, not unlike those already known in certain parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and similarly inexplicable—or at least as yet unexplained.

(2) In the Gurage country, south of Addis Ababa, sepulchral tumuli surrounded by blocks of stone flat on one side and rounded on the other, reminiscent of certain early stone circles in France.

(3) Menhirs, consisting of flat slabs rounded to shoulders towards the top: surmounted by a coarsely executed head, while the slabs are covered with ornament apparently representing richly embroidered dress. A few of the heads are bearded and masculine—most feminine.

(4) Further south, near Lake Margherita, at Soddo in the Wallamo country, sepulchral slabs inscribed with a more or less geometrical representation of the human form.

(5) East of the great lakes, a large number of phallic columns: such are already known at Axum, but the new discoveries are larger; more numerous, and in some ways more realistic. They bear markings which appear connected with a cult of the sun and stars.

Father Azaïs has, fortunately, not contented himself with the investigation of archæological material alone: he records folk-lore and semi-historical legends in valuable detail. Thus we find a parallel (p. 36) to the Shakespearean "Till Birnam Wood do come to

Dunsinane" and (p. 56) to the whisper into the ground that Midas had ass's ears, and its subsequent divulgation: and constant indications in legend of the folk-memory of the horrors of Muhammad Grañ's invasion of Abyssinia from Harar in the middle of the sixteenth century (see *Bulletin*, Vol. VI, 3, p. 818), together with a reason for his savagery against all things Abyssinian and especially against the Abyssinian churches: he is said to have been the fruit of the rape or seduction of a Ghirri woman by an Amharic priest in the church of St. Michael at Chenassen, and Grañ began his campaign by burning this church to the ground.

Valuable appendices contain (1) Arabic burial inscriptions of the Harar district (text and translation by Paul Ravaisse), thirteenth century [of our era] and onwards; (2) an anthropological survey (skull measurements, etc.) by P. Lester, and (3) a list and description of the palæontological objects brought home by the expedition, by Jean Cottreau.

The reproductions in the album of photographs are beyond all praise, and Fatber Azaïs and M. Chambard are to be congratulated on their acquisition and publication of really first-class material for the study of the history and pre-history of Harar and the part of Ethiopia that lies south of Addis Ababa down to the Lakes.

S. GASELEE.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE PHONOLOGY OF THE BANTU LANGUAGES. By CARL MEINHOF. Translated, revised, and enlarged in collaboration with the author and Dr. ALICE WERNER, by N. J. v. WARMELO. pp. 248, 1 map. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen). London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1932.

At last a translation of Meinhof's standard work has come out, that has, as the Preface tells us, been begun by Professor A. Werner, but according to several reasons was not brought to an end. The new collaborator at the work, Dr. v. Warmelo, is the author of a thesis on "Die Gliederung der südafrikanischen Bantusprachen" in the *Zeitschrift f. Eingeb. Sprachen*, 1927, and of several other publications concerning South African languages.

The new edition of the book, as compared with the second German edition (1910), exhibits a good many changes, in that some languages dealt with in the second German edition have been replaced by others,

viz. Duala, Herero, and Sango by Zulu and Kongo, both of which have been treated before in the *Zeitschr. f. Eingeb. Spr.* The rest of the book has also been revised, the main alterations being, as far as I see, the insertion of a chapter entitled "The Classification of the Bantu languages" (pp. 176-184), which gives a review of the principal phonological phenomena occurring in different parts of the Bantu area, such as the "Palatalization" (by which only influences of a preceding *i* are understood), the assimilation of nasals in successive syllables ("Nasalattraktion"), and the laws of dissimilation. In the beginning of Chapter II (Ur-Bantu) (pp. 18-21) a digression about the methods of comparative linguistics has been added, starting from the classical example of Indo-European comparative study. The text has been altered wherever recent studies have enlarged our knowledge on phonological facts, e.g. on p. 25, where Kulia, Ilamba, and Gikuyu have been added as languages still showing differences between the "Open" and "Close" vowels of Ur-Bantu (following the observations of Dempwolff and Barlow, comp. p. 26), but the views on the problems of Bantu phonology such as the nature of close vowels and the "primary fricatives" seem to have remained the same. The contrary views on these subjects, as e.g. expressed by M. Heepe in his article on "Probleme der Bantusprachforschung in geschichtlichem Überblick", *Zeitschr. d. Dtsch. Morgen. Ges.*, 1920, pp. 1-60, ought, however, to have been mentioned. Interesting is the more concrete translation of the terms "schwere Vokale" by "close vowels" and "Mischvokale" by "palatalized vowels" as well as the omission of the adjectives "alt" and "jung" as regards the *ni*- and *mu*-compounds. Also the denomination of Ful as a pre-hamitic language seems to have been given up.

The new edition has gained by the use made of fat print and headlines, a clearer aspect than the German edition. Also the old map of Bantu languages has been replaced by a new, fuller one.

It is to be hoped that by means of this translation Meinhof's method, that has for such a long time proved to be an efficient system, as well to deepen our knowledge of single languages by elucidating facts unexplainable in the set of the single language as also as a means to acquire a survey of the common features of this interesting language group, will find some more adepts in English-speaking countries.

HANS J. MEIZMAN.

A VOCABULARY OF THE DIALECTS OF MASHONALAND IN THE NEW ORTHOGRAPHY. By The Rev. BERTRAM H. BABNES, C.R. pp. ix + 214. Sheldon Press. 2s. 6d.

This is a most valuable book, and both the compiler and the Language Committee on the Unification of Shona Dialects are to be congratulated on bringing it out so quickly after Dr. Doke's Report. It is likely to do great service in spreading the new orthography and in facilitating its use. The compiler sets out his aims in the preface, viz. to collate "the commoner words from the four or five chief dialects so as to help the speakers and students of one dialect to understand the words of the other dialects where they differ". He hopes that the book will form the basis of a bigger and more complete vocabulary, and to this end invites the co-operation of all students of the dialects. Tables of Grammatical Forms are included for reference, and an appendix on relationship terms in Mashonaland is added. The book is very well printed and got up, and its low price has been made possible by a generous grant from the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

I. C. W.

MODERN SWAHILI. By B. J. RATCLIFFE and Sir HOWARD ELPHINSTONE. pp. xviii + 310. London: The Sheldon Press, 1932. 10s. 6d.

The joint authors of Modern Swahili are to be congratulated on their production of a new grammar, designed to meet the needs of the present times.

To have done the work so satisfactorily is no mean achievement, especially when it is an attempt to find the G.C.M. of the various dialects of Swahili and to embody the result in the form of a grammar.

For those who, through compulsion or choice, sit for Government higher examinations this book should prove of practical value.

For the greater part of the book there is nothing to be said but words of praise. Part II gives a good deal of useful information not found in other grammars, and the chapters in Part I on verbs and formation of nouns should prove helpful to students wishful of acquiring facility in expression.

But the earlier chapters are marred by little inaccuracies in Swahili idiom, lack of punctuation in the Swahili sentences, and verbose

explanations in the text, and confusion in the use of grammatical terms.

Also, some few difficulties, which constitute the essence of Swahili idiom, are passed over too lightly, and the exercises on these points display either a poverty of examples, or examples in such poor English idiom, as to afford the student but little help in grasping the point at issue.

For instance: In illustrating the use of the "me" tense, the example given is: "The chief's house has fallen down"; and in the exercise on the "me" tense the sentence given is: "The clothes of the porter's wife have become torn." To use "have become torn", instead of "are torn", may help the student to translate that particular sentence, but affords him little help in understanding the use of the "me" tense in verbs expressing state—a first step in Swahili idiom.

On p. 118 we read: "The applied passive is likely to cause some confusion," yet this form, so truly characteristic of Swahili idiom, is dismissed in four sentences in the exercises, and the whole point lost by giving the English as a *literal* translation of the Swahili: "He was run away from."

On p. 36 a list is given of the reduplicated demonstratives in all their variety, but the exercises afford the student no help in using these demonstratives.

Often sentences illustrate grammatical points, but at some sacrifice to Swahili idiom. It is doubtful whether one hears such a wealth of demonstratives, adjectives, and particles as given in the sentence on p. 37: "*Mwivi huyo ameshika maguu manene yale ya waimbaji hao.*"

The confusion of terms, already referred to, may be seen in reference to adjectives and pronouns:—

- p. 31: Possessive Pronoun.
- p. 36: Demonstrative Adjectives.
- p. 37: Locative Demonstrative.
- p. 37: The Demonstrative.
- p. 38: Possessive Adjectives.
- p. 38: Possessive Particles.
- p. 38: Possessive Prefix.

This is all the more confusing because of the omission of a table of concords.

We read: "The authors recognize the advantages of tables of concord, but conceive it to be of far greater service to show each

separate class in its relation to sentence construction. The method adopted enables sentence building to commence immediately upon engaging in study."

But in *what way* is the use of a table of concords incompatible with sentence building immediately upon engaging in study? Should it not rather be a necessary complement to the explanations set forth, and thus show the relation of one set of concords to the others?

In conclusion, a few words seem necessary about the arrangement of the classes.

In a grammar entitled *Modern Swahili*, it is somewhat surprising to find that the arrangement of the classes follows that of the late Rev. W. E. Taylor in his *Groundwork of the Swahili Language*—a work representative of Mombasa Swahili.

And it is still more surprising that no comment is made calling attention to points where this arrangement differs from that of Zanzibar Swahili, which more closely approximates to what is termed Modern Swahili.

It must be confusing to a student who has studied Zanzibar Swahili to be confronted with a plural locative form without any note explaining its common use in Kimvita.

Also the "Ku" of the infinitive: "A going on in point of time," to be put with the "Ku" of the locative: "A going on in space," needs some comment as this arrangement differs from the classification given in the Zanzibar Swahili grammar books, hitherto accepted as standard Swahili.

Such notes would be especially useful, as these forms are more logical and need to be brought into notice.

E. O. ASHTON.

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A MODERN IBO GRAMMAR. By R. F. G. ADAMS. pp. 200. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1932. 6s.

Mr. Adam's *Modern Ibo Grammar*, dealing with the Owerri dialect of this language, represents another outcome of the recent efforts towards the investigation of West African languages, which are linked up with the name of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. In fact, the author's phonetical chapter (chapter i) is based on an article on "The Arochuku dialect of Ibo" by Miss I. C. Ward and the author that has appeared in *Africa*, the journal of the



Institute, and he uses the orthography officially adopted for literary Ibo since Professor Westermann's visit to Nigeria in 1929. His aim is to give a first practical introduction to the Ibo language for the use of the European, and I think he has succeeded in reaching it. Besides the grammatical part, which he illustrates copiously by examples and patterns, he gives in his chapter on "Idioms" a series of highly valuable examples of Ibo everyday talk (conversations between market women, farmers, and hunters) and stories, thereby illustrating native life, as far as it is possible in the limited scope of his book. Having carefully worked through this part of the book, which supplements the exercises that are to be found in the grammatical chapters, with the help of the Ibo-English vocabulary (pp. 170-200), containing all the Ibo words used in the book, the student of Ibo will, it seems, possess a sufficient knowledge of both the grammar and the vocabulary of the language as to enable him to converse with Ibo people without the help of an interpreter or an intermediate language. But in the Ibo area there is one great obstacle to practical language study, viz. the extraordinary dialectical diversity of this language. To meet this difficulty (at least to a certain extent), the author has added an appendix showing the main features of the important Onitsha dialect.

Intonation has been treated in a special chapter (ii), but as the author says, the tone-marking "only aims at being suggestive". Nevertheless, a good deal of useful advice is contained in this chapter, e.g. about the tonal changes in questions, about negative verbs, imperative and subjunctive. The author gives also (p. 12) a tonal pattern of a high- and low-tone verb with an indication of the occurring mid-tones (which are not marked in the rest of the book). The most important thing would be to know, whether the tonal system of the language is based on the contrast of low and high, as would be suggested by the absence of mid-tone verbal stems, or whether one or two <sup>1</sup> mid-tones are as essential and as original as low and high tone. The author seems, however, to ascribe too much of the tonal changes to psychological causes, e.g. when he says that the pitch of the syllable "is liable to modification according to the special mental picture which the speaker wishes to paint" (p. 8), or, when ascribing the low tone of the past tense (of high and low-tone verbs) to the definiteness of the statement (p. 9). It is, at least, not certain that a psychological reason is behind such a fact as the latter. The existence of a passive

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 8: "While every syllable has its own pitch, which may be high, half-high, or low, half-low" . . .

distinguished from an active form by tone is very interesting and recalls the same fact in Nilotic languages, e.g. in Shilluk. Very practical is the hint on tonal changes connected with the elision of vowels, as the beginner may often be puzzled by words shortened in this way in everyday speech. The use of a tone-mark on the letter *gh* (which is, by the way, a relic of the previous spelling of Ibo, retained in the new orthography) seems to be very unpractical, and it is highly probable that there is a short vowel following the consonant which bears the tone. A list of words distinguished by tone only (pp. 15-18) will prove to be useful.

The reviewer wishes the book a wide distribution among the European residents in the Ibo country, both for their own profit and that of the Ibo language, one of the most important languages of Nigeria, and one presenting as yet so many difficulties as to the development of a literary *κοινη*.

H. J. M.

THE AMA-XOSA : LIFE AND CUSTOMS. By JOHN HENDERSON SOGA.  
Lovedale Press. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.,  
Ltd. 21s.

Rarely do we come across a document written by an African in which he attempts to describe and explain the customs of his own people. Rev. Soga's book is therefore particularly interesting as it comes from the pen of an educated man of native descent and gives us his outlook upon the life of his own tribe of which he is proud indeed.

It is not untimely that we should have this point of view, for though the Xosas, a Bantu tribe of South-East Africa, have been under European administration for nearly a century the Europeans who have written about them have not delved very deeply into their mode of life, with the result that they have not succeeded in giving us a clear insight into the most important aspects of Xosa life.

The book is divided into two parts : Part I—Historical ; Part II—Sociological.

He starts with an outline of the history of this South-East African tribe, in which he makes much of the not very significant points of similarity between Bantu and Jewish customs.

The best section of Part I is the next chapter—an excellent chapter in which the writer deals very ably with the clan system and the institution of chieftainship. He next discusses Xosa Law and gives a detailed description of their methods of warfare. These chapters are interesting, illuminating, and very well treated.

The chapter on Physical and other Characteristics would have been better placed in Part II. Here in a note on the Xosas' sense of humour Rev. Soga remarks that Europeans who have not mastered the inflection and tones of the Xosa language provide a never-failing source of amusement to the native (surely a suggestion for the linguist and phonetician to set to work in this field!).

Part I closes with a chapter on Kveli, last great chief of the Ama-Xosa. This splendid character study arouses sympathy for the chief.

Part II is a veritable patchwork of clumsily arranged chapters. A chapter on the Life and Customs of the tribe is followed by others on Sacrifice and Religion. In this last he includes a useful section on the various grades of diviners, but Ancestor Worship—so important in the lives of the Bantu—is surprisingly lightly touched on.

Next come chapters on Beliefs and Omens; Charms; then a peculiar arrangement—one on Marriage Customs is separated from a chapter on Lobola by one on Circumcision.

He treats the custom of Lobola in a defensive way, and grants the womenfolk no disabilities because of it. This point of view is surely debatable.

Then, Mother and Infant; Children's Games; Old Age, Death, and Burial. In his chapter on Proverbs and Metaphors Rev. Soga, by his choice of examples, illustrates the surprising vitality and aptness of the language and discloses an imagination with which the native is not usually credited.

The section on Taboos is divided into Women's, Girls', Men's, Boys', and General Taboos.

In a chapter on Sport the Xosa pastime of Ox Racing is delightfully described. Then comes an all too short account of the Economic Life, which nevertheless includes some intelligent remarks on the effect produced on Xosa life by European contact.

An insignificant chapter, Seasons, brings the book to a close. Several good photographs are included as illustrations.

Though early in the book Rev. Soga points out that "misinterpretation of Bantu customs by European writers and failures by missionaries, who have had in the past the primary part to play

in the education and civilizing of the Bantu, to value aright the customs of this people are duly responsible for the failure both of education and civilization among them. No attempt has seriously been made to find the true inward meaning of, and retain what is best in, the customs and social institutions of the Bantu, and to bring them into line with what is best in European civilization. Had this been done progress would have been speeded up. To regard all Bantu customs as anathema deserving of utter damnation is pure ignorance and folly. The Bantu can never more live wholly under the laws and customs of his forebears, but he should be encouraged to retain what was good and useful in the past, and along with it accept what is best for his uplift from his new environment", in spite of this, he himself has left some serious gaps. Although he is idealistic, and sometimes weakly attempts to defend what Europeans criticize adversely by vaguely saying that these things are all for the purpose of maintaining the balance of the tribe, yet there is much of importance in Rev. Soga's book. It is a definite contribution to our knowledge of the Bantu, which no serious student of anthropology can afford to ignore.

B. HONIKMAN.

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AT HOME WITH THE SAVAGE. By J. H. DRIBERG. pp. x + 267.  
 London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1932. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Driberg's new book is a pleasant hook, a book that arouses interest and sympathy. It gives a survey of and an introduction to anthropology "for the general reader", as the author says in his preface, based on facts taken from all parts of the world, but showing clearly enough that the author has been "at home" in the field, and has retained a view of anthropology as a science of man and life. Everywhere we meet with this concept of anthropology, whether he stresses the need of seeing the individual in the primitive group, which means, finally, the living man, or whether he pleads for his science as a practical science, which is not to be understood as narrow utilitarianism, as the field of practice in this case, "native policy" in all its branches, covers all the burning problems of cultural contact of to-day, that will be the history of to-morrow. Therefore also he restricts himself to the discussion of the facts, limiting the number of anthropological termini as much as possible, cuts down nearly all literary quotations, and handles things as generally as possible in order to avoid giving long lists of specified examples. This generality may have

disadvantages, but the author warns his reader against it, and speaks (p. 256) of the variety of detail which may differentiate cultures governed by the same general principles. Another result of the author's basic attitude is his organic view of cultural life: "Anthropology, therefore, is the science which relates man to his activities, which studies him as a living organism and equally studies groups of men as living organisms seeking to discover how they work and why they work" (p. 135). (Therefore the comparison of culture to merely "a very complicated piece of machinery" seems to be not quite suitable, as machinery, in any case, lacks the "vis vitalis" proper to everything organic).

To resume the statement made in the beginning: this book, written "to interest him (*viz.* the 'general reader') in the science of social anthropology and to enable him to see that it is an extremely interesting science" (Preface) serves its purposes extremely well, and will help the reading public to find "a possible line of approach to the problems of contact, which now loom so insistently on the cultural horizon" (Preface), and, perhaps, even entice new adepts to the science of anthropology, desiring to meet these problems.

H. J. M.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES

### HINDUSTAN AND HINDOSTAN

On pp. 1104 ff. of Vol. VI, Part 4 of the *Bulletin*, Dr. Grahame Bailey has given us a valuable article on "The Word Hindūstān". He begins it by remarking "It has sometimes been said that the only correct spelling of the word is *Hindostān*, and that this is proved by its being made to rhyme with *bōstān*." He then gives a number of authorities to show that the word is usually pronounced "*Hindūstān*", although "*Hindōstān*" is not wrong. His conclusion is that, "This form *Hindūstān*, so well supported by the evidence of literature, almost invariably heard in speech, adopted by the Hindūstānī Academies, is surely the form which we should employ in English." So far as English is concerned, I do not think that many will be found to differ from Dr. Bailey, for the Oxford English Dictionary has "*Hindustan*" as one of two allowable spellings, the other being "*Hindoostan*".

As a technical term for philological purposes, I would, however, suggest further consideration of the subject. The questions are: first, what is the quality of the second vowel of the word? Is it *u* or *o*? Secondly—whichever of these two vowels is adopted, is it long or short?

Dr. Bailey's allusion to the rhyme with *bōstān* is apparently a reference to what was said by the late Sir Charles Lyall on p. 1 of his *Sketch of the Hindustani Language* (quoted in *LSI.*, ix, i, 42). Sir Charles called the language "*Hindustani*", and then went on to state that the word is "correctly *Hindostānī*", and to explain its origin. There is here no reference whatever to the quantity of the second vowel. What he wished to be understood was that "correctly" that vowel, in quality of *timbre*, was an *o*-vowel and not a *u*-vowel.

I entirely agree with Dr. Bailey that, at the present day, the word is very commonly pronounced "*Hindūstān*" or (as I, personally, should prefer to write it) "*Hindōstān*", in which latter the *ō* is intended to represent the sound of the first, short, *o* in the word "promote", and not the *ō* in "hot". At the same time, I would draw attention to the fact that, as quoted by Dr. Bailey, Professor 'Abd us Sattār Šiddiqī while preferring "*Hindūstān*", says that "*Hindōstān*" is not wrong. While, therefore, I fully admit the

currency of "Hindūstān" (or "Hindōstān"), I think that we may all agree that from the point of view of etymology, the spelling (not necessarily the pronunciation) "Hindōstān" deserves consideration. It is unnecessary to waste space here with the old Eranian history of the word. That was sufficiently given by Sir Charles Lyall. Suffice it to say that, in Persian, the word "Hindōstān" (with *ō*) was firmly established at the time of Sa'dī and that that was the form under which it was introduced into India. Under the influence of the *istē'māl-i-Hind*<sup>1</sup> it has, in that country, remained unchanged and current, with its *majhūl* *ō*, ever since, while in modern Persian, not subject to that influence, *majhūl* has become *ma'rūf*.

That this *ō* was in regular use in India must be inferred not only from the analogy of other words, but also from the fact that nearly all the old travellers from Europe used such words as "Hindostan", "Indostan", and so on. I do not give particulars of these, as they can easily be found in *Hobson-Jobson*, but here are some references to works by people who made a professed study of Hindōstānī:—

A.D. 1704. Franciscus M. Turonensis wrote a *Lexicon Linguae Indostanicae*.

1744. B. Schultze published his *Grammatica Hindostanica*.

1772. First edition of G. Hadley's *Grammatical Remarks on the Indostan Language*. But in the fifth edition (1804) the language is called "the jargon of Hindoostan".

1773. Fergusson's *Dictionary of the Hindostan Language*.

1778. Anon. *Gramatica indostana a mais vulgar, que se practica no Imperio do gram Mogol* (in Portuguese, printed in Rome).

From the above it is plain that up to the end of the eighteenth century the word was pronounced with *ō*.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the foundation of the Bengal Asiatic Society encouraged the study of Persian among Europeans in Calcutta, and, in quoting words borrowed from that language, and used in Urdū, the later Persian pronunciation then current rose into favour among Englishmen. We thus find, both in the fifth edition of Hadley's grammar, as shown above, and in the long series of Gilchrist's works (1787-1825) the spelling "Hindoostanee", and this became the current English form of the word (though now and then the *o*-form reappears), and is the origin of the two forms sanctioned by the OED. for modern English.

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Blochmann in *JASB.* xxxvii, i, p. 35.



So much for the question as to whether the second vowel was originally *u* or *o*. Let us now consider the question of its quantity. Dr. Bailey is undoubtedly right in his contention that at the present day it is generally pronounced short. That the word is often written with the original long *ō*, as in *هندوستان*, does not contradict this. The word is a foreign one, borrowed from Persian, and in writing such words in Urdū in the Persian character, *majhūl* vowels are used, not only to represent the sounds of long *ē* and long *ō*, but also to represent the short sounds of the same letters (for which there is no direct alphabetical provision). Thus, to take as an example the Hindustānī Academy referred to by Dr. Bailey, the borrowed English word "Academy" is spelt *اکیڈمی*, with the short *ē* represented by *majhūl* *ē*. It thus follows that *هندستان* and *هندوستان* are nowadays merely variant spellings in the Persian character of the same word written by Dr. Bailey "Hindūstān" in English letters.

As to whether, when transliterating, we should write the second vowel of the word *ū* or *ō*, that is a matter of small importance. We all know that *pēsh* may, and often does, represent *ō* as well as *ū*, though usually transliterated by the latter English letter. If we stress the etymological history of the word, it would be better to write "Hindōstān" than "Hindūstān".

The origin of the short vowel requires hardly any explanation. It is a universal rule in Indo-Aryan languages that a long vowel immediately following an accented syllable tends to become short, so that "Hindōstān" is naturally pronounced "Hīndōstān". As to whether, in actual speaking, the second vowel is pronounced (as distinct from being spelt) *ū* or *ō*, is, I think, largely a matter of personal equation. The actual vowel is obscure, and its *timbre* varies in different mouths. I discussed this very question some twenty-five years ago with several educated Indian gentlemen who then happened to be in London. Opinions differed—indeed, in some cases, the speaker had to repeat the word to himself several times before he could make up his mind one way or the other—but the opinion of the majority was that the sound was nearer that of *ō*<sup>1</sup> than that of *ū*. The late Colonel Phillott talked the matter over with me at the time, and

<sup>1</sup> Let me repeat that by *ō* I here indicate the short sound of *ō*, approximating the sound of the first *o* in "promote". It does not here indicate the sound of the *ō* in "hot".

we agreed that the ideal spelling of the word in English characters would be "Hind<sup>o</sup>stān", the small superior <sup>o</sup> indicating at the same time both quantity and quality. Of course, such a spelling would be unsuitable for general use.

To sum up, I would suggest that for lay use, in writing English for English people who are not expert orientalisks, our business is to accept the authority of the OED., and not to be didactic to the poor unlearned. If we wish to transliterate, we must transliterate, and put down letter for letter what is in the original. If in the original the word has *majhāl wāo*, we must transliterate that by *o* or *ō* according to our system. If it has *pēsh*, then we must transliterate it by *u*, or, if our system allows it, by *ū*. In technical work for fellow-students I would suggest that the form "Hindostān" should be adopted. I prefer it to "Hindustān" not only for historical reasons, but also because it is in accord with the *istē'māl-i-Hind*, while "Hindustān" is not.<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, unnecessary, in most systems of transliteration, to put the mark of shortness over the vowel. As elsewhere, the absence of the long mark should be a sufficient indication of its quantity.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

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#### URDU *AI*, *AU*.

May I be permitted to offer a few supplementary remarks on Dr. Grahame Bailey's interesting "Phonetic Notes on Urdū Records" on pp. 933 ff. of Vol. VI, Part 4 of the *Bulletin*. In that paper he is dealing with the Urdū of Delhi, which is, I believe, nowadays accepted as possessing the standard pronunciation. On the other hand my experience has been almost entirely confined to that spoken further east, and in one particular that shows a marked divergence from the Delhi norm. I allude to the pronunciation of the diphthong *ai*. Dr. Bailey states that in the Delhi record *ai* is sounded as *æ*. I am familiar with this sound in other Indian languages, and would suggest that it is peculiar to western and north-western India, and that it is heard not only in Delhi Urdū but also, to my experience, in Rājasthānī,

<sup>1</sup> If we are to abandon the *istē'māl* in this word, we must also abandon it in such words as *gōsh*, flesh, and *shēr*, a tiger. The former would then become the Persian *gūsh*, and the latter would not only become the Persian *shēr*, but would also mean "a lion", and not "a tiger". In discussing Indian languages, I think we may fairly quote Horace, and say, "*Persicos odi apparatus*" and "*simplici myrto nihil adlabores sedulus, cura*".

Gujarātī, Lahndā, and even further west in the Eranian Pashtō. It is also probably heard in Panjābī and Sindhī, but I cannot state this from personal experience. Different grammarians have represented the local variants of this sound by various signs, of which *è* and *â* are perhaps the most usual.

The sound is recognized by Indian grammarians. Thus Pandit Rāma Karna, of Jōdhpur, on p. 7 of his *Mārwarī Vyākaraṇa* says that in Sanskrit the pronunciation of *ai* and *au* is *vyakta*, but that in *Mārwarī* it is usually *avyakta*. In 1814 I asked the late Signor Tessitori, who was then studying in Jōdhpur, what the Pandit actually meant by the term *avyakta*. His reply was:—

“In the pronunciation of *ऐ* it [i.e. the *avyakta* pronunciation] sounds to me something like *e* in ‘step’, ‘let’, ‘get’, ‘complexion’, etc. Certainly, it has the same sound as Italian *è*, is. Taking the Sanskrit *ऐ* to have the sound of *é* (acute accent), the *Mārwarī ऐ* might be represented by having the sound of *ê* (grave accent).”

In Dr. Bailey’s paper, the Delhi pronunciation of Urdū is quite properly taken as the standard, but it is queer how standards change. About the year 1912, I arranged to have a Hindōstānī gramophone record made by an educated Indian friend, a native of Rājputāna. He pronounced his *ai*’s in the Delhi fashion, and not like the *ai* in “aisle”. At a meeting of language teachers held at the office of the Civil Service Commissioners in 1913, which was attended by several eminent Urdū scholars, this record was unanimously condemned as unsuitable for teaching purposes, solely on account of this pronunciation of *ai*, although I contended, and it was admitted, that it was that used in Delhi.

I was interested in the matter, and wrote to India to inquire how widely, in the Gangetic valley, this pronunciation was diffused. I here give one reply, written to me by a first-rate Urdū scholar, whose name I must omit, as I have not had an opportunity of obtaining his permission for its publication on this occasion. He said:—

“... If I had answered it [i.e. your inquiry] on my own impressions, I should have said that the vowel of *maī* was always pronounced like the German *ä*, or the sound of a sheep bleating. ... But I think I was wrong. I learnt Hindustani first from my father, who spent his time in India in Lahore, and he certainly pronounced the vowel of *maī* in this way, while he pronounced

that of *hai* to rhyme with 'high', and I have continued to do the same. I have just been talking to a Musalman gentleman of Sitapur (50 miles north of Lucknow) who talks, I believe, excellent Lucknow Urdu, and he tells me that the *ā* pronunciation is that of Delhi Urdu, in use as far east as Aligarh, and that the other is the Lucknow pronunciation. I think this is correct."

Here we have it definitely stated that, in 1913, the Delhi pronunciation did not prevail farther east than Aligarh. My own experience, based on what I heard still farther east, in the country round Patna, was that the *ā*-sound was occasionally heard, but indicated a certain want of education. Thus, in the well-known nursery rhyme, one heard servants call the jujube *bār* instead of *bair*. On the other hand, in common conversation, I noted, among educated Hindūs, two distinct sounds, each, of both *ai* and *au*. One sound was long, as in Sanskrit, and was used only in Tatsama words, such as *bair*, enmity. Here the *ai* was distinctly long, as befitted its origin from *ā + i*. On the other hand, in Tadbhava words it was derived from *a + i* or *aya*, and it was distinctly short, as in *bāir*, the jujube (< *badara*-, *bayara*-). The sounds of the respective words for "enmity" and for "jujube" were quite different. It would be interesting to know if there is any such distinction in the Delhi pronunciation.

In the above I have said nothing about the Delhi pronunciation of *au*, as that of *au* in the English word "maul", to which attention is also drawn by Dr. Bailey. I think, however, that all that I have said regarding *ai* will apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to *au*, although my materials are not so full. I, however, clearly remember that, in Bihār, the *au* in the Tatsama *auras*, a legitimate son, or in the Arabic '*aurat*, a woman, was long, while, in the Tadbhava *aur*, and (< *apara*-, *avara*-), it was always short.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

#### REFERENCES TO ALCHEMY IN BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

Indologists have to be obliged to Mr. A. Waley for calling their attention to passages on alchemy in Chinese translations of Mahāyāna texts (*BSOS*, vi, 4, 1932, p. 1102 f). The most interesting from a literary point of view seems to be the reference in Hsüan-tsang's translation of the *Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā* to the gold-making by "Śāṇaka and the minister Huai-yüeh (moon-lover)"<sup>1</sup>. There is little

<sup>1</sup> *Huai* means here probably "conceal, embrace" for protection.

doubt that the latter name represents an Indian Candragupta, Śāṇaka being the well-known Cāṇakya. That their relation is inverted must not surprise, as Śāṇaka is called a disciple of Ānanda also.

The name Śāṇaka is nearly the same as in Arabic works where Śānāq is met as a master of medicine, a master of poisons, and as a wise man.<sup>1</sup> That he is represented as a pupil of Ānanda is perhaps a confusion with Śāṇaka- or Śāṇakavāsin, who is brought into connection with Gupta and to whom Ānanda commits the care of the Law.<sup>2</sup>

The *Chih Tu Lun*, attributed to a *Nāgārjuna*, can hardly be earlier than the eighth century, if this author of the *Rasaratnākara* is not to be identified with his namesake of the tenth century, mentioned by Albīrūnī.<sup>3</sup>

O. STEIN.

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A correspondent writes: The following extract from the *Madras Mail* (Overseas edition) of 13th August, 1931, may possibly be of interest with reference to Professor J. Ph. Vogel's article "The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture" (*BSOS.*, vi, p. 539 et seq.). Though the "victim" was a Christian, and there is no evidence of any vow, this unusual method of ending one's financial troubles may owe something to the folk memory of a practice which at one time was quite fashionable in South India. B. Lewis Rice cites quite a number of instances of head-givings in his *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (pp. 186-7).

#### CHOPPING HIS OWN HEAD OFF!

"Bangalore,

"August 4.

"Joseph, said to be a clerk in the Indian Institute of Science and residing in Blackpally, is in the Bowring Hospital with chopper wounds in his head.

"It is alleged that he was heavily involved in debt and was served with a summons to appear in Court on July 31. He is reported not to have obeyed the summons, but that on the night of August 1, in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zachariae, *WZKM.* 28, 1914, p. 182 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Divyāvad.* xxvi, p. 348 ff.; Przyluski, *La Légende de l'empereur Açoka* (*Annales du Musée Guimet* 32) pp. 337 ff., 342 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Jolly, *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, p. 99; Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Litt.*, iii, p. 552 f.

presence of his mother and wife, he took up a chopper and began chopping at his head. Several neighbours endeavoured to stop him but failed.

"After gashing his head in about fifteen places he attempted to sever his head, but when the wound was about 3 inches in length he fell exhausted and was removed to hospital."

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THE NIHĀYAT AL-IQDĀM FĪ 'ILM AL-KALĀM OF  
AL-SHAHRĀSTĀNĪ

Readers of the *Bulletin* (and not least myself) have reason to be grateful for Dr. Tritton's helpful review of vol. i of my edition of al-Shahrastānī's *Summa Philosophiæ* (vol. vi, p. 1019 et seq.). Nevertheless I must reject the emendation *أحلتم* which he proposes in place of *أحلتم*. The verb is *حال*, not *حل*, and the idiom *على أحوال* is a favourite of Shahrastānī's, cf. his *Milāl*, p. ۳۰, line ۵ :

وإحالة الأحوال كلها على القدر المحتوم

"the referring of all states to the divine decree." So here (۳۱, ۹) he says, "We do not admit that temporal relations are predicable of the deity, yet you have attributed (*أحلتم*) to us (the terms) 'before', 'after', etc., with reference to the creator."

In ۲۰۴, ۱۵, Dr. Tritton is undoubtedly right in saying that the text may stand; but wrong, I think, in rendering "It is excluded by the fundamental principle. Their argument from knowledge is admissible." The text *ويخرج على هذه القاعدة واسترواحكم إلى العلم فإنه* shows that "admissible", if this stands for *يجوز*, must be construed with the following, not the preceding, clause, and consequently the passage reads: "On this principle *your* argument<sup>1</sup> as to the (divine) knowledge is excluded, for it is possible that God may order what he knows will not be performed."

ALFRED GUILLAUME.

<sup>1</sup> The *و* must be omitted.

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# BULLETIN

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### L'Ērān-vēž et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens

Par E. BENVENISTE

DANS la tradition religieuse de l'Iran mazdéen, la région dénommée *airyanəm vaējō* en avestique, *Ērān-vēž* en pehlevi, jonit, au long des siècles, d'une notoriété consacrée par de nombreuses légendes. C'est la première des régions qu'Ahura Mazda a créées et destinées à l'établissement des Iraniens (*Vd.* i, 2); le dieu suprême y fait apparaître le premier couple animal (*Bd.* xiv, 3; *Zāt-spr.* ix, 8), et Yama y a établi son paradis (*Vd.* ii, 21 sq.), après qu'Ahura Mazda lui a dicté les mesures qui assureront la subsistance des êtres devenus trop nombreux sur une terre trop étroite. Zaratruštra y est né (*Bd.* xx, 32); c'est de là qu'est parti son message (*Bd.* xxxii, 3); c'est là qu'il sacrifie aux dieux (*Yt* v, 104; ix, 14, 25; xvii, 45), et que la tentation l'a assailli (*Vd.* xix, 4, 11). Tous les hommes s'y fussent concentrés si Ahura Mazda n'avait rendu habitables même les lieux ingrats (*Vd.* i, 1). Dans cette contrée l'hiver règne dix mois de l'année et les serpents pullulent; ainsi l'a voulu Ahura Manyu, pour contrarier l'œuvre d'Ahura Mazda (*Vd.* i, 2-3).—A ces souvenirs légendaires et confus se réduisent les données mazdéennes sur l'Ērān-vēž. Une tradition de haute antiquité, mais depuis longtemps obscurcie, plaçait dans l'Ērān-vēž le berceau des Iraniens et les premiers commencements de la foi zoroastrienne. On comprendra que l'importance du problème ait suscité un long débat,<sup>1</sup> mais aussi que la nature de la documentation ne permette pas de le considérer comme clos. En fait l'incertitude

<sup>1</sup> Pour la bibliographie ancienne, cf. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, ii, p. 5, n. 4, e Bartholomae, *Wb.*, 1314. Les études récentes seront citées plus loin.

subsiste et l'on ne sait toujours ni le sens de l'expression (*airyanam*) *vaējō*, ni où localiser cette contrée, et moins encore le crédit que mérite le témoignage de l'Avesta sur l'origine des Iraniens. Il semble cependant que, sur chacun de ces points, l'étude interne des textes en présence fournisse les éléments d'une solution.

## I

Des explications proposées pour le mot *vaijah-* dans l'expression *aryanum vaijah-* "*vaijah-* aryen (iranien)",<sup>1</sup> nous ne retiendrons que la dernière en date, qui est en voie de s'imposer partout. Andreas a restauré *vaijah-* en *\*vyācāh-* pour le faire correspondre à véd. *vyacas-* "espace, région".<sup>2</sup> Adoptée par MM. Christensen, Lommel, et, d'une manière plus réservée par M. Herzfeld, cette interprétation, aux yeux de M. Hertel, "*trifft zweifellos das Richtige.*"<sup>3</sup> Il est temps d'en faire justice. L'étymologie d'Andreas ne se soutient qu'en imposant une forte déviation à la graphie avestique : modifier *vaijah-* en *\*vyācāh-*, c'est imputer à la tradition deux fautes distinctes, inconnues l'une et l'autre de la Vulgate, et qu'il serait singulièrement audacieux de supposer réunies dans chaque exemple du mot. Il arrive que *aē* (= *ai*) et *i* soient écrits l'un pour l'autre,<sup>4</sup> du fait que la notation 'y de l'archétype admettait les deux vocalisations. Mais il serait sans précédent, à ma connaissance, que *aē* provint d'une corruption de *ya*. Il y a autant d'arbitraire à admettre un flottement entre *-č-* et *-j-* : rien n'autorise à transporter dans l'Avesta ce phénomène dont les manifestations n'apparaissent que dans la graphie du moyen-perse ; en avestique les semi-occlusives sourdes et sonores gardent constamment leur valeur respective et sont toujours exactement notées. Cette objection paléographique dût-elle même être surmontée que la forme postulée par Andreas achopperait sur une impossibilité phonétique. On connaît à présent le sort de *\*vya-* initial en pehlevi : il aboutit à *ja-*. Ainsi *vyāna-* "souffle vital" > *\*vyān* > *jān* ; *\*vyāka-* (correspondant précisément à véd. *vyacas-*) "endroit" > *vyāk* > *jāk*. Donc le prétendu *\*vyācāh-* aurait donné *\*vyāc*, puis *\*jāz*. Or, est loin de notre *vēž*.

<sup>1</sup> Dans la suite de cette étude, l'expression sera toujours citée dans son orthographe restaurée, qui ne diffère d'ailleurs de la forme écrite que par des détails insignifiants.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. la n. suivante et Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*, p. 381.

<sup>3</sup> Herrmann, *Alte Geogr. des Orients*, p. 43 ; Christensen, *Act. Orient.*, iv, 1926, p. 81, n. 2 ; Lommel, *ZII.*, v, 1927, p. 7, n. 4 ; Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitteil. aus Iran*, i, p. 104, n. 2 ; Hertel, *Mithra und Iran*, 1931, p. 56, n.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wackernagel, *Erhebung IV. Geiger*, p. 227.

En définitive on se trouve ramené à la forme traditionnelle *vaijah-* et à l'obligation de l'interpréter telle quelle. Or, au point de vue morphologique, *vaijah* se tire immédiatement de *vaig-*. Si personne n'a proposé cette dérivation évidente, c'est apparemment qu'elle ne fournit pas à première vue de sens adéquat, ce qui tient à une limitation illégitime du sens de la racine. La traduction de *vaig-* par "brandir, lancer (une arme)", la seule qu'on reconnaisse, convient en effet à plusieurs formes : *vaēyam vaēfō* "brandissant l'arme" (*Yt* xix, 92); — *vaēya-* "action de lancer (un trait)" (*Yt* x, 69, 98); — *huniuixta-* "bien lancé", cf. pers. *angēxtan* "pousser", oss. *vejun* "ébranler, agiter", bal. *gējag* "brandir, frapper". Mais *vaig-* possède aussi la valeur moyenne de "s'élancer" que montre ind. *vej-* et qui se confirme dans plusieurs emplois avestiques : *vazrēm fravaēyam* "la massue qui vole droit" (*Yt* x, 96); — *hvaēya snaiθiš* "l'arme qui s'élance (et frappe) bien" (*Y.* lvii, 31), et surtout *vōiynā-* "élancement, fait de se répandre", en parlant des eaux qui débordent, et, métaphoriquement, d'une armée ennemie (Bartholomae, *Wb.*, 1428). La comparaison avec skr. *vega-* "mouvement véhément, irruption, flot" montre que le sens originel de i. ir. *vaig-* réside dans l'idée de "(se) déplacer par un mouvement rapide, (se) projeter, (s')épandre" et que l'application au jet d'une arme n'en forme qu'une acception.

Ce point acquis, on gagne une confirmation et un terme nouveau dans phl. T. *vēhm* "large, étendu", *vēhmdar* "plus large", *vēhmīh* "extension, étendue".<sup>1</sup> L'adjectif *vēhm* remonte à \**vaig-ma-*, parallèle à *vaig-nā-* (av. *vōiynā-*). Pour le passage de *-gm-* à *-hm-*, comparer : \**spragma-* (sogd. *'sprym'k* "fleur") > phl. *sprahm*, arm. *spram*, pers. *isparam* "basilic"; — v.p. *Haγmatāna-* > arm. *Ahmatan*, aram. ܐܡܬܢܐ, syr. ܐܡܬܢܐ, pers. *Hamadān*. On voit ainsi corroboré par un dérivé signifiant "étendu", le sens de "se répandre, s'étendre" qu'on a reconnu à *vaig-*, surtout en parlant des eaux.

Dès lors, *vaijah-* se dénonce comme un abstrait désignant le fait de se répandre et plus généralement l'étendue ou l'extension. Et *aryanam vaijah-* signifie l'"étendue iranienne". La valeur exacte de ce terme appliqué à une région se détermine par le complexe descriptif dont elle est en réalité une abréviation. On ne semble pas avoir observé que la locution authentique, celle qui réunit tous les éléments nécessaires à l'interprétation, est *airyanem vaēfō vashuayā*

<sup>1</sup> Formes attestées chez Andreas Henning, *Mitteliran. Manich.*, i, p. 38a (= *SB4 W.*, 1932, p. 210a); Henning, *Gott. Nachr.*, 1933, p. 311 et n. 5.

*dāityayā* "le vaijah- iranien de la bonne Dātyā" (*Vd.* i, 2; ii, 20; *Yt* v, 17, 104; xv, 2). Régissant le nom de fleuve Dātyā, le neutre *vaijah-* comme ci-dessus le féminin *vaijnā-*, contient bien l'idée des eaux en mouvement. En conséquence l'expression qualifie l' "étendue iranienne de la bonne Dātyā", c'est à dire la portion iranienne du territoire que le fleuve baigne. De là, plus brièvement, *aryanam vaijah-, Ērān-vēž* "étendue, région iranienne".

## II

Ils'agit maintenant d'identifier la région ainsi dénommée. Personne n'ajoute plus foi à l'illusoire équation *aryanam (vaijah-) = Arrān* dont Justi et Darmesteter s'autorisaient jadis pour placer l'Ērān-vēž au Nord-Ouest de l'Iran. De par ses données, le problème ne comporte qu'un nombre restreint de possibilités : l'Ērān-vēž étant le premier pays mentionné dans le catalogue des provinces orientales qui ouvre le chapitre initial du Vidēvdāt, il faut nécessairement le chercher au Nord-Est de l'Iran. Aussi, depuis Markwart, a-t-on pensé à plusieurs reprises à la contrée la plus septentrionale de l'Est iranien, la Chorasmie,<sup>1</sup> mais pour des raisons extérieures à l'Avesta. En fait la preuve peut en être acquise par une comparaison de deux textes avestiques.

Le premier chapitre du Vidēvdāt énumère dans l'ordre suivant les provinces de l'Est : *aryanam vaijō — garva-* (Sogdiane) — *margu-* (Margiane) — *bāxdi-*<sup>2</sup> (Bactriane) — *haraiva-* (Herat), etc. Plusieurs de ces noms figurent aussi, disposés autrement, dans *Yt* x, 13-14 : *(miθrō) yō parvyō zaranjō . pišō srīra barəšnava gərəwnāti adāt višpam ādidati airyō . šayanam savištō . . . yahmya āpō nāvayā pərəθwīš xšaodanta θwaxšante ā iškutem pourutemča mourum harōyum gaomča suxšəmča x'airizəmča*. Passage métrique et ancien, dont les vers ont été inexactement séparés dans l'éd. Geldner. Nous le restituons ainsi :

<i>yō parvyō zaranjō pišō</i>	"(Miθra) qui le premier atteint
<i>srīra barəšnava gərəwnāti</i>	les belles cimes décorées d'or ;
<i>adāt višpam ādidati</i>	de là il contemple tout entière
<i>arya.šayanam savištō</i>	l'aire des Aryens, lui très fort,
. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>yahmya āpō nāvayāh</i>	où les fleuves navigables
<i>pərəθwīš xšaodanta θwaxšantai</i>	larges, se précipitent torrentueux

<sup>1</sup> Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 118, 155 ; Andreas ap. Doegen, l.c. ; Christensen, l.c., p. 82 et n. 1 ; Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitteil.*, ii, p. 5 ; Bailey, *BOS.*, 1932, VI, p. 952.

<sup>2</sup> Je néglige *Nisāyu*, dont il est dit (*Vd.* i, 7) qu'il se trouve entre Margu et Bāxdi et qui ne marque pas une étape nouvelle dans la description.

<i>ā iškutam parutamča</i>	vers Iškata et Paruta,
<i>margum haraivam gavamča</i>	Margu, Haraiva et Gava,
<i>suxdəmča x'āirizəmča</i>	Sugda et X'ārizam.

Les noms géographiques de la fin du passage demandent quelques mots d'éclaircissement : Bartholomae a considéré à tort *iškata-* comme un substantif "Fels(?)" dans ce passage, tout en le prenant pour un nom propre dans Y. x, ii, et Yt xix, 3 ; ces deux derniers exemples associent *iškata* (plur.) à la chaîne Uparisaina, c'est à dire à la portion de l'Hindukuš entre Balx et Kabul ; mais le nom n'est pas autrement connu.—Celui qui est écrit *pouruta* et qui se lira *paruta* ou *parata*, doit probablement correspondre à l'appellation des Ἀπαρῦται (Herod. iii, 91), Παρρηταί (Ptol. vi, 7)<sup>1</sup> et se rapporter à la région montagnense qui se trouve à l'Ouest de la précédente.—A partir d'ici, la liste monte vers le Nord : *mouru-* est la forme qui alterne avec v.p. *Margu-* dans les mêmes conditions dialectales qui opposent par exemple phl. N.O. *murγ* "oiseau" à S.O. *murv*.—Une vocalisation fautive a produit *harōyūm* d'après une graphie הריום avec épenthèse de *-v-* dans la seconde syllabe, au lieu de *haraivam*, v.p. *haraiva-*, gr. Ἀρία. Comparer av. *ōyūm* = *aivam* ou *vidōyām* = *vidaivam*.—*Gava-* désigne la Sogdiane et survit chez les géographes arabes dans le nom de ق, à lire *gay*; chin. Ho.<sup>2</sup>

Jusque là le mètre correct garantit l'exactitude du texte transmis. Mais avec les deux derniers noms, *suxdəmča x'āirizəmča*, on voit apparaître un membre de sept syllabes que d'autres raisons invitent à tenir pour interpolé. Bartholomae a déjà rejeté *suxdəmča*, simple glose de *gavam*. A plus forte raison *x'āirizəmča*, réduit à lui-même, se dénonce-t-il comme une addition au morceau primitif. Une nouvelle preuve en est donnée par la forme de l'un et de l'autre nom. La graphie *suxdəm* (var. *sacxdəm*, *sauxdəm*, *suḍəm*), trahit une prononciation moyen-iranienne de type *suγd*, où le vocalisateur a essayé de rendre par *-x-* l'articulation spirante de *-γ-*. Par suite, le désaccord inexplicable entre *x'āirizəm* et v.p. (*h*)*uvārazmīs* se dénoue de la manière la plus simple. Il est clair que seul v.p. (*h*)*uvārazmīs*, corroboré par les transcriptions étrangères (arm. *Xorozm*, *xolozmik*,<sup>3</sup> gr. Χόρασμος, aram.

<sup>1</sup> Ainsi déjà Geiger, *Ostir. Kultur*, p. 9, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 29, n. 2 et Andreas, *Göt. Nachr.*, 1931, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Marquart, l.c., p. 155, n'a pu identifier la gemme appelée *xolozmik* en arménien (< phl. \**x'ārazmīk*). Nous savons maintenant par la Charte du palais de Suse, que Darius faisait venir de Chorasmie la pierre *axšaina* (lazulite); *kāsa ka hya axšaina haur hača* (*h*)*uvārazmīyā abariy*. Suivant toute apparence, c'est la pierre *axšaina* qu'on appelait *xolozmik*.

Eleph. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥).<sup>1</sup> peut prétendre à l'authenticité : *x<sup>o</sup>āirizəm* n'est rien d'autre que la notation pseudo-avestique de m. ir. *x<sup>o</sup>ārizm*. Le -i- intérieur se trouve déjà à l'époque achéménide dans la transcription accad. *ku-ma-ri-iz-mu* (Bisutūn) et provient sans doute de la forme locale ; mais la finale anormale -zəm reconyvre phl. -zm. De même que av. *Bāxdi-* reflète en réalité *Bāhli-* (cf. skr. *Bahlīka*, arm. *Bahl*, syr. ܒܠܗ), de même on a tenté de vicillir, en les revêtant du déguisement avestique *suxdəm* et *x<sup>o</sup>āirizəm*, les appellations moyen-iraniennes *Suyd* et *X<sup>o</sup>ārizm*. Dans cette conclusion, métrique et dialectologie se conjuguent. Nous ne suivons donc ni Andreas, qui posait en face de v.p. (H)*uvārazmiš*, une prétendue forme avestique "*Huvōrizo*"<sup>2</sup> ; ni M. Herzfeld,<sup>3</sup> qui use d'artifices pour conserver *x<sup>o</sup>āirizəm* : selon lui, la notation *x<sup>o</sup>ārizəm* représente la simplification d'une ancienne finale à -m redoublé, indiquant *x<sup>o</sup>ārazmim*, ce qui ne laisse pas d'être arbitraire. Il sauve le mètre en lisant : *ā cikātam* [sic] *parvatamča* | *ā margumča haraivamča* | *ā gavamca x<sup>o</sup>ārazmimča*, c'est à dire en ajoutant deux fois ā, deux fois -ča et en rétablissant la forme perse *x<sup>o</sup>ārazmim*.

C'est précisément à titre d'interpolation que vaut la mention de la Chorasmie. Le transcripteur, voyant les noms de provinces se succéder du Sud au Nord, a prolongé la série, qui s'arrêtait à Gava (Sogdiane), d'un terme qui marque la limite septentrionale de l'Iran, la Chorasmie. Or, si l'on confronte à l'énumération de *Yt* x celle de *Vd. i*, on observe qu'elles s'ordonnent en sens inverse : *Vd. i* du Nord au Sud, *Yt* x du Sud au Nord. Il suffit donc de retourner la liste de *Vd. i* pour obtenir avec celle de *Yt* x les correspondances suivantes :

<i>Vd. i</i>	<i>Yt</i> x, 14
<i>haraivam</i>	<i>haraivam</i>
<i>bāxdiin</i>	. . .
<i>margum</i>	<i>margum</i>
<i>gavam</i>	<i>gavam</i> (gl. <i>suxdəm</i> )
<i>aryanam vaijō</i>	<i>x<sup>o</sup>āirizəm</i>

Le transcripteur s'est ainsi chargé à son insu de démontrer que l'Ērān-vēž est la Chorasmie, et de convertir en certitude ce qui était depuis Markwart conjecture, probable, mais non encore établie par une preuve directe. Markwart se fondait sur le fait que d'après l'Avesta, l'Ērān-vēž souffre d'un hiver de dix mois ; les géographes arabes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schaefer, *Iran. Beitr.*, i, p. 68 et Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 186b.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Doegen, op. cit., p. 381.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Mitteil. aus Iran*, ii, p. 5.

décrivent en effet la Chorasmie comme la région la plus froide de l'Oxus et une des plus froides de l'Iran entier. Il faut bien dire que cet argument à lui seul ne prouverait rien, d'abord parce que les hivers sont tout aussi rigoureux à l'extrême Nord-Ouest de l'Iran, ce dont Darmesteter pouvait s'autoriser pour localiser l'Ērān-vēž au Karabagh ; ensuite, parce que, comme l'a discerné M. Herzfeld,<sup>1</sup> la description de l'hiver qui désole l'Ērān-vēž constitue dans *Vd.* i, 3 une interpolation de date arsacide. Comment l'Ērān-vēž serait-il "le premier, le meilleur des séjours et des pays" (*paoirīm asanhumēa sōiθranamēa vahištam*) si l'été n'y dure que deux mois, et encore "trop froids pour les eaux, pour la terre, pour les plantes", et si à la fin de l'hiver de nombreuses inondations se produisent ? De toute évidence celui qui a interpolé cette notice ne s'est pas soucié du contexte. Néanmoins, une fois l'équivalence de l'Ērān-vēž et de la Chorasmie fondée par ailleurs, l'interpolation reste instructive en ce qu'elle montre qu'on reconnaissait à l'Ērān-vēž le climat qui caractérise la Chorasmie.

L'induction établie sur une comparaison de textes se fortifie en outre de deux indices géographiques :

(a) Mr. H. W. Bailey<sup>2</sup> a montré que l'ancienne désignation de la Sogdiane *Gava*, survit dans le nom fameux de *Gōpatšāh* : ce héros, transformé par la légende en un être fabuleux, mi-homme mi-taureau, porte étymologiquement le nom de "roi de Gava". Pour la localisation du personnage, Mr. Bailey a mis en valeur la notice du *Dād. ī Dēn.* 89 : *Gōpatšāh xʾatāyīh apar Gōpat būm hamvīmand ī ō Ērān-vēž pat bār ī āp ī Dāityā* "la royauté de Gōpatšāh (s'exerce) sur le pays de Gōpat, qui est limitrophe de l'Ērān-vēž sur la rive du fleuve Dāityā". En effet la région de Gōpat, la Sogdiane, avoisine immédiatement la Chorasmie.

(b) La mention dans ce même passage du fleuve Dāityā (= Oxus), d'accord avec la définition avestique *airyanem vaējō vanhuyā dāityayā*, se fonde sur une tradition véridique que l'on peut vérifier grâce à cette indication du *Gr. Bd.* 87, *dāityā rōt hač Ērān-vēž bē āyēt pat \*Suβdastān*<sup>3</sup> *bē šavēt* "le fleuve Dāityā vient de l'Ērān-vēž et va dans le Suβdastān (Sogdiane)". L'Oxus traverse bien la Sogdiane et la Chorasmie, quoique dans le sens contraire, vers la mer d'Aral. D'ailleurs la

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, i, p. 104, n. 2, et déjà Darmesteter, *ZA.*, ii, p. 7, n. 7 ; "Tout ce passage a les allures d'une citation interpolée."

<sup>2</sup> *ESOS.*, VI, 1932, p. 951 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A lire ainsi, au lieu de Gōpestān, Gurjīstān, Panjīstān, etc. Pour la forme *Suβdastān*, cf. Bailey, l.c., p. 948 sq.



proximité de la Sogdiane et de l'Ērān-vēž se trouve ici affirmée dans des conditions telles que, toute autre région orientale étant exclue par le catalogue de *Vd. i*, seule la Chorasmie peut venir en question. L'auteur du *Bundahišn* a recueilli, sans peut-être le comprendre, un renseignement dont la valeur n'est pas amoindrie par l'indication contradictoire du même traité : *Ērān-vēž pat kustak ī Āturpātakān* "l'Ērān-vēž est dans la région de l'Adharbaijān". Quand le centre de l'Empire s'est déplacé vers l'Ouest, il s'est produit parallèlement, à l'époque sassanide, un transfert dans la nomenclature géographique : ou a reporté dans l'Iran occidental une grande partie du répertoire des noms orientaux conservés par l'Avesta.

### III

Il est admis que le catalogue géographique de *Vd. i* reflète la division territoriale de l'Empire à l'époque où il a été rédigé, vraisemblablement sous Mithridate I<sup>er</sup> (174-136 av. J.-C.). A cette date la Chorasmie passait donc pour le berceau des Iraniens. On ne saurait douter que l'auteur de *Vd. i* ait reproduit ici une donnée ancienne quand on voit, même dans les portions anciennes de l'Avesta, l'Aryanam vaijō nommé avec la Dātyā, qui est l'Oxus. D'autre part, la littérature pehlevie garde le souvenir encore net d'un Ērān-vēž localisé primitivement en Chorasmie. Le I<sup>er</sup> chapitre du *Vidēvdāt* forme donc le lien entre l'Avesta ancien et les témoignages sassanides. Une pareille chaîne de concordances invite à reconnaître l'existence et la fidélité d'une tradition dont les débuts, antérieurs aux premiers Yašts, remontent pour le moins au commencement de l'époque achéménide et dont la teneur n'a pas varié jusqu'à la période sassanide. De là ressort un premier fait : si la tradition mazdéenne s'est attachée avec autant de constance à ce souvenir, c'est que le fonds historique et légendaire de l'Avesta se relie à l'Iran oriental. Contre ce fait, que maint autre indice appuie, aucune combinaison ne saurait prévaloir.

Pour déterminer, dans la mesure du possible, ce que l'histoire peut tenir pour valable dans cette tradition—et l'on sait à quoi se réduisent nos connaissances sur les antiquités préislamiques de la Chorasmie—il convient de définir la portée des termes. Écartons comme incontrôlable tout ce qui concerne la naissance et l'activité de Zarathuštra dans cette région, pour nous limiter à l'origine des Iraniens. Par Iraniens, on doit sans doute entendre non l'ensemble des tribus aryennes qui ont peuplé le plateau iranien, mais plus simplement celles que l'on trouve établies dans l'Est. Quand le texte

avestique parle de leur origine, on comprendra qu'il s'agit du plus ancien peuplement dont les tribus de l'Est aient gardé la mémoire. Sous cette réserve, rien n'empêche de croire à l'historicité de la tradition. Selon une version que Bērūnī a recueillie, les Chorasmieus faisaient remonter l'occupation de leur pays par les Iraniens à l'an 980 avant Alexandre (= 1292 av. J.-C.), et l'installation de Syāvuš, début d'une nouvelle ère, 92 ans plus tard, soit en 1200 av. J.-C.<sup>1</sup> Sachau a bien marqué le caractère artificiel et savant de ce comput.<sup>2</sup> Mais sans adopter des dates que leur précision même rend suspectes, on est en droit de retenir l'affirmation d'un peuplement de la Chorasmie à date très reculée. En outre, bien que les indications données par Bērūnī sur l'arrivée de Syāvuš (av. Syāvaršan) en Chorasmie ne s'accordent pas avec l'Avesta, le Šāhnāma ni avec les historiens arabes, il semble qu'on ne doive pas écarter toute idée d'un rapport entre la légende de Syāvaršan et la Chorasmie. Les témoignages de l'épopée et des chroniqueurs veulent que Syāvuš se soit enfui en pays "turanien"; les Chorasmieus, qu'il ait cherché refuge dans leur contrée. Il n'y a pas là contradiction si l'on admet que le nom de "turanien" s'appliquait aux tribus nomades du Nord-Est, des steppes limitrophes de la Chorasmie. D'autre part, Yaqut déclare avoir lu dans l'ouvrage perdu de Bērūnī sur le X'ārizm que le nom ancien du pays était *Fīl*.<sup>3</sup> De fait on connaît une citadelle chorasmienne du nom de *Fīr* (*Fīl*), et ce nom a pu être donné à la fois à la ville et à la province entière, tout comme X'ārizm ou aujourd'hui Xīva. Ce *Fīr* doit représenter la prononciation arabe de *Pīr*. Or le haut dignitaire turanien, de la famille des Vēsak (cf. av. Vaēsakay-), dont Syāvuš a épousé la fille (Jārīra, selon Firdousī), s'appelait *Pīrūn*.<sup>4</sup> Si *Pīrān* est dérivé de *Pīr* (pour la formation, cf. *Pahlavān*, *Xūzān*, tirés d'un nom de pays), on saisit une relation concrète entre la Chorasmie et la légende de Syāvaršan, relation de même nature que celle qui unit la légende de Rōstahm (Rustam) au Sistān.

Que la Chorasmie ait bien été un centre de dispersion aux hautes époques, c'est ce que font supposer les invasions iraniennes dans l'Ouest iranien et dans l'Europe orientale. La langue des Scythes, à en juger par l'onomastique et par l'ossète actuel, forme un groupe dialectal

<sup>1</sup> Bērūnī, *Chronology*, trad. Sachau, pp. 40-1.

<sup>2</sup> Sachau, *Zur Gesch. und Chronol. von Khwārizm* (SB. Wien. Akad., 1873, t. lxxiii), p. 486 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Sachau, op. cit., p. 476.

<sup>4</sup> Sur Syāvuš, cf. Christensen, *Les Kyanides*, p. 105 sq.

avec le sogdien et le chorasmien, ce dernier mal connu, mais en tout cas proche du sogdien. C'est de Chorasmie que, pour ne rien dire des Gimmériens, les Scythes, les Sarmates, les Alains sont venus en vagues successives. Et l'on sait par les annales de Sargon que dès 714 av. J.-C. les Scythes avaient subjugué les Urartéens.<sup>1</sup> Si le peuplement iranien de la Chorasmie est ainsi indirectement assuré pour la fin du viii<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., il n'était pas excessif de faire remonter au-delà des Achéménides la tradition avestique sur l'établissement des Iraniens dans cette région.

Rappelons enfin que plusieurs témoignages classiques affirment la parenté des Scythes et des Parthes : Parthi Scythia profecti (Q. Curt. iv, 12, ii); Scythæ, qui Parthos condidere (id. vi, 2, 12); Parthi Scytharum exules fuere (Justin xli, 1, i); Sermo his (sc. Parthis) inter Scythicum Medicumque medius et utrimque mixtus (id. lxi, 2, 3); Παρθυαῖοι ἔθνος πάλαι . . . Σκυθικόν (St. Byz.);—Τοὺς δὲ Παρθοὺς καὶ Παρθυαίους καλοῦσι τινες καὶ φύλον εἶναι φασὶ Σκυθικόν (Eust. in Dionys. Perieget. 304).<sup>2</sup> On ne tiendra plus alors pour fortuit que le catalogue des régions rédigé sous les Parthes ait conservé sa prééminence à la région d'où les Parthes avec les Scythes étaient censés venir.

Le problème de l'Ērân-vēž comporte donc, limité à ses données principales, une solution positive. Ce nom se prête à une étymologie et à une localisation définies. Des découvertes ultérieures nous laisseront peut-être préciser davantage la part de la fiction et de la réalité qui se mêlent dans la tradition mazdéenne sur l'origine des Iraniens. Il suffira pour l'instant d'avoir pu reconnaître à cette tradition une âme de vérité.

<sup>1</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *Rélation de la 8<sup>e</sup> campagne de Sargon*, pp. xiv-xv; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, i, p. cccxxi sq.; Julius Lewy, *Forsch. zur alten Gesch. Kleinasiens*, 1925, p. 1 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, p. 10.

### Iranian Studies III

By H. W. BAILEY

#### I. *fšah* (*fšēh*)

IN a comment on *Vid.*, 15, 42, the Pahlavi translator quotes a legal enactment as follows:—

*ōh paidākēnd ku patiyārak <i> av bar rasēt, av graḥakāndūr mat būt ān <i> av bun rasēt av* 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣.

‘It is so published that injury that comes upon the fruits lies upon the holder of the pledge, that which comes upon the stock, lies upon the farmer.’

For the interpretation of *graḥakāndār*, *bar* and *bun*, one may refer to Bartholomae, *MM.*, 1, 14.

In *DkM.*, 723, 11, we have:—

*apar aralēštār i alōšak kē pat raβišn apar vāstr ut yōrtāk ut gōspand frāc rasēnd kē* 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *hačiš bēkānak.*

‘Concerning horsemen without provisions who on their journey plunder the pastures, crops or cattle from which the farmer is absent.’

This word is frequent, as *DkM.*, 725, 12 *bis*, 13, 16, 17; 727, 6, 8, 9 *bis*, 10, 16, 17, 20 *bis*; cf. also the references of West, *SBE.*, 37, 78, note 1. It is written 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 and 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣, and, with the abstract suffix *-īh*, 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 occurs in *DkM.*, 865, 18. The meaning is certain from the context: ‘farmer,’ whether keeper of cattle or grower of crops. The Sanskrit version renders it by *viśphāyitā* (with incorrect variants), with which is to be compared the use of *sphīlayitum* to render *fšuyō* in *Yasna*, 48, 5, and the *vrddhikartā* rendering *fšuyantaēča*, *Y.*, 29, 6.

The reading of the word as *fšah* (or *fšēh*) is assured by its use in rendering Av. *fšēnghya-* (which occurs with unimportant variants). It is then a learned word with *fš-* preserved, in contrast to *šupān* ‘herdsman’ with *š*, surviving in NPers. *šabān*, Bal. (W) *šipānk*, (E) *šafānk*. It is curious that West (loc. cit.) approached the meaning, though his reading was impossible, but missed the explanation, and Bartholomae in *AIW.*, col. 1029, could make nothing of it.

The frequency of the word *fšah* gives confidence that the tradition is well-founded. From it the meaning of Av. *fšēnghya-* can also be determined.

Yasna, 31, 10a-b :—

*at hī ayd fravarētā vāstrīm ahīyāi fšuyantem  
ahurəm ašavanəm vanhōuš fšēnghīm mananhō*

The Pahl. Comm. renders the second line by :—

*xvatāy ahrav kē 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 pat vahman  
ku sardārīh i gōspandān pat frārōnīh kunēh.*

Yasna, 49, 9a :—

*sraotū sāsna fšēnghyō suyē taštō*

Pahl. Comm. :—

*ka nigō(k)šēt amōčišn ān i 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 sūt tāšitār  
ku frašōštr i dēnīk nigō(k)šēt*

(Here the Sanskrit has gone astray with *paścāt* for 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀.) The abstract 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *fšahīh* is used in an epitome of this passage of the Yasna in *DkM.*, 865, 18 :—

*apar stāyīšn i frašōštr . . . pat fšahīh gēhān varzītārīh sūt tāšitārīh.*

Attempts to interpret Av. *fšēnghya-* have been frequent. References to earlier literature are given in *AIW*. More recently Andreas-Wackernagel proposed *fšohiya-* related to *spas-*; cf. on this and Hertel's use of it, the remark of Charpentier, *Brahman*, 47, note 1.

The Commentator understood *fšēnghya-* to be *fšah* 'farmer', a word familiar to him,<sup>1</sup> as we have seen. This suits both passages well. Therewith the etymology is given at a glance. Just as in Greek *τὸ πῆκος* 'fleece, wool', and in Latin *pecus, pecoris*, that is *\*pek-* with *-os/-es*, see Brugmann, *Vergl. Gram.*<sup>2</sup>, 2, 1, 518, beside the well-attested *\*pekū-*, Skt. *paśu-*, Av. *pasu-*, Goth. *faīhu*, so here *\*pekēs-* with *-io-* gives *\*pkesio-*, Iran. *\*fšahya-*, Av. *fšēnghya-*, correctly read *fšah* (*fšēh*) in Pahlavi.<sup>2</sup> It is accordingly a designation of the *fšuyant-*. Then *\*fšahya-* beside the synonymous *fšuyant-* in Y., 31, 10, recalls the use of the almost synonymous *vāstrya-* with *fšuyant-*.

## II. *\*spanta-*

### 1. *nīrang*.

The *nīrang* (Pahl. *nīrang* 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀, Pāz. *nīrang*, Skt. transcription *nīranga-*, NPers. *nīrang*, Arab. *nairan*) occupies an essential place

<sup>1</sup> For learned words in Pahlavi, cf. the remark : *āroγ kē pat ēvād i dēnīk xwānihēt mītōzi*, *Dd.*, 36, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Turian Mid. Iran. (S). *mhy* *\*mahyah-*.

in Zoroastrian books. It is the 'formula', the results of which may prove either good or bad. In the course of theological speculation the *nīrang* then attained a more significant place. We have accordingly three aspects.

(1) *nīrang* 'injurious spell'.

The *nīrang* of Dahāk are alluded to in *Dd Purs.*, 64, 5 (*SBE.*, 18, 201). Similarly in the *Šāhnāma* (Vullers, 58, 464) *nīrang* i *zaphāk*. It has here the same meaning as *yātūkīh*.

(2) *nīrang* in religious use.

The *Nīrangastān* of the Avesta has partially survived. It is described in *DkM.*, 735, 6: *brīnak-ē nīrangastān: mātiyān apar nīrang i īzišn i yazdān*. Similarly the *yazišn* and *ātaš-sōčīšnīh* are classed with *apārīk dēnīk nīrangīk pāspānīh* (*Dd Purs.*, 27, 5). Cf. also *Dd.*, 38, 23, *dēnīk nīrangīhā* and *Dd.*, 38, 32, *frārōn nīrangīhā*. The *asrōn* (priest) possesses good *nīrang*, he is *xūb-nīrang* (*Pāz. Texts*, p. 335). *DkM.*, 645, 1, *nīrang i var* (translated by Bartholomae, *SR.*, 2, 10, note 3, with 'Zauber des Var') 'the *nīrang* of the ordeal'. *GrBd.*, 227, 10, *Ganāk Mēnūk* and *Āz* are struck down *pat ān i gāsānīk nīrang* (translated by Nyberg, *MO.*, 23, 346, as 'die magische Wirkung der Gathas').

Similarly *GrBd.*, 177, 6, *nīrang ut aψsōn i dātīk gāsān*.

In the epitome of the *Vidēvdāt*, *DkM.*, 784, 11 fol. :—

*apar ān i nīrang ī-š pat bundahišn stahmakīh i druž patīš bē kāst ut vazurk nērōkīh i airman xwādišnīh ut ahunavar ut han gāsānīk apastāk pat apāč dāštan i dēvān hač družēnītan i gēhān i ahrāyīh.*

In the same epitome the supernatural power of plants is noted. *DkM.*, 784, 5 fol. :—

*ut apar vazurk nērōkīh i \*bēšaz-īlār urvar pat nīrangīk apāč-dāštārīh i vas pitīyārak dāt i ohrmazd pur sraxtak urvar av bēšazēnītan i dāmān hač hiyandakīh.*

The *nīrangēnūtār* is mentioned in *DkM.*, 920, 20.

The Commentators also understood *nīrang* to be the study intended in the Avesta: *maṭ. patī. frasa-* is explained by *apāk apāč pursīšnīh i nīrang*.

In this sense of 'good supernatural power' the *nīrang* is frequent. The same meaning survived in later Persian. So in the *Šāhnāma*, Vullers, 32, 180, when the physicians seek to cure *Zaphāk* :—

*biziškān i farzāna gird āmadand  
hamu yak ba yak dāstānhā zadand  
zi har gūna nīranghā sāxtand  
mar ān dard rā čāra na šnāxtand.*

In the Avesta the same view is attested by *Vid.*, 7, 44, in the specific case of healing :—

*karatō.baēšazēsča urvarō.baēšazēsča mąθrō.baēšazēsča*

To the third method of healing the Commentator remarks :—

*kē pat mansr spand bēšazēnēt ku aβsōn kunēh*

In the same text *yaθ mąθrəm.spəntəm.baēšazyō* is glossed :—

*kē mansr spand bēšazēnētār vēh nē kunand vattar-iē nē kunand.*

This is *nīrang* or *aβsōn*. Hence the epitomizer in *DkM.*, 784, quoted above, rightly recognized the Avestan *mąθra-* to be *nīrang*.

In the Avesta the injurious type of *nīrang* is represented by the *aya mąθra* :—

*Yast*, 10, 20 : *frēna ayunam mąθranqm yā vorozyciti ari.miθriš.*

Al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, viii, 3) speaks of a *kitāb nairanġāt*, and of the *nairanġāt al-ašġār*, wa 'l-θimār, wa 'l-adhān wa 'l-ḥašā'iš.

(3) The cosmic *nīrang* is expounded in a passage of the *Dēnkart* (*DkM.*, 399, 7-400, 21), which is of such importance that a transcription and translation is here attempted, although certain phrases remain obscure.

*apar nīrang. hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.*

*ēt : nīrang hast rādēnišnān raβākīh*

*čēgōn gētēyīk rādēnišn kūrēnūt nīrang-ē hast patiš raβākīh*

*ān rādēnišn kār hast-ič mēnōk rādēnišn ut hast i andar gētēy*

*vīnārišn i gētēy pat mēnōk rād ān gētiyān apāk nīrang i gētēyīk*

*rādēnišn patiš raβēt*

*apāyīnišn-ič hast nīrang i mēnōkān i patiš gētēy rādēnišn ut vīnārišn*

*ut ēt i zamīk gētēy nīrangīk pat āp ut vāt ōž i āp <ut> vāt pat asmān*

*mēnōk nīrangīk pat amahraspand varč ut xvarr vīnārišn*

*ut tan gētēy nīrangīk amēčišn i tan passāčišn*

*ut mēnōk nīrangīk pat ruvān zīndakīh*

*ut gēhān amōk pat asrōnīh*

*ut pānakīh pat arutēštārīh*

*ut varzišn pat vūstryōšīh*

*ut āsānīh pat hutuxšakīh nīrang*

*ut hamāk gētēy nīrangīk pat xvatāyīh*

*ut mēnōk nīrangīk pat dēn vīnārišn*

*martōm tan gēlēy nīrangīk apētar pat āpātīh vīnārīšn*  
*ruvān mēnōk nīrangīk pat krpak bōzišn*  
*ut ēl-ič čēgōn nihūflak rādēnišn ēlōnīh ut an-ēlōnīh paidākīh pat dēnik*  
*var nīrang i pēšēnīk pat krlak dāštan lāštīk ākāsīh*  
*ān-ič i čēgōn āfrīn nīfrīn i pat vāvarīkānīhastan dēn-paidākīh ut andar*  
*gēhān ākāsīh*  
*ut ān-ič i hač axtarān apāxtarān rasišn vartišn*  
*aβsōn i xrafstr ōzanišn ut gazišn ut zahr darmān*  
*vasīh <i> vīmārīh bē-barišnīh <i> hōk višōpdāk*  
*ut nīrang i pat ālaxšān āpān urvarān zanišn ut ayō(k)šustān <i>*  
*zanīkān*  
*ān i andar bavišn ham-bavišnīh i jānvarān pat axtarān apāxtarān hač*  
*\*rōn ut gēhān\**  
*ān i andar vīmārīh ut druvistīh pat haftakān ut nēm haftakān andar māh*  
*purv māh ut višafīas*  
*ān i hač dēn nīrangīk apastāk īzišn pat šnāyišn <i> yazdān ut*  
*bēšēnītārīh <i> dēvān dēn-paidākīh*  
*ut han-ič vas nimūtār andar gēlēy ut mēnōk zōrīk nīrang yut hač ān*  
*i pat čīhr*  
*ut kam-paidākīh i andar gēlēy mēnōkīk nīrang aparvēžakīh i čīhr andar*  
*gēlēy azvān, \*zruftakīh i mēnōk-kārīh andar čīhr-kārīh*  
*ān i andar mēnōkān azvān vas vay ōžīh mēnōk varč apar čīhr rād nīrang*  
*apar čīhr aparvēžakīh ut čīhr andar nīrang mēnōk varč \*zruftakīh*  
*ut andar -ič gēlēy pat kišvarān šahrān i ēvak hač dit dūr čīš hast <i>*  
*andar kišvar-ē šahr-ē čīhrīk*  
*pat han kišvar šahr nīrangīk hangūrēnd*  
*ān i vasīhā paidāk*

## NOTES TO DkM., 399-400

(1) *kārēnūt nīrang-ē*.

Sanjana's variant *سازگار* appears to be dittography. *kārēnūt*, Pāz. (ŠGV. 11, 77) *kārinūt*, Skt. *kāritaḥ*. It is taken here as absolute participle and noun. The same collocation—participle with noun—can form a possessive compound:—

GrBd., 226, 1: *hangartēnūt dām bavē* 'he becomes one who has finished his creation'.

Dd., Introd., 8: *mayūk martān i ōsmurt mansr i dranḡenūt zand uskārt dātastān*.



(2) *mēnōk rādēnišn, zōrīk nīrang.*

Cf. *DkM.*, 893, 16: *et-iē rād ēē pat var varzišnīh ān i varōmand \*ēvar ut tūrīk \*rōšnīh pat mēnōk-zōrīh*, quoted by Bartholomae, *SR.*, 2, 10, note 3.

(3) *apāyišnīk.*

1. desirable; cf. Pāz. *āβaišnī* = Skt. *abhīṣṭha-*, *apāyišnāktar*, Skt. *ākāṅkṣanīyatara* (*MX*).

2. *apāyišn* 'needed'; *an-apāyišn* 'unneeded', *Dd.*, K 35, 199 verso 5-6, corresponding to *GrBd.*, 137, 13, *vārēt av givāk ku apāyēt*.

(4) *varē* 'power, energy'.

Av. *varōcah-*, *varōcahvant-*. Turfan Mid. Iran. (S) *yazdān kē paδ xvrēš varz ud rōšnī*.

*vrz, vrē, vrē'vynd.* *DkM.*, 675, 19, *varē ut xvarr ut ōž*.

(5) *āmēčišn* 'element'.

Cf. Mātiyān i Čatrang, 26: *4 ōgōn humānāk kunom ēžgōn 4 āmēčišn kē martōm hačiš*. More often *zahak* 'element'.

*GrBd.*, 142, 11: *4 zahakān hast āp ut zamōk vāl ātaxš*

143, 7: *4 gōhr ut zahakān*

*ŠGV.*, 4, 17: *āβ ātax gil vāδ*

5, 48: *ātax āβ vāδ zamī*.

(6) *āmōk pat asrōnīh* . . . et seq.

Cf. *GrBd.*, 31, 9: *brāh i asrōnīh dāšt ēē ham-ē dānākīh apāk asrōnān*

31, 15: *brahmak i aratēštārīh ēē . . . dām-pānakīh kart*

32, 6: *brahmak i vāstryōštīh dāšt ēē . . . gēhān varzītan*

(7) *dēnīk var.*

Cf. *var i dēnīk*, *MhD.*, 13, 1 (Bthl., *SR.*, 2, 13).

(8) *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 tāštīk* 'certain, sure'. So *ŠGV.*, 15, 62, *tāštī*, Skt. *sunīscita-*. *ŠGV.*, 11, 140, *pa tāšt*, Skt. *nīscayena*: *bē-šy gunāh i garq bahōδ pa tāšt*.

For the two forms, with and without *-īk*, cf. *nām-čišt* and *nām-čištīk*. The word may be derived from *tāšta-* 'cut off', hence 'decided', cf. Av. *tāštəm dāuru* 'cut wood'. Latin *decidere* shows a similar development. It is found elsewhere:—

*Ep. Man.*, i, 7, 4: *bē ēn nē tāštīk dānišn hom ku kam čiš nē šāyēt*.

*Ibid.*, i, 9, 12: *aḍak-šān pat nē \*šāyastīh tāštīk nē vičūrēnūt hēh*.


*Dd Purs.*, 38, 10: *tāštīk agumān*.

According to *SBE.*, 18, 160, *tāštīk* occurs also in *Purs.*, 47, 5. The text is not accessible.

The phrase **ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣ** *pat tāšt* is found several times in *MhD.*, but Bartholomae in his discussion of the ordeal and the oath (*SR.*, 2, 7 fol.) failed to recognize the word. He inclined to connect it with *tāšt* 'cup'. West also in the three passages of *Ep. Man.* and *Dd.* rendered *tāštik* by 'purifying cup', 'consecrated cup', which involved the passages in obscurity.

(9) *āfrīn nifrīn* 'blessing and cursing':

Gīzastak Ab. ad fin., *zat ut škast nifrīt bavāt*. ŠGV., *nifrīdaa*.  
NPers. *nafrišn* 'curse', *nafri* 'curse', cf. for the form Buddh. Sogd.  
"pryṇ, Man. Sogd. *piṇryṇ*.

The same value of *ni-* is found in Arm. *nzoek* 'curse' from \**ni-zava-*, whereas in Avestan the simple verb *zav-* means 'curse' in Yasna 11, 1, *zavanti*. Hence the Pahl.  is *nikirāy* 'repudiating' as read by the Pāzand *nigēraē*, *nigirāē*, MX., 36, 13. Bthl. proposed *viṣirāy*, SR., 2, 38.

(10) *pat čih.*

Av. *ciθra-* 'visible, manifest', rendered by Pahl. *paīdāk*, but also *cihr*, *cihrak*. Hence *pat cihr* 'in visible form', *cihrēnūtan* 'to embody'.

DkM., 681, 13: *vaṣṭan i hačš gētēy čihrēnītak sāztak av andar aṣṣatīk kōšīšn pattūtān.*

Zātspram, 6, 6 : ān mēnōk i vāt andar čihrik vāt i andarvāyik frāč vumbēnēt.

ŠGV., 6, 21 : *čihranīdār*, Skt. *rūpaṇitā*.

7, 2 : eṣ . . . cihraṇīdāī, Skt. rūpatrāt.

Pahl. *čihrak*, NPers. *čihr*, *čihra* 'countenance'.

The *čihrik* in the present *Dk.* passage is contrasted with the *mēnōkik*, just as in *Zāts.* 6, 6, *mēnōk i vāt* is set over against *andar čihrik*.


*Dd. Purs., 27, 4: api-š mēnōk-čīrūh rāš dahišn i yazdān ut frahaxtišn i mēnōk nīrangīk frahaxtišnīktar.*

(11) \**zraftakēh* *𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥*. The spelling is to be compared with the treatment of *zruvan-*, Pahl. *zurvān*, and *traftak* from *trftak*.

Fahl. 1 *NPers. surb* 'lead'.

DkM., 407, 1: zruftak 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 ut sūtak ut xāk-āmēk.

*DkM.*, 435, 12: *av nihānāik zruṣṭakāh.*

*GrBd.*, 35, 13: Paris MS.  *azrōpēt*. Hence the verb is *rōp-* 'remove', *rup-* 'be removed'.

*Translation*

On the nīrang. From the 'Exposition of the Good Faith'. It is this. The nīrang is the coming into operation of controlling influences. So the controlling influence in the visible world, when a nīrang is caused, is thereby rendered active. The action of those controlling influences is both in the invisible world and in the visible world. Because the visible world is ordered through the invisible world, the things of the visible world are associated with the nīrang of the visible world, and the controlling influence comes into operation through it. The nīrang of the invisible world is also necessary, since through it operates the controlling of the visible world and its organization.

As to the earth, the nīrang of the invisible world is in water and wind, the power of the water and wind in the sky.

The nīrang of the invisible world is concerned with the organization of the supernatural power and splendour of the Amahraspands.

As to the body, the nīrang of the visible world is concerned with the preparations of the elements of the body, the nīrang of the invisible world is concerned with the life of the intelligent soul.

As to the beings of the visible world, the nīrangs are :—

teaching by the priests  
 protection by the warriors  
 cultivation by the peasants  
 comfort by the artisans,  
 and the whole nīrang of the visible world is vested in kings.

The nīrang of the visible world is concerned with the organization of the Faith.

As to the body of men, the nīrang of the visible world is most influential in the organizing of well-being.

As to the intelligent soul, the nīrang of the invisible world is concerned with the deliverance through good deeds.

There is this also : in the controlling influence of hidden things the manifestation of its being so or not so,

and the certain knowledge through the ordeal according to the established form by its use,

and that also consisting of blessing and cursing, the religious manifestation of their trustworthiness and making known in the visible world,

and that also connected with the movement and resolution of zodiacal signs and planets,

the incantation as cure of the attack, biting or poison of noxious creatures, the removal of the destructive character of a multitude of diseases,

the *nīrang* in respect of the assault of fire, water, or plants, and the metals of the lands,

that concerned with coming into existence and conception of animals in regard to the zodiacal signs and planets . . .

that in connection with disease and health in the weeks and half-weeks, the new moon day, and the seventh days after the full and new moons,

that of the religious *nīrang* according to the revelation of the Faith for the worship of the Avesta in propitiating Yazdān and vexing the *dēvs*.

The others also, appearing in great number in the visible and invisible worlds, as powerful *nīrang* besides those which are embodied.

Because the *nīrang* of the invisible world is rarely manifested in the visible world, the embodied form prevails in the visible existences and the activity of the invisible is eliminated in the activity of the embodied.

Because in the invisible existences the power of Vay and its invisible supernatural activity is more abundant than the embodied, therefore its *nīrang* prevails over the embodied, and in the invisible supernatural activity of the *nīrang* the embodied is eliminated.

Also in the visible world, in regions and districts remote from one another there is a thing which in one region and district they consider to be embodied, but in the other region and district they consider to be *nīrang*. That is abundantly manifested.

## 2. *aβsōn*.

Beside *nīrang*, as we have seen, stands *aβsōn* with like meaning. So in *GrBd.*, 177, 6: *nīrang ut aβsōn i dārik gāsān*, and in the *Vid.* passages quoted above from *DkM.* and the *Pahl. Comm.* *aβsōn* in healing represents the *māθra-* of the Avesta.

The verb is attested in *GrBd.*, 154, 15:—

*nāxun ka nē aβsūt ēstēt dēvān yātūkān stanēnd tiyr humānāk*  
*av ān <murv> vēdēnd ut ōžanēnd ē rād ān murv nāxun <ka>*  
*nē aβsūt ēstēt stanēt <xvarēt> tāk dēvān kār nē framāyēnd*  
*ka aβsūt ēstēt nē xvarēt dēvān vinās patiš kartan nē tuvān.*

Here the *aβsūtān* works against the *dēvs*. But just as there are

*aya mēθra* in the Avesta, and good and evil *nīrang*s, so the *aβsōn* may be used by beings good or evil. In *Aβiyātkār i Zarērān*, 74 and 100, the *yātūk Vīdrafš* has a spear : *ān fraš i aβsūtak*. The weapon has been magically strengthened.

Both aspects of the *aβsōn* persist into NPers. The *Šāhnāma* knows the beneficent *afsūn* of kings (Vullers, 20, 43, of Hōšang), and the *afsūngarī*, which a heavenly Sarōš teaches to Firēdūn (Vullers, 50, 304-5). The physician at the birth of Rustam (Vullers, 223, 1678) is described as—

*yak-ē mard i bīnā-dil u pur-fusūn*

and he exercises *afsūn* (*afsūn kunaδ*) in his work of healing.

But the harmful *afsūn* is illustrated in the case of Sarv, king of Yaman, the *šāh i afsūngarān* (Vullers, 73, 208), who tried to destroy the sons of Firēdūn by bringing upon them a bitter cold.

In NPers. we have—

*afsūn*  
*afsān* 'fascinating, magician'  
*afsāna* 'incantation'  
*afsūy* 'enchanter'  
*afsūyīdan* 'to subdue by magic'  
*afsānīdan* 'to make tame'

The etymology of *aβsōn* is of importance for the discussion which follows. It can safely be explained as from a verb *sav-* with the preverb *abi-* (which the *abhi-* of Sanskrit *abhicāra* 'enchantment' may support; Salemann proposed *upa-* in *GIP.*, 1b, 304). Hence *\*abisavana-*. The verb *abi-sav-* may be rendered 'to exercise supernatural power upon, so imparting strength' as to words or weapons.

### 3. *sav-*.

We are led then to recognize a word *sav-* with the pregnant meaning of 'strengthening' by the exercise of supernatural power whether of words alone or of words associated with rites. This meaning, and this is of particular importance, is to be recognized also in the Avesta. Such a translation of the frequent Av. *sav-* seems alone to do justice to the contexts. It may be seen clearly in such a collocation as that in *Visprat*, 7, 2 :—

*arštātəm yazamaide varuhīm*  
*frādaṭ.gaēθəm varēdaṭ.gaēθəm savō.gaēθəm*

rendered in the Pahl. Comm. :—

*aštāl yazēm vēh frēh-dātār i gēhān*  
*vališn dātār <i> gēhān*  
*sūtēnūtār <i> gēhān*

Similarly in verbal form, *Viḏ.*, 4, 2, gloss :—

*yō dainhave hu. vaxšāi*  
*fraðamnahe varəðamnahe xraθamnahe suyamnahe*

Pahl. Comm. : *kē dēh pat huvaxš frāxvənēt ku vēš bē kunēh <vālēnēt>*  
*xratēnēt sūtēnēt ku-š sūt patiš kunēnd.*

To this *sav-* with transitive meaning 'to strengthen', the corresponding intransitive is attested as \**k̥yei-* 'to increase, be strong' in Skt., Gr., and Iranian :—

Skt. *śvay-*, Av. *spay-*, Oss. *räsuyin*, NBal. *śāy* 'to swell'.

Gr. *κυέω*

Adjectival derivative :—

Av. *sūra-*, *savišta-*

Skt. *śūra-*, *śaviṣṭha-*

Gr. *ἀκupos*, *κύπος*

In Mid. Iran. *sav-* is chiefly found in the participial *sūt* : Pahl. *sūt*, *sūtēnūtān*, *sūtōmand*, *sūtēnūtār* are frequent. NPers. *sūd* is 'profit, advantage'.

Pahl. *sūt-aβkārīh* 'affording *sūt*' : *Dd.*, K 35, fol. 199, verso 6 : *ut sūt-aβkārīh apar givāk av rōtastākān baxšēt* is used of the wind which brings rain to promote the welfare of the world. So also *Dd Purs.*, 30, 11, *sūt-aβkār*, and *GrBd.*, 5, 9, *sūt-aβkārīhā*. *DkM.*, 751, 4-5, *sūt ut nīrmat*.<sup>1</sup>

The gloss to *saokavantom*, *Yašt*, 7, 5, reads in *GrBd.*, 165, 10 :—

*sūtōmand ku bar <ut> āp <av> urvar dahēt.*

Similarly *GrBd.*, 66, 12 fol. :—

*hamāk kōf hač zamūk apar āmat hand kē frahaxtišn ut sūt i*  
*martōmān hačiš.*

*Dd.*, K 35, 199, verso 7-11, uses this same phrase in describing the effect of rain :—

*patiš navak āp-ič navak tacišn ut navak \*bēšazēnišnīh av urvarān*  
*ut navak vaxšišn ut navak zargōnīh av zamūkān ut yōšdāsrīh av*

<sup>1</sup> In *nīrmat* we should perhaps recognize *nī-rmat*, a derivative from *ar-* with reduced grade \**r-mati-*. Arm. *armat* 'root' may be explained as \**ā-rmati-* (Nyberg, *MO.*, 23, 369, proposed \**aš(a)mat*). Avestan *ārmaiti-* needs further consideration.

*gōspandān ut navak zāyīšn ut navak avap damīh[ā] av apārīk  
dāmān ut navak bām ut navak hugōnīh dahēt patēxvīh i gēhān sūt  
ut frahaxtišn i vēh dahišn aβzāyēnēt.*

Here the same idea is elaborated which is intended by the *frādaṭ.gaēθa-* and *savō.gaēθa-* of the Avesta. The translation of Pahl. *sūt* by 'advantage' is inadequate. It is rather a 'strengthening and promoting of welfare'.

The verbal form occurs in Pahl. in *DkM.*, 674, 13 fol., in explaining the word *sūtōmand* (here rendering the Av. *saošyant-*):—

*sūtōmand pērōžgar nām tan-kartār-ič nām*

*ēlōn sūtōmand čēgōn harvisp av i astōmand savēnēt* 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

It is found also in *DkM.*, 606, 5 fol. :—

*aḍak frāč raft porušāsp pat mēnōk-kāmakīh čēgōn mēnōkān*

*apāyast mēnōk savišnīh* 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *kū mēnōkān ham-ē sūt.*

Pahl. Psalt. *svtyklyhy*.

In the recently published Pahlavi Psalter the word *svtyklyhy* \**sūtēkarīh* occurs three times to translate Syriac *kršp'* and *tkšpt'* 'prayer'. It was possible accordingly to decide the correct form of the name of the 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 Nask as *Sūt-kar*, since this Nask begins with a treatment of the Ahunavar, that is, precisely as was seen above, one of the *nīrang*s in the passage *DkM.*, 784, quoted above. It is therefore possible to see in *sūt-kar*, *sūtē-karīh* the word *sūt* with the same meaning as *aβsōn* and *nīrang* from the verb *sav-* 'to strengthen by supernatural power'. Its adaptation to the Christian sense of 'prayer' is natural: the 'potent formula' passing over to prayer.<sup>1</sup>

It may then be considered that we have :—

(1) *aβsōn*, *aβsūt*, *aβsūtāk*

(2) *sūt-kar*

from the same *sav-* and with the same meaning.

Barr, in the Glossary to the *Pahlavi Psalter*, p. 54, suggested a possible connection of *svtyklyhy* with Av. *sruti-*, that is, *sr-* becoming *s-*, but the supposed parallel in Pahl. *aβsōs* is to be otherwise explained, as *-sōs* from *-sauk-š-*,<sup>2</sup> an inchoative form of *sauk-*. It is clear that a derivation from *sav-* in the sense suggested is more satisfactory.

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that a similar transition appears to have taken place also in the Syriac: *tkšp* is used of 'sorcery' in Hebrew and Akkadian.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly NPers. *dōs-* 'adhere' beside *dōš-* 'tincture of lac', Arm. *doč* 'lac'.

4. \**ǩyen-*.

A meaning 'strengthen by supernatural power' seems to be attested outside Iranian in Balto-Slavonic for another derivative of \**ǩey-*, namely with the enlargement *-en-* in \**ǩyen-*.

Lettish *svēls* has preserved certain interesting uses. I am indebted for the following information to Mr. N. B. Jopson.

(1) G. F. Stender, *Lettische Grammatik*, Milan, 1783.

- p. 233. *šwehti lahsti*, heilige Flüche, heissen bey den Bauren, wenn jemand auf der Kanzel, auf Begehren eines andern (vermutlich nicht umsonst) bräuf verflucht wird.
- p. 270. *šwehtas meitas*, unterirdische heilige Mädgens, unter welchen die Semmes mahte oder Erdgöttin ihr Reich hatte. Diese Mädchen sollen für ihre Verehrer, des Nachts alles arbeiten, dass, wenn sie aufstehen, alles fertig finden.
- p. 270. *šwehti wahrđi*, heilige Worte. So nannte die abergläubische Letten, die gemurmelten Worte der vermeinten Wehsager und Segensprecher.

(2) G. F. Stender, *Lettisches Lexicon*, Milan, 1789, *Zweiter Theil*, p. 307.

*šwehts*, heilig, selig. it. theuer und hoch, it. das Besondere so gar im Bösen.

*šwehti wahrđi*, Gottes Wort, *abusive* das abergläubische Besprechen, it. wenn ein Prediger auf der Kanzel brav flucht, welches ehemals Mode war.

*šwehts putns*, Storch.

*šwehts nasis*, ein Messer, dessen Schnitt sehr schmerzet.

*šwehts kohdums*, unheilbarer Biss.

*šauliti šwehtiht*, Sonnenuntergang feyren und alsdann die Arbeit aus der Hand legen, ist ein lettischer Aberglaube.

It was, of course, employed by Christians in the sense of 'holy'. In the examples here quoted we seem to have a use of the word independent of Christianity<sup>1</sup> and therefore important. This is confirmed by the Serbo-Croatian:—

*svētiti* (1) 'to avenge'; *sin svēti oca* 'the son avenges the father'.

(2) 'to consecrate'; *svēštenik svēti vodu* 'the priest consecrates the water'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Čech *modla* 'idol, temple' beside Pol. *modla* 'prayer', as treated by Benveniste, *BSL.*, 33, 133.



*ōsvēta* 'revenge'.

*osvētiti* 'to avenge'.

Both Lettish and Serbo-Croatian words represent an Indo-Eur. \**k̑yen-to-*. In Christian use \**k̑yen-to-* is found regularly in these and the other Balto-Slav. languages:—

Lettish *svēts*.

Lith. *šventas*.

Old Slav. *svetŭ*.

Russ. *sv'at-oi*.

Serb. *svēt, svēta, svēto*.

Pol. *święty*.

Old Pruss. *swints*.

The examples in Lettish and Serbo-Croatian suggest an original meaning 'to strengthen by supernatural power' as for the Iranian *sav-*, *abi-sav-*. This is particularly clear in the Lettish use of *svēts* in reference to 'words' and 'knife': *svēts* implies the presence of magical power in both.<sup>1</sup> A transition to express the sense of 'holy', as in the case of 'holy water' in Christian use, was evident. The word could then be given meanings which early Lettish beliefs did not compass. It is possible that further search would discover other examples in the Baltic texts.

This Balto-Slav. word is identical in form with the Iranian \**spanta-*, \**santa-*.

#### 5. Iranian \**spanta-*, \**santa-*, \**šanta-*.

In dealing with the vexed problem of Iranian \**spanta-*, to which the inquiry has now led, it is necessary to keep in view four points. These are (1) the Avestan contexts, (2) the etymology, (3) the Balto-Slav. cognates in their oldest ascertainable meanings, (4) the traditional Pahlavi translation. A view which allows full value to each of these four factors receives thereby a strong cumulative confirmation. It is hoped to show that each of the four aspects are in accord. The result is likely therefore to be trustworthy.

The central importance of *spanta-* in Zoroastrian studies is self-evident and explains the rich literature which has been devoted to the problem of its meaning.

<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that this would also explain the Germanic Goth. *huns*; Old Engl. *hūsel* 'sacrament', which has been supposed to represent \**k̑yntslom*. From 'an offering of magic power' to 'sacrament' would be but another example of the adaptation of pre-Christian words to Christian uses.

From the time of Anquetil du Perron attempts have been made to translate *spanta*-. The following may be noted:—

(1) In the *AIW*, Bartholomae has an elaborate note in which he seeks on the evidence of Lithuanian *šventas*, by him understood as 'heilig', to prove that the meaning of Av. *spanta*- is 'heilig' and nothing else. Similarly Spiegel and Geldner translated.

(2) Jackson (*GIP.*, ii, 635) wrote 'aw. *spanta* "vorteil, gewinn-, heilbringend", von der Wurzel *span* (*su*) "nützen, forthelfen, vermehren"; hence he translated 'wohlthätig'.

(3) B. Geiger (*SWAW*, 1916) attempted a new explanation by comparing Skt. *pan*- 'to praise'. This is phonetically inadmissible.

(4) Junker (*Ung. Jahrb.*, v, 1925, 411 fol.) proposed to connect *spanta*- with the group of words to which *spaita*- 'white' belongs, with the meaning of 'shining', thinking of the light in which Ahura Mazda dwells. This view is also held by Hertel, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Awestas und des Vedas*, p. 108 fol. It is in conflict with the Balto-Slav. cognates and the Pahl. tradition.

(5) Johansson connected *spanta*- with Gothic *swinþs* 'λεχυρός'; see Charpentier, *Brahman*, 46, note 5. This is phonetically inadmissible.

(6) Lommel by a consideration of the contexts (*ZII.*, 7, 44 fol.) came to the conclusion that *spanta*- could everywhere be rendered 'klug'. This can, however, in two cases be done only by straining the meaning severely, namely in *gaospania* and *maθra spanta*.

As can be seen, none of these explanations satisfy all the four points upon which it is necessary to insist.

A new explanation is accordingly here offered, which if it proves acceptable must affect the view of Zoroastrian origins to an important extent.

It has so far been seen that Mid. Iran. Zoroastrian texts contain a theory of 'supernatural power' manifested in the cosmos as well as in the acts of daily life, as in the case of the physician healing by *aβsōn* and the use of 'spells' by Aži Dahāka.

The agreement of Balto-Slav. theory as expressed by representatives of *\*kyen-to*- may justify the assumption that *\*key-* had been early specialized in this direction in these two Indo-Eur. dialects. If this was the case—the idea of 'effective power' expressed by *\*key-* and its cognates—it would not be surprising to find traces of such a meaning in the Avestan *spanta*-.

The word is attested in Iranian as follows :—

Av. *spənta-*, comp. *spanyah-*, superl. *spəništa-*, *spəntō.təma-*, abstract *spənah-*, adj. *spanahvant-*.

Gr. σπενδαδάτης.

Cappadocian Calendar σονδαπα.

Arm. *spandaramet*, -i Διόνυσος.

*spandarametakan* 'Dionysiac'.

*sandaramet-k'* γῆ κάρω, ἄδυτον.

*sandarametakan* καραχθόνιος.

*sandarametayin* χθόνιος.

*sandarametapet* Δημήτηρ.

Saka *śāndū* (see below).

Sogd. Letters 'sp'nδ't nom. pr.

Man. *spnd'rmt*, *mrl'spnd* (see Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Man. Dogmatik*, 91).

Pahl. *spand*, *gōspand*, *māraspand*, *amāhraspand*.  
*spēnāk*.

NPers. *gōspand*, *gōsfand*.

Probably the name of the rue plant is to be connected :—

Pahl. *spandān*.

NPers. *sipand*, *isfand* 'rue', *sipandān* 'seed of wild rue'.

Arm. *spand*.

Afgh. *spānda* 'wild rue'.

It is a plant of apotropæic character. Cf. *urvar pat nīrangīk apāc dāštārih i vas pitiyārak*, *DkM.*, 784, quoted above.

These various forms assure the etymology. The alternation of *sp-*, *s-*, *śś-* is of the same type as that of Median σπάκα, Av. *spā*, *sūnō*, Pahl. *sak*, NPers. *sag*, Waxī *šač*, and Av. *aspa-*, OPers. *asa-*, Saka *aśsa-*, Waxī *yaš*. Hence we have here an Indo-Iranian \**śyanta-*, Indo-Eur. \**k̑yen-io-*. We have recognized the identical form in Balto-Slav. The formation is an adjectival derivative with suffix *-to-* from a subst. \**k̑yen-*, cf. Brugmann, *Vergl. Gram.*, ii, 403, who quotes the type in Gr. θαυμαστός, Skt. *sūrta-*, and especially Italic examples, as Latin *fastus*. Av. *spənta-* is therefore the equivalent of *spanahvant-* 'possessing *spanah-*'.

It has been shown that the meaning of the Balto-Slav. word, as attested in particular by Lettis *svēts* and Serbo-Croatian *ōsveta*, expressed the idea of 'supernatural power'. This is precisely the meaning which fits the Avestan words. Here we find :—

*māθra spənta.*  
*gao spənta, Vid., 21, 1. (Pahl. Comm. gāv i aβzōnīk.)*  
*spəntā ārmaitiš.*  
*spəntō mainyuš.*  
*nā spəntō, Yasna, 51, 21. spəntəm narəm, Visprat, 19, 1.*  
*spəntā daēnā, Y., 45, 11.*  
*ašəm . . . spəntəm aməšəm. Y., 37, 4.*  
*fravašīš . . . spəntā . . . spəništā . . . sūnā . . . səvištā, Yašt, 13, 75.*  
*āθrō urvāžištahe spəntahe.*  
*gāθābyō spəntābyō, Y., 55, 1.*  
*haoma sūra spənta, Visprat, 9, 3.*  
*aurvantō . . . spənta vīdēdnhō, Y., 57, 27.*  
*spənta fradaxšta mərəya.*  
*spəntō dāta-.*  
*spəntō xratu-, Yašt, 13, 115, nom. pr. Cf. Dd., 36, 11,*  
*aβzōnīk xrat.*  
*spəntō frasən-, Vid., 22, 19.*

So the abstract, associated with 'knowledge', is found in:—

*spananha vaēdyā.paiti, Y., 9, 27, addressing Haoma.*  
*Y., 9, 22, spānō mastīmā.*  
*Yašt, 10, 33, mastīm spānō vaēdīm.*  
*Vid., 18, 7, uraθa anhd spunyā yezī mēm paiti.pərəsānhe.*

The possession of *spanah-*, which according to the explanation here proposed means 'supernatural power', is attained by the knowledge of what was called *nīrang* and *aβsōn* in Mid. Iran. Cf. the Pahl. rendering of Av. *mat.paiti.frasa-* by *apāk apāč pursišnīh i nīrang*.

Just so in the Šāhnāma *afsūn* is associated with wisdom: Vullers, 73, 214:—

*baδ-ān īzādī farr u farzānagī    ba-afsūn i šāhān u mardānagī*

Vullers, 71, 178, speaking of the physicians:—

*pur az dāniš u pur fusūn āmaḍand*

The *nā spəntō* of the Gāthās is the man who has this power. The *spəntō mainyuš* is the being of the invisible world who manifests this same power, and the *spənta-māθra-* is exactly the *nīrang*. It is possible also to understand the cow as *spənta-*, and the earth called *spəntā*. It is a meaning made necessary by a comparison with Lettish.

The activity of the being who has *spanah-*, the *spənta-* man, is

expressed by the cognate verb *spanu-* in the Gathic passage, *Yasna*, 51, 21 :—

*ārmatōiš nā spantō hvō ēistī uxδāiš šyaobanā*  
*daēnā ašəm spānvat*

This is probably also the meaning of *spanvanti* in *Hadōxt Nask*, 1, 4.

It has therefore been shown that the three first points—(1) Avestan context, (2) etymology, (3) the meaning of the Balto-Slav. cognates—confirm each other and together assure a meaning of ‘supernatural power’. There remains the fourth point: the Pabl. Commentators rendered *spanta-* and the related words, not by a cognate word, but by *aβzōnik*. It is now necessary to show that this is equally in accord with the above result and in turn confirmatory of it.

#### 6. *aβzōnik*.

In the Pahlavi Commentators’ rendering of Av. *spanta-* and its cognates we have another example of an interesting practice. This is to avoid an identical or etymologically related word in translating Avestan. Turfan Mid. Iran. shows that the phrase *yasn ud vahm* was familiar, yet Av. *vahma-* is not rendered by *vahm* in Pabl. In the *Frahangi Oīm*, 10, Av. *pusam* ‘crown’ is rendered by *aparsar* اڤارسار, although Turfan Mid. Iran. has *pusg* \**pusay* (M., 7, 9, North.) and Arm. has *psak*. Similarly Av. *ēiθra-* is usually rendered by *paidāk*, though *ēihr* and *ēihrak* are also found. It is therefore not necessary to suppose that the commentators used *aβzōnik* to render *spanta-* owing to a mistaken association of the words.

It is important to define, if possible, the meaning which was intended by the translators in using *aβzōnik*. Happily the word and its cognates are well attested.

The oldest examples of the verb are in two Old Pers. inscriptions. The first published by Herzfeld with facsimile in ‘A new Inscription of Xerxes from Persepolis’ (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1932), and again in *AMI.*, 4, 117 fol., and also by Benveniste, *BSL.*, 33, 144 fol. :—

39-40 *uta aniya krtam abiḡavayam*

The second inscription, also of Xerxes, was published in the *Illustrated London News*, 8th April, 1933, p. 488 :—

9-10 *adam abiḡavayam abiy ara krtam*

The meaning is clearly ‘to add’.

We have the word also in Turfan Mid. Iran. (S) 'bzv- and 'bz'y-, see Henning, *Manichaica* ii, and in Budh. Sogd. 'βz'w-, 'βz'w'y.

In Pahl. the word is common. It is here a matter of the meaning. Two aspects are represented.

(1) *aβzūtān*, *aβzāyēnūtān* 'to increase in number'.

In *Yasna*, 62, 4, *spānah-* is glossed by *aβzōnīkīh ku tāk čiš-ē vas čiš dānom* <*aβzūtān*>

In *Yast*, 1, 8, *spanahvant-* is glossed by *aβzāyēnūtār ku hač andak čiš vas čiš bē aβzāyēnēm*.

*GrBd.*, 222, 3-4, *ka-m yortāk dāt ku andar zamāk bē parkanēnd ut apāč rōdēnd pat aβzōn apāč bavēt*.

*GrBd.*, 54, 4, *kast ut aβzōn kunēnd* 'they shorten and increase'. So in NPers. *afzūn* 'more'.

*Šāhnāma* (Vullers, 429, 72) :—

*birūn raft bā ō zi laškar suwār  
zi mardān i jaŋgī fuzūn az hazūr.*

(2) *aβzūt* is further defined by its opposite, *vizūt vizūtān* 'to lessen, to do harm' (cf. Bthl., *SR.*, 3, 53 fol.). *Dd Purs.*, 27, 2, *api-š dart ut vizāyišn apar vīlart ēstēt nāzūktar*. *ŠGV.*, 4, 63, *vazūdān*, Skt. *vidhvaṃsītum*. *ŠGV.*, 8, 73, *ež vazūdārī*, Skt. *virodhatvāt*. Cf. *Šāhnāma* (Vullers, 368, 844), *fazāyanda būd az gazāyanda būd*.

Hence *aβzūtān* will mean 'to increase, strengthen'. So *aβzāyišn* explains *fšavišn* (gloss to Av. *fšaomībya*, *Sirōč.*, 1, 7), which means the well-being of the herd, including an increase in numbers. The Skt. version uses *sphūtoyitum* 'to make prosper' for *fšavēnišn*.

*DkM.*, 729. *aβzāyēnākēnūtān* <*i*> *ān i ahrav pat dānākīh ut kākēnūtān i ān i drwand pat dušākāsīh* <*i*> *gēhān*. Similarly the use of *aβzūd* on Sasanian coins means 'well-being, good fortune', something more than a bare increase in numbers.

The same view is attested by *GrBd.*, 48, 12, in the list of opposites: *ganākīh hast zatārīh av aβzōnīkīh*. Here *aβzōnīkīh* might be translated 'making prosper' in contrast to *zatārīh* 'destructiveness'.

It is also interesting that for *frāidim*, *Yasna*, 53, 6, the NPers. gloss has *afzūnī-dahišnī*, the Skt. *vṛddhidāyīh*.

We are here in the presence of the same conception as that expressed by the *sūt ut frahaxtišn i gēhān*, and the Av. *savō.gāθa-*.

Since *sav-* and *spenta-* are restricted in the Avesta to beneficent activities, resulting in prosperity among living beings, the rendering of *spenta-* by *aβzōnīk* looks to the result of the activity of the being who

is *spənta-*, who possesses the supernatural power, the *nīrang*, needed to promote the well-being of the world, which is the *aβzūt* of living creatures. It is therefore evident that *aβzōnīk* is not 'bountiful', nor is it simply 'increaser' as the glosses quoted above (*Yasna*, 62, 4; *Yašt*, 1, 8) might at first suggest: *aβzōnīk* is 'he whose activity results in *aβzūt*', the *sūt ut frahaxtišn i gēhān*.

It will now be evident that the cosmic view of the *nīrang* in the *Dēnkart*, as translated above, may justly be considered a doctrine of the *Vēh-dēn*, and represent speculation based on the Avestan idea of the *spənta-* and the *maθra-*.

As shown by the agreement of Balto-Slavonic and Middle Iranian, *spənta-* was probably at one time used both of bad and of good supernatural power. It is specialized in the Zoroastrian tradition in a good sense, as happened, for example, also in the case of *ahura-*.

#### 7. Saka *śśandā*.

In Avestan *spəntā ārmaitiš* is often the 'earth', whatever be the explanation of *ārmaiti-*.

When it is remembered that in Saka *purra* (fem.) is used for 'moon', that is, the epithet, as in Av. *porəno.māh-* and in Pahl. *pur māh* 'full moon', without the word 'moon', and also that *urmaysdā* is 'sun', it is probable that *śśandā*, *śandā* 'earth' is to be explained similarly as an adj. without the noun.

In Saka, as in the modern dialect Waxī, Indo-Iran. *śy* is represented by *ś*, where Av., Sogd., and the North-West. dialects have *sp*, and Old Pers. has *s*.

Saka *śśīya-* 'white'

*biśśu-* 'all'

*aśśa-* 'horse'

Waxī *śac* 'dog'

*yaś* 'horse'

*yiśʷn* 'iron'

*śiś* 'louse'

Hence Saka *śśanda-* is the expected form corresponding to Av. *spənta-*. In Saka we find *ysamaśśandā* 'ground, soil, earth' (*-ā* < *-akā*), *ysamaśśandaa-* 'the world', *śśandā* 'earth'.

We seem to have here an old phrase *\*zam- \*śyantā*, which has been replaced by *spəntā ārmaitiš* in the Zoroastrian tradition. If Av. *ārmaitiš* is brought into connection with Arm. *armat* 'root', the meaning could be 'basis', which would suit well to replace a word meaning 'earth'.





is probably to be recognized in the Turfan texts. In *M* 99d 21, 22, occurs 'hryvr \*ahrēvar. Various attempts have been made to interpret this word. F. W. K. Müller gave '\*Wall (?)'; Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Stell. Iesu*, p. 114, 'hryvr 'Umwallung' (T. ii, D. 178, iv verso, 3b); Jackson, *Researches*, p. 66, thought of Av. āθri- and vara-. It receives a better explanation if it is connected with this Av. anra- var-.

### III. Pahl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 vīvar 'grieved'

In the description of Spandārmāt, *GrBd.*, 173, 3 fol., we have in line 7:—

api-š vēhīh ēn ku vīvar ut gīlak ōpār

TD 2, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

P(aris MS.) 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

'Her being good is for this reason: she is grieved and filled with weeping.'

The lamentations of Spandārmāt are known elsewhere, as in this same passage following and Zāmāsp Nāmak, 74 (*BSOS.*, vi, 582). To ōpār 'filled with', cf. NPers. ōbāštan 'to fill', and for the form and meaning cf. the use of the frequent NPers. -āgīn, from \*ākēn, 'filled with': ōpār is then a verbal noun 'a filling'. NPers. ōbār 'lamentation' does not seem of use here.

*DkM.*, 579, 20<sup>1</sup>: guft ēstēl kū gīlān-ōpār ut vīvar pat krpak kartan tušāk bavišn

'It is said that the person full of weeping and grieved must be active in doing good works.'

gīlān-ōpār with -ān as kārān-dōst (*Husrav*, 10) and āpān-dān 'water-pot' (*GrBd.*, 62, 11). Pahl. Psalt. v'ēnčyngy.

*DkM.*, 921, 6-7: ēt-ič rāš ēē vīvar 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 fražām admēt bavēt  
ut frārōn admēt fraškart nīmūlār-ič bavēt

Here fražām-admēt 'having hope of the end'.

*Dd.*, 36, 27: vīvarīh baxt i andar kōzšīšn

'he allotted the distress which exists in the conflict.'

Here vīvarīh 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥.

The reading of vīvar is so determined. The form vīvarīh proves that 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 is adj. (which also suits the contexts). Hence . . . var.

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, quoted *MO.*, 15, 194, note 6, seems wrongly to have read *nygt*.

The initial letters  $\text{𐭥𐭭}$  allow various readings, but the meaning already determined by the context points to the participle of  $vā(y)$ - 'to excite', therefore  $*vīta$ - 'excited', in a bad sense 'distressed'. The Pahl. will accordingly have  $vīt$ . In Sanskrit also the verb developed similar meanings:  $vī$ - ( $vāti$ ,  $vātd$ -) 'to excite',  $āvī$ -,  $āvi$ - 'pain'.

A parallel development is illustrated by the verb *fram*-. NPers. *faram* is 'grief', but Turfan Mid. Iran. *pramēn* (also with initial *f*-) is 'joyous' (Henning, loc. cit. ii). So to read also in M. 97, d 23,  $\text{𐭥𐭭} \text{𐭥𐭭}$  *fram* <*ēn*>. Both meanings find their explanation in a verb *fram*- 'to be agitated'<sup>1</sup>. In Pahl., *GrBd.*, 128, 2, 11, we find the fire

$\text{ātazš}$  𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭 (P. 𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭), that is, *fram-kar*. Here there are three possible translations: (1) 'causing agitation', (2) 'causing joy', (3) 'causing grief', as Markwart rendered it in *Šahrīhā i Erān*, p. 56. The most probable meaning is that the fire itself is ' (always) excited '.

Pahl.  $vītar$  is then  $*vīta$ -*bara*- 'bearing grief':  $*vīta$ - n. This same  $*vīta$ - is attested with adjectival function in Turfan Mid. Iran. in a word which has been already several times discussed.<sup>2</sup>

S. 9, a 21-3

<i>kird uš nasāh uδ zīndān</i>	‘Āz created the physical body
<i>uδ bast gyān vdr'y</i>	and prison, and bound the
	grieved soul.’

S. 9, c 18-19

*vdr'y uδ nāf ī xwāštī*

It should almost certainly be read  $vīδ$ -*rāy* 'he whose *rāy* ("soul")<sup>3</sup> is  $vīδ$ ', that is,  $*vīta$ - 'grieved'.

The same word, defectively written, is attested also in M. 4, b 15-17:

*až āvaržūy vadisgūr*  
*uδ až ādur taβay rvarēnday*  
*burz bramīδ gyān vdr'y*

Read  $vīδ$ -*rāy*.

This interpretation requires that its opposite *xwāš*-*rāy* (quoted by

<sup>1</sup> Rather than *fra-man*.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. K. Müller and Schaeder connected it with the verb *višardan*; Salemann left it untranslated; Jackson, *Researches*, p. 96 (where see references), 'mute (?)'. Andreas, followed by Henning (*NGGIV.*, 1932, 219, note 7, where other references), suggested *vi-ita* + *rāy*. Hence Henning's rendering 'der die Erkenntnis verloren gegangen' and 'unvernünftig'.

<sup>3</sup> It would be interesting to compare the identification of *xvarr* and *xwān* in *GrBd.*, 101, 13.

Henning, loc. cit.) should be rendered 'happy', rather than 'wohlgedenkend' in M. 97, d 17.

The parallel phrases in S.—

*vīd-rāy ud nāf ī xvāštī*

and *sōyvar ud nāf ī xvāštī*

may also help to confirm the explanation here proposed.

A further comparison is suggested. NPers. *bīdār* 'awake, wakeful', a frequent epithet of heroes in the *Šāhnāma*, could be *\*vītāvar* 'excited'.



## A Letter from James I to the Sultan Aḥmad

By E. DENISON ROSS

(PLATES II AND III)

THE main object of this article is to explain the circumstances which induced James I to write to Sultan Aḥmad the letter which is here reproduced.<sup>1</sup> These circumstances cannot fail to be of interest to students of Oriental history, constituting as they do a kind of footnote to the relations existing between England and Turkey at the beginning of the seventeenth century. I cannot here recount in detail the many adventures of Sir Thomas Sherley, for they would occupy far too much space in the *Bulletin*; but I shall confine myself to an outline of the events which culminated in his falling into the hands of the Turks, who held him prisoner for a period of nearly three years (January, 1602, to December, 1605), and the correspondence that passed between Constantinople and London regarding his captivity.

The three sons of Sir Thomas Sherley the elder of Wiston, Sussex, were all destined to spend some time in Muslim countries. The eldest, Thomas, had by comparison the least adventurous life, for his two brothers, Anthony and Robert, had such amazing careers that, even in the Elizabethan age of adventure, they must be regarded as extraordinary. In 1598, Anthony and Robert, accompanied by twenty-four others, made the journey from Venice to Ispahān, via Aleppo, Baghdad, and Qazvīn, without either credentials or any definite object in view. So favourably did Anthony Sherley impress the Shāh that at the beginning of 1600 he was sent on an embassy to the Christian princes of Europe. Robert, who was left behind as a hostage for his brother, after serving Shāh 'Abbās I in court and in camp for nine years, was in his turn sent on a similar mission. Anthony's connection with Persia ended with his arrival in Rome in May, 1601. Robert, on the other hand, remained to the end of his days in the service of Shāh 'Abbās, only to die of a broken heart as a result of the ingratitude shown him by the Shāh on his return to Persia with Sir Dodmore

<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter some years ago came into the hands of Messrs. Maggs Bros., and recently my friend Mr. Sigismund Goetze, knowing of my interest in the Sherley brothers, very kindly made me a present of it, and it is now exhibited in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies.

Cotton's mission in 1628. Anthony, after serving the Emperor Rudolph II, entered the service of the King of Spain, in which country he died as a pensioner in 1636.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Sherley the younger was born in 1564, but there is no record either of the exact date or the place of his birth. He spent his youth at Wiston, and in 1579 was sent, together with his brother Anthony, to Hart Hall, Oxford, and left without taking his degree. In 1583 he was appointed to the royal household, and we next find him fighting in the Low Countries. In 1591 he secretly married Frances Vavasour, and as a result was disgraced at court and imprisoned in the Marshalsea Gaol for several months. In 1593 he was again fighting in the Low Countries as a captain in command of 300 men under Lord Willoughby. He was knighted in recognition of his distinguished military services in the Low Countries either in 1589 or 1593. At this time he became involved in his father's debts, on account of which Sir Thomas the elder was serving a term of imprisonment in gaol. It was no doubt the family debts which drove all three brothers abroad. In 1598, the year in which Anthony and Robert went to Persia, Thomas resolved to try his own fortunes at sea, and set sail for Portugal on a voyage of adventure. He returned from this expedition in June, 1602, having achieved nothing beyond the destruction of two Portuguese villages, and the capture of four hulks. In the same year, spurred on by the fame achieved by his two brothers, and also by the ridicule and scorn showered upon him as a result of his unfruitful voyage, he equipped three well-built ships, manned with 500 soldiers, and set sail with the object of attacking the infidel Turks. Fuller, in his *English Worthies*, says: "he was ashamed to see his two younger brothers worn like flowers in the breasts and bosoms of foreign princes, whilst he himself withered on the stalk he grew on." The only sources for his exploits are his own letters written from Turkey after he was taken captive; those of Her Majesty's Ambassador in Constantinople, Mr. Henry Lello; and *The Three English Brothers*, by Anthony Nixon, published in 1607.<sup>2</sup>

According to Nixon, Thomas was driven on to the coast of Italy, and proceeded to Florence, where he was received with great honour by the Duke of Tuscany. It is not known at which port he landed,

<sup>1</sup> For his life I would refer to my *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, "Broadway Travellers Series," Routledge, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> The only copy known to me of this little Black Letter book is the one in the British Museum, catalogued under G. 6672.

but he finally set sail from Leghorn, apparently with only two ships, having lost one ship as the result of an engagement with a large vessel in the course of which he lost one hundred men, and "the spoil being by no means equal to so great a loss, the soldiers became mutinous, and a part of them deserted with one of the ships". At Leghorn Thomas replenished his crews with thirty Greeks and Italians, and also took on an Englishman named Peacock as pilot, who had with him a dozen English mariners. It is evident that Thomas sailed under the banner of the Duke of Tuscany. His misfortunes had, however, only just begun, for, when off the coast of Sicily, Peacock "fled with another ship", leaving Thomas again with only one. When they eventually reached the Archipelago the vessel sprang a leak, and they were forced to put into the small island of Zea. What exactly took place on this island and led to his being taken prisoner by the Turks it is hard to discover. Thomas himself, writing apparently to Lord Burleigh from Negropoute on "the last of February, 1602"<sup>1</sup> gives the following account:—

"I am a man vnknowne vnto your Lordship, but a Ientleman, a knighte and housholde servant of the Queenes, my ffather is a man of good livinge, but somethinge caste behinde hande by harde fortune, I am his eldeste sonne, and since his disgrace I have traviled to gett my livinge by my sworde, and the labore of my handes in treadinge which course I thruste into the Straighes, with 2 shippes whiche are bollye my owne. I have done nothinge preiudiciall to any of hure Maesties frendes, but have only soughte to make my voyage upon the Spanyarde in which pretentes whilst I did labor my shippe sprange a greate Leake, soe I was forced to putt into Gio [Zea], where I remayned a holle weeke dewringe which time I nore anny of myne did take the worthe of a henne wi thought payinge for it, in thende of which vnfortunate weeke, ther felle oughte a brahile betwene some of the lle and some of my people, which cominge to my knowledge, I landed with intention to pasifie all matters, and soe I did, but it was my harde fortune to be lefte with 2 poir men more of myne at Gio, and there my shippe did verye enrtentiouslye leaue me where I remayned 5 weekes in highe extremyte of myserye and nowe I am in negroponte, somewhat better for the punishment of my bodie, but my libertie noe more then it was, and my mynde indeurethe the same Afficktions that it did at the firste but the Cade [Caid] dothe vse me honorably, knowinge me to be a Ientelman, but thinkethe that I cam in traffeike, and bounde firste to Marselles And Legorne, where as (he supposeth) I have allreadie vnladen, and that I have a remayner lefte for to vnlade at Gioe. Thus he hathe written vnto the Bashae, and that he findethe noe fanlte in me, nowe my sente vnto your Lordship, is that, youe woulde please to spende your brethe for me, deliver me and youe shall gett yourselfe

<sup>1</sup> S.P. Foreign, 'Turkey, 4, f. 160.

honor and thanks, and youe shall for ever bynde me vnto youe. I ame not soe poore but I maye deserve it, and your Lordship shall doe god good service to free a Christiane from bondage, and you shall deliver your Contrye from a greate skandalle in savinge and freeinge me. The Bashae would heare youe yf I weare an offender, much more beinge pronounced Innocente by his owne officers. Thus I humblye take my leve of your Lordship: at Negraponte the Laste of february 1602.

Yours ever to command,

THOMAS SHERLYE."

Mr. Lello, writing to Sir Robert Cecil from Constantinople on 26th February, 1602,<sup>1</sup> expresses his opinion that Thomas and his men must have "used no friendly and lawful means" of procuring victuals from the islanders of Zea. Nixon gives the most vivid description of the landing of Thomas and his men, of the capture of a town, of his withdrawal on the approach of a large body of the islanders, and of the flight of the soldiers and their desertion of their leader, who, holding his ground with only two others, was wounded and taken prisoner. Whatever may have been the circumstances, it is clearly established that Thomas was taken prisoner by these Greek Turkish subjects of the island, and there retained until his ship had departed a month later, when he was transferred to Negropont and was there confined with great rigour from 20th March until 25th July. Nixon tells us that in Negropont, though Thomas and his two fellow prisoners were carefully guarded, they were well treated; but "after the end of five days the governor of the island lent him a janissary to carry his letters to the English consul of Petrass, which was five days' journey from thence; howbeit he received no answer of his letters from the Consul; but upon the janissary's return, he was presently committed into a dark dungeon, and with a great galley chain bound fast with a slave that was before taken, which grieved him worst of all".

From Negropont Thomas was sent to Constantinople, a distance of 500 miles, "riding upon a pack saddle with a great galley chain about his legs and another about his waist and many times his legs bound under the horse's belly." The Turks had at the time no notion who their prisoner was, and had Thomas held his peace he might have been more speedily released. When, however, it was discovered—presumably through his letters—that he was the brother of Sir Anthony Sherley, who had been engaged in stirring up the Christian powers against the Sultan, the Turkish authorities no doubt felt that his

<sup>1</sup> S.P. Foreign, Turkey, 4, f. 209.

captivity was more desirable than his release. It was also well known that his brother Robert was serving their arch-enemy the Shāh of Persia, with whom hostilities had been renewed after a truce of thirteen years.<sup>1</sup>

Of Thomas's miserable condition in Constantinople Nixon gives a very detailed account which he may have received from Thomas himself. The facts agree substantially with what we may learn from the letters written during the period by Thomas, and the despatches of the English Ambassador, Mr. Lello. Both Thomas and Nixon make charges against Lello of negligence in dealing with the matter of Thomas's release, and the following letter from Thomas to his brother Anthony, dated 31st May. 1605,<sup>2</sup> contains many accusations against the Ambassador. This letter was shown by the friar (to whom Thomas refers as "myne assured freind") to Lello, who sent a copy of it to Cecil, with his own comments in the margin:—

<p>never any unless they be ill- manned.</p> <p>myselfe.</p> <p>meaning myself web in right he should have said his tread.</p> <p>That is most unkind I never omitted non. This Burton is a cloke maker, whome for a disordered fellow I sent out of my house</p>	<p>"My moste honorāble deare brother: I muste needes impute it to one of my worste fortunes that yow doe not receive my letters, for I doe assure yow that I never lett carrier passe without sending of dūble packetes unto yow. th' one by the Englishe Emhassador (<i>which is ever suppressed</i>) th' other by myne assured freind the fryer: And I feare that his confidence in the Frenche Embassador hathe bine the cause that they haue ever myscarred of late, for since his cominge to Constantinople I reposed a greate hope and confidence in him uppon yow: commendacōns and asurance. (But to use fewe wordes and leave all circumstances) I find noe kinde of comforte from him, but a right frencheman he hathe shewed himselfe in betrainge bothe yor secrets and myne. First he delivered your open letter to the man (<i>you may imagen</i>) and since tould him all the complaints and exclamacōns web the fryer used agaynste him in my behalf: Now (brother) I praie yow to judge what hope there is of my libertie when you espeece yt by the meanes of only 2 men, of whome th' one carette not for me, <i>th' other is myne enemy</i> as marke the sequell, and yow will plainlie perceave <i>firste hee never tooke hould of any opertunitie to ease me</i>, but bathe geven waye to all meanes to ruine me as Mr. Burton can tell yow. Nexte, he hathe ever wrytten in to England of stronge hopes for my libertie, when hee had none at all. Therby preventinge all further and newe meanes, yt should there be effected for me, and to increase</p>
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<sup>1</sup> In 1590 Shāh 'Abbās I had concluded a truce with Sultan Muḥammad with the object of being able to give his undivided attention to the suppression of the Uzbegs on his eastern frontier.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Foreign, Turkey 3, f. 17.



never had any  
but his blatt<sup>r</sup> &  
yo<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>r</sup>

(To) prove his  
allegacon for  
Mr Glover I wish  
yo<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>r</sup> would  
openyne him (If)  
he be an honest  
man ( ) will  
speake yt way;  
Int<sup>r</sup> I wense it be  
Sr Thomas Hunt<sup>r</sup>  
first I forl his  
leathers lres  
advised him to  
... stly upon  
non, but yo<sup>r</sup> French  
& And now an  
other.

his hatred to me my father hathe shewed my letters (wrytten againste him) to suche as have certified him of yt. You wryte to me that you have bound him, yf any thing can bind a man, my deerest Brother, w<sup>th</sup> greefe I speake yt he is not a man to be bound w<sup>th</sup> benefits, but to be forced w<sup>th</sup> sharpe threates and terrours, like a dull horse that must ever be spurred. When he receaveth a freshe letter from the kinge or any councler then he rampeth like a beare for two or three dayes, and then, as Sir Drue Drurie was wonte to saie, finger in mouthe and no more newes: these are my present hopes here, unlesse you, or some other of my frinds can helpe me to some better succor out of Christendom then any that Turkie dothe yet afforde. I am verie glad that you have spoken w<sup>th</sup> Mr Glover he is a true honest gent and (I am sure) hathe confirmed what I have formerlie wrytten. I praye you use Mr Burton w<sup>th</sup> that respecte that his love to me dothe deserve w<sup>th</sup> (you see) is exceeding greate. And so I comend [him ?] to you this laste of Maye 1605.

Yo<sup>r</sup> moste affectionat loving poore brother,  
To: SHERLIE."

Lello, in his covering letter <sup>1</sup> to Cecil (then Viscount Cranbourne), speaks of Thomas's "harsh and malicious dealinge" towards him, who has, he declares, been "the best friend hee had in his present state". He continues with an account of an occasion on which Thomas "sent to mee for a trifling matter, which not beinge founde for him at that present burst out into such a raging and rayling fury that it was wondered at by the barbarous turkes in prison with him as also his Galer and owne servante in prison attendinge upon him beinge in conscience moved with that his faulse calumnation, made known unto mee how that hee often used to rayle upon mee in that kinde, and at that present swore he would cause me to be hanged and I should answer the whole charge of all his troubles whether he came out or not as beinge cause thereof". The Ambassador then proceeds to outline the steps he has taken to effect Thomas's release and declares that the fact that Robert Sherley is at this time in the service of Shāh 'Abbās is the reason for Thomas's continued imprisonment. We are then given a curious sidelight on Thomas's character by Lello's account of how in prison "he will sometimes give out hee is allied to the kinge and would shew it in his expeuses were he not restrayned of money. Many times hee will banquet the prince of Georgians, and persians in prison with him, publickly makinge his brothers actions knowne".

<sup>1</sup> S.P. Foreign, Turkey 5, f. 18.

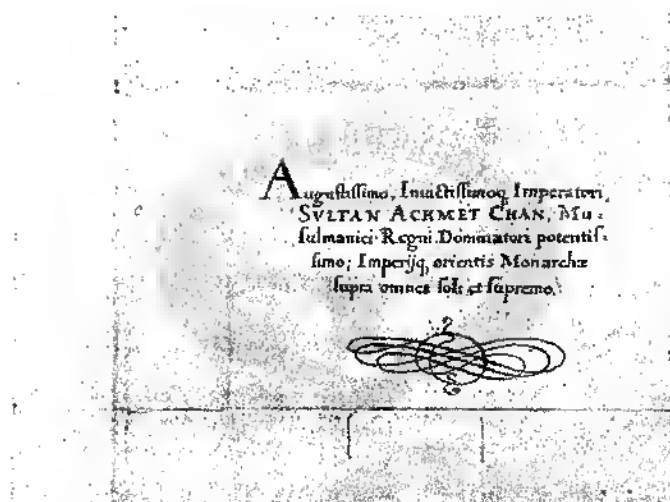
# JACOBVS DEI OPTIMI

MAXIMI MVNDI CONDITORIS ET RECTORIS

lynici, clementia, Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ

Reveræ fidei contra omnes Idololatrias falso CHRISTI nomen proficientes, Invisus et potentissimus Propugnator; Augustissimus, Invictissimog Imperatori SVLTAN ACHOMET, Musulmanici Regni Dominatori Potentissimo, Imperij, Orientis Monarchæ, supra omnes soli et supremo, Salutem, et multos cum summa rerum omnium affluentia lectos et felices annos. Augustissimæ et Invictissimæ Imperator. Nisi existimaremus, illam subditam nram THOMAM SHERLEIVM, (qui hactenus adhuc atq. amplius Constantinopoli in carcerem co- jectus, ibidem, etiam nunc detinetur) contra Ma. V<sup>m</sup> vel imperij vestri subditos non deliquisse, aut delicti non maximi (si quidem crimina illam admisisset); ab illo satis jam graues poenas esse perfolutas; post illas literas, quas superiori anno pro illo conscripsimus, hæc quaquam non deprecatione viximus. Sed illius nos misere- ret, infelicitis et calamitosi hominis; Nec minus parentem ipsius, quibus meliorem conditionem ac fortunam promerentibus, summas ex ista filij calamitate mæror ac- cessit; eog. major, quod illorum re familiaris adiaculis casibus grauitèr imminutus et propemodum labefactatus, nisi vestra benignitas succurrat illius redemptioni ac li- bertas plane desperanda sit. Itaq. præterquam quod subditus sanolter, ac propie- res, xili aliquo flagitio supplicium illud promeruit, nobis reddendus; illorum preci- bus permoti sumus, ut pro illo natus deprecemur; ac pro libertate illius impetranda tones Ma. V<sup>m</sup> per literas interpellemus. Quod quidem eo facilius a Ma. V<sup>m</sup> nos impetratimpe speramus, quod illud non solum misericordiz, et æquitati datum si- tis, Cæque duæ res imperij vestri potentiam maxime decernunt atq. illustrabunt; ve- rum etiam honori et gloriæ vestre, cum nos pro illo deprecatores habeamus, qui in non- nullas etiam gentes imperium et potestatem habemus ac referenda gratiæ occasio- nem et facultatem, non minus quam voluntatem, aliquando fortassis habuitur sumus. Quod reliquum est, Deum Opt. Max. Regum omnium Regem, ac Dominum pre- camur, vt Ma. V<sup>m</sup> salutem et incolumem quamdiutissime conseruet: Dat. e Palatio nostro de Wythall Londini, decimo quinto die mensis Iunii 1605.

Jacobus I.



ADDRESS OF LETTER FROM JAMES I TO THE SULTAN AHMAD.

In 1605 the Earl of Salisbury put Sir Thomas Sherley's case before King James, who wrote several letters to the Sultan—including the one here reproduced—demanding the release of his subject:

(Trans.):—"James, by the mercy of most gracious and almighty God, sole maker and ruler of the World, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; most powerful and invincible defender of the true faith against all idolators falsely professing the name of Christ, to the most august and invincible Emperor, Sultan Ahmad, the most potent ruler of the kingdom of the Musulmans, and Monarch of the Eastern Empire, sole and supreme over all, Greeting and many prosperous and happy years, with the greatest abundance of all things.

"Most august and invincible Emperor. If we did not consider our subject Thomas Sherley (who three years ago and more thrown into prison in Constantinople, is even now detained there) had committed no crime against Your Majesty, empire, or subjects, or not a very serious crime (if indeed he admits any crime); and that severe penalties have already been sufficiently suffered by him; after those letters which we wrote on his behalf last year, we should scarcely make a fresh entreaty. But we are sorry for this unfortunate and miserable man; nor less for his parents, to whom, deserving a better condition and fortune, a very great grief arises from the misfortunes of their son; and the more so, because their wealth, being seriously lessened and almost destroyed through adverse circumstances, unless your beneficence comes to their aid, his redemption and liberty will be entirely despaired of. Therefore, besides that he is our subject, and on that account ought to be given up to us, unless he deserved this punishment for some shameful crime; we are moved by their prayers, to entreat you again on his behalf; and by these letters solicit Your Majesty for his liberty to be effected." Etc.

These letters were eventually delivered to the Sultan by Lello after some delay owing to the former's absence at the wars against the Persians and, Lello having advised the Sultan and his ministers "to take good notice of his Majesties letters, which weare not for so small matter to be lightly regarded, the same being from a potent and greate Prince, able to requite yt" and further having distributed "some 1,100 dollers (which Sir Thomas hath promised his father shall repay) . . ." <sup>1</sup> among the pashas, Sir Thomas was released from prison on 6th December. Both he and his father wrote appreciative letters to Lord Salisbury in which they express their gratitude to Lello and do full justice to his efforts on Thomas's behalf, Thomas adding (in a letter dated 19th December, 1605) <sup>2</sup> that "thoughe hee dyd mutche for mee in Christian charitve: yett hee did force more for your lordshippes sake than eyther love or pitye of mee coulede

<sup>1</sup> S.P. Foreign, Turkey 5, f. 44. Lello to Salisbury, dated 19th December, 1605.

<sup>2</sup> S.P. Foreign, Turkey 5, f. 46.

have moved him unto ". There is also preserved in the Record Office an interesting letter from Thomas to James I thanking him for writing letters in his behalf, in which he took the opportunity of expressing his opinions on the state of affairs in Turkey at that time.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas, on his release from imprisonment, instead of hurrying away from the town in which he had suffered so much shame and indignity, elected to spend some time sight-seeing in Constantinople, and having done so proceeded homeward by easy stages through Italy and Germany. In August, 1606, we hear of him living in Naples "like a gallant". After his return home he wrote an account of all he had seen on his travels, and the original manuscript is preserved in the Library of Lambeth Palace.<sup>2</sup> This little journal contains many interesting descriptions of the places he visited, but unfortunately nothing of his own personal experiences.

With his later career we are not here concerned; suffice it to say that his troubles did not end with his release from prison, and in 1607 we hear that he was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower for interfering with the Levant trade, but was released after answering various questions regarding a supposed plot connected with the trade of Turkey. These queries and his replies to them are preserved in the Public Record Office,<sup>3</sup> the articles being as follows: "1, howe I entered firste into this plotte; 2, whoe persuaded mee to it; 3, with whom I have had conferens about it by letters or speeche; 4, howe farre I have proceeded in it; 5, to declare the full purpose, scope, and entente of the proiecte." Thomas seems to have spent the remainder of his life in continual poverty and distress which were aggravated by his father's debts, on account of which he appears to have been made prisoner in the King's Bench in 1611. We hear little of him after this beyond the fact that he represented the borough of Steyning in Parliament in 1615, and that in 1617 he contracted his second marriage with Jndith Taylor, a widow, by whom he had several children. In 1624 he seems to have retired to the Isle of Wight, where he shortly afterwards died.

<sup>1</sup> S.P. Foreign, Turkey 5, ff. 38, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Lambeth MS., 514.

<sup>3</sup> S.P. Foreign, Turkey 5, f. 251.

## The Letters of Al-Mustanşir bi'llāh

By ḤUSAIN F. AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ

### I

IN the archives of the Da'wat of the Yemen and India a collection of royal letters and decrees (*siḡillāt*) issued by the Fāṭimid Khalifa al-Mustanşir bi'llāh (denoted in the following pages by the letter M.) (died A.H. 487 = A.D. 1094) to the Ṣulaiḡids of the Yemen has been preserved, and a manuscript containing this collection of documents has now been acquired by the Library of the School of Oriental Studies, London. The MS. is a modern copy, which belonged to an Ismā'īlī priest in India. I have searched in vain for other copies, but it is quite likely that we might find others in the collections of the Ismā'īlīs in the Yemen and India. I give in the following pages a synopsis of the historical matter contained in these documents. Apart from their interesting literary style the letters furnish us with some useful historical data and contemporary evidence for the period covered by them, viz. the forty-four years from A.H. 445 = A.D. 1053 to A.H. 489 = A.D. 1095.

'Alī, son of Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulaiḡī (Ṣ), the founder of the Ṣulaiḡid Kingdom in the Yemen, who made his declaration of independence on the summit of Masār, Mount Ḥarāz, in A.H. 429 = A.D. 1037, owed allegiance to none except M. In this collection we have letters of M. written from A.H. 445, about the time when Ṣ. had consolidated his power in the Yemen. One of the greatest achievements of Ṣ. was his success in establishing peace in Mecca on behalf of M. (*vide* Nos. 3, 4, 7, and 12). With the discovery of these documents we are able to fix the date of the death of Ṣ. Nos. 40 and 60 leave us in no doubt that he was assassinated in A.H. 459 = A.D. 1067. This is further confirmed by 'Umārā,<sup>1</sup> Idrīs 'Imādu'd-dīn (*'Uyūn*, vii), al-Khazraǧi and Ibnu'l-Aṡḡir.

The kingdom which Ṣ. established would have fallen to the ground if his son Aḡmad al-Mukarram (Muk.) had not come to its rescue and restored it (*vide* Nos. 60 and 61). After a brief period of rule, Muk. retired to the heights of Dhu Jublā, the summer capital, and his wife,

<sup>1</sup> 'Umārā also gives another date, viz. A.H. 473, which is supported by al-Janādī and Ibn Khallikān. In my note on page 503 of *JROAS*, vol. xviii, part 4, October, 1931, I have used the latter date, depending upon 'Umārā and al-Janādī, but in the light of the contemporary evidence of the *Siḡillāt*, the date could not be other than A.H. 459.

Our Noble Lady, Sayyidatunna'l-Ḥurra (S.H.), took up the reins of administration of the State and the Da'wat. She ruled the country with the assistance of her premiers and the commanders-in-chief of her armies, though after the death of Muk, his young son 'Abdu'l-Mustanṣir (A.M.) was appointed as the nominal head of the State (*vide* No. 14). The Ismā'īlī movement aimed at extensive propaganda and organization of the Da'wat wherever it was possible. M. entrusted to S.H. the work of supervising the affairs of the Da'wat in India (*vide* Nos. 50 and 63). The Ṣulaiḥid Kingdom came to its end after the death of the great Queen of Arabia. Though the Ṣulaiḥid Empire was short-lived, it was full of exciting events. This collection throws some interesting sidelights on the history of the latter part of the long reign of M. and on that of his allies, the Ṣulaiḥids. Among these letters, Nos. 1, 5, 6, 8, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, 43, 57, 64, and 66, give to the Ṣulaiḥids information about the events which happened in Egypt and at the Fāṭimid Court. Nos. 1, 13, 18, 19, 30, 31, 64 convey felicitations on the 'Īd and describe the festivities on these happy occasions in Cairo. Almost all letters written after A.H. 467 = A.D. 1074 mention Badru'l-Jamālī in highly eulogistic terms (*vide* No. 32).

Ṣ. sent his emissary, Lamak b. Mālīk, who was then the Grand Qāḍī of the Yemen, to the court of M. (*vide* Nos. 42 and 55), where he lived for several years with al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-dīn aṣḥ-Shirāzī,<sup>1</sup> returning to the Yemen after his master Ṣ. had died. It was through al-Mu'ayyad and Lamak that the literature of the Fāṭimid Da'wat was transferred from Egypt to the Yemen. These documents testify that direct relations existed between al-Mu'ayyad and the Da'wat of the Yemen (*vide* Nos. 55 and 61). I have dealt in detail with the question as to how the literature written during the Fāṭimid period came to be preserved down to our own times in the Yemen and India in *JRAS.*, April, 1933. The documents support the conclusion arrived at in that article that there existed political, religious, and literary links between Egypt and the Yemen during this period. In the reign of S.H. the Da'wat was separated from the State, an account of which is given in *JRCAS.*, vol. xviii, part 4, October, 1931. The Da'wat, after the decline of the Ṣulaiḥids, became a purely religious organization and inherited the literature written and brought from Egypt during the Ṣulaiḥid period. It was this secret organization of the Da'wat

<sup>1</sup> See my article, *JRAS.*, Jan., 1932, p. 135, and *Encyc. of Islam*, s.v.

which has preserved these documents for us together with many other gems of Islamic literature.

It will perhaps be of interest in this connection to mention a Covenant ('Ahd) of M. preserved in the Autobiography (*Sīrat*) of al-Mu'ayyad fī'd-dīn ash-Shīrāzī. This Covenant was read by al-Mu'ayyad on behalf of M. to Abū'l-Ḥārith al-Basāsiri.

It is probable that this collection was one of the sources of Idris 'Imādu'd-dīn for his history of the Da'wat entitled '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*', vol. vii. In this work he quotes Nos. 5, 14, 35, and 50 *in toto*, and No. 7 in the incomplete form in which we find it in the collection. But Idris had other sources as well, for he reproduces in '*Uyūn*' some letters of M. addressed to the Sulaiḥids which are not to be found in the collection. It will therefore be useful to take note of the letters of M., which are not mentioned in the collection, but are preserved in '*Uyūn*':—

Letter of M. to Ṣ. dated Rabī' I, A.H. 458, with condolences upon the death of the latter's son ('*Uyūn*', vii, f. 40b-f, 41a).

Letter of M. to Muk. dated Rabī' I, A.H. 458, expressing condolences upon the death of his brother (*ibid.*, f. 41b).

Letter of M. to Ṣ. dated Jumādā II, A.H. 459, regarding the permission requested by Ṣ. to go to Egypt (*ibid.*, f. 42a-f, 44a).

Letter of M. to Muk. dated Muḥarram, A.H. 467, giving tidings of the birth of a son named Aḥmad and surnamed Abū'l-Qāsim (afterwards al-Musta'li) (f. 77a). Compare this with Nos. 6 and 11.

The book contains sixty-six letters written to the order of M., with the exception of Nos. 28, 35, 43, 51, and 52. All the letters of M. are headed by *basmalat* and *ḥamd*, written by the hand of M. himself (بخط اليد الشريفة النبوية). The formula الحمد لله رب العالمين is the motto of M. This is also further supported by a reference to M.'s letter headed by this motto in *al-Hidāyat al-Āmirīyyā*.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the letters of the mother of M. (see Nos. 51 and 52) is the formula الحمد لله ولي كل نعمة, which seems to be her motto. No. 35 is the letter of the mother of al-Musta'li bi'llāh, which is headed by the formula الحمد لله على نعمه. It is remarkable that Ṣ., Muk., and A.M. all bore the *kunya* Abū'l-Ḥasan.

<sup>1</sup> This Risāla is a polemical treatise written by al-Āmir bi'ahkāmī'llāh to support his father al-Musta'li's and his own claims to the Khilāfat of M. against the contentions of Nizār and his followers. (See also Nos. 35 and 42.) The Risāla is preserved by the Da'wat and an edition of the text is under preparation.



The following table gives the chronological order of the *siyillāt* :—

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Sender.</i>	<i>Addressee.</i>	<i>Number.</i>
'Idu'l-Fitr 445 . . . .	M.	Ş.	13
Rajab 448 . . . .	M.	Ş.	12
'Idu'l-Fitr 451 . . . .	M.	Ş.	1
Şafar 452 . . . .	M.	Ş.	6
Rabi' I 455 . . . .	M.	Ş.	7
Ramaçân 455 . . . .	M.	Ş.	5
Rabi' II 456 . . . .	M.	Muh. b. Ş.	2
Jumâdâ I 456 . . . .	M.	Ş.	4
Rajab 457 . . . .	M.	Muh. b. Ş.	10
Sha'bân 460 . . . .	M.	Muk.	40
Rabi' I 461 . . . .	M.	Muk.	33
Rabi' II 461 . . . .	M.	Muk.	60
Jumâdâ I 461 . . . .	M.	Muk.	29
Jumâdâ II 461 . . . .	M.	Muk.	42
Jumâdâ III 461 . . . .	M.	S.H.	55
Ramaçân 461 . . . .	M.	Muk.	61
Ramaçân 461 . . . .	M.	S.H.	65
Muharram 467 . . . .	M.	Muk.	56
Şafar 467 . . . .	M.	Muk.	32
Rabi' I 468 . . . .	M.	Muk.	41
Sha'bân 468 . . . .	M.	Muk.	58
Dhu'l-Qa'da 468 . . . .	M.	Muk.	57
Rabi' II 469 . . . .	M.	Muk.	54
Dhu'l-Qa'da 470 . . . .	M.	Muk.	34
Şafar 471 . . . .	M.	S.H.	44
Şafar 471 . . . .	Mother of M.	S.H.	51
Shawwâl 472 . . . .	M.	S.H.	20
Shawwâl 472 . . . .	M.	Muk.	39
Shawwâl 472 . . . .	M.	Muk.	59
'Idu'l-Açhâ 474 . . . .	M.	Muk.	30
Rabi' I 476 . . . .	M.	Muk.	63
'Idu'l-Fitr 476 . . . .	M.	Muk.	31
'Idu'l-Açhâ 476 . . . .	M.	Muk.	64
Rabi' I 478 . . . .	M.	Ş.	14
Rabi' I 478 . . . .	M.	S.H.	48
Rabi' II 478 . . . .	M.	A.M.	26
Rabi' II 478 . . . .	M.	S.H.	46
'Idu'l-Fitr 478 . . . .	M.	A.M.	19
'Idu'l-Açhâ 478 . . . .	M.	Muk.	27
'Idu'l-Açhâ 478 . . . .	M.	S.H.	66
Dhu'l-Hijja 478 . . . .	Sister of M.	Muk.	28
Muharram 479 . . . .	M.	A.M.	15
Rabi' I 480 . . . .	M.	Muh. b. Muk.	17
Rabi' I 480 . . . .	M.	A.M.	25
Rabi' I 480 . . . .	M.	S.H.	36
Rabi' I 480 . . . .	M.	A.M.	37
Rabi' I 480 . . . .	M.	Şulaihid and Zawâhid Sultans	38
Rabi' I 480 . . . .	M.	S.H.	45
Rabi' I 480 . . . .	M.	S.H.	49

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Sender.</i>	<i>Addressee.</i>	<i>Number.</i>
Rabi' II 480 . . . .	Daughter of az-Zāhir	S.H.	52
Jumādā I 480 . . . .	M.	A.M.	16
Jumādā II 480 . . . .	M.	S.H.	53
'Idu'l-Fiṭr 480 . . . .	M.	A.M.	18
Dhu'l-Qa'da 481 . . . .	M.	A.M.	22
Dhu'l-Qa'da 481 . . . .	M.	A.M.	23
Dhu'l-Qa'da 481 . . . .	M.	A.M.	24
Dhu'l-Qa'da 481 . . . .	M.	S.H.	50
Šafar 480 . . . .	Musta'li	S.H.	43
Šafar 480 . . . .	Mother of Musta'li, widow of M.	S.H.	35
— . . . .	M.	Š.	3
— (after 457) . . . .	M.	Š.	8
— "Muḥarram of the above- mentioned year" . . . .	M.	—	9
— . . . .	M.	Š.	11
— . . . .	M.	S.H.	21
— . . . .	M.	Š. (?)	62

## II

The following is a detailed inventory of the letters in the order in which they are contained in the MS. :—

(1) f. 1b-f. 3b.—Mustaṣṣir's (M.) letter to 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Šulaiḥī (Š.), dated 'Id al-Fiṭr, A.H. 451 :—

M. informs Š. of the successful close of the month of fasting and of the advent of the Festival of 'Id. He desires Š. to give publicity to this news.

(2) f. 3b-f. 6a.—To Muḥammad, son of Š., dated Rabi' II, A.H. 456.

M. mentions the services of Š. in the cause of the Faith, enjoins Muḥammad to remain obedient to his parents and to take his two brothers *الأمر الموفق والأمر المكرم منجب الدولة وصنيعتها ذى السيفين* into his confidence and to be of good behaviour to his subjects.

(3) f. 6b-f. 10b.—To Š.; date not mentioned :—

M. mentions (1) As'ad b. 'Abdullāh, (2) 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī, (3) Muḥammad b. 'Asīya, (4) Manšūr b. Ḥamīd, (5) Mūsā b. Abī Hudḥaifa, and (6) Ibrāhīm b. Abī Salmā as bearers of Š.'s letter to him. M. bestows upon Š. additional robes of honour and adds to the title of his eldest son *ذو المجددين* *منجب الدولة وصفوتها* the word *ذو المجددين*, to the title of his younger son *ذو السيفين* *منجب الدولة وغرسها* the word *ذو السيفين*, and to that of his youngest son *نحيب الدولة وصنيعتها* the word

ذو الفضلين. M. takes note of the services of the wife of Ṣ. in the interests of the Faith.

M. says that he received a letter from the ruler of Mecca in which the latter had mentioned Ṣ.'s help in restoring order in Mecca and expresses his delight and appreciation of the success of Ṣ. in this respect.

M. is pleased with Ṣ.'s messengers and says that they have all gone back to their master except Muḥammad b. 'Asiya, whom death has overtaken.

The Wazīr Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad is mentioned in eulogistic terms and Ṣ. is asked to address communications to the Wazīr.

(4) f. 10b-f. 14b.—To Ṣ. (cf. 'U.A., vii, f. 13a-15a), dated 21 Jumādā I, A.H. 456 :—

M. acknowledges the receipt of two letters of Ṣ.—one from Ṣan'ā, dated Sha'bān 455, and the other from Hajar Shawwāl 455.

Replying to the first letters, written after his return from Mecca, M. recognizes the services of Ṣ. in subduing the rebellion of the Khārijī who led the people of Madhḥaj, of the Nakh' and of 'Abs, in reducing his strongholds and in inflicting a complete defeat upon him.

M. asks Ṣ., however, to treat the ruler of Mecca with leniency. If statesmanship is not effectual, Ṣ. is asked to pursue what course he deems fit. M. takes note of Ṣ.'s recommendation that the office of the Qādī of Mecca be transferred from 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusainī to his grandson on account of his piety and other qualities.

Referring to the second letter, M. shows his appreciation of Ṣ.'s efforts in suppressing the revolt of Ibn 'Urāf. M. says that he is in touch with the news of Ibn 'Urāf. M. is pleased that Sharīf Fakhr u'l-ma'ālī dhū'l-majdain rejected the advances of Ibn 'Urāf's son at Mecca. M. accepts the recommendation of Ṣ. in the matter of the grandson of 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm. M. also grants Ṣ.'s request to grant an amnesty to As'ad. In recognition of his great services, M. bestows upon Ṣ. the additional title of "Support of the Khilāfat" (عمدة الخلافة).

(5) f. 15a-f. 17b.—To Ṣ. (cf. 'U.A., vii, f. 37b-f. 38b), dated Ramaḍan, A.H. 455 :—

M. describes the rebellion of Ibn Bādīs, the departure of Amīnu'd-daula Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥlim at the command of M. to the other provinces of Africa, and the success of Amīnu'd-daula in uniting

the Arabs, capturing the stronghold of Fez, appointing Ibn Yalmū as governor of the provinces, besieging Ibn Bādīs and in suppressing his revolt and restoring the country to M.

(6) f. 18a-f. 20a.—To Ṣ., dated Ṣafar, A.H. 452 :—

M. gives the glad tidings of the birth of a son to him on Sunday, 14th Ṣafar, A.H. 452. The new-born child is named Aḥmad and surnamed Abn'l-Qāsim. Ṣ. is asked to give publicity to this news in the length and breadth of his country.

(7) f. 20b-f. 23a.—The introductory part of this letter (*vide* 'U.A., vii, f. 11a-f. 12b, where the introductory portion is missing also) is missing, but from the following contents it is clear that this is M.'s letter to Ṣ., which is dated Rabī' I, A.H. 455 :—

M. takes note of Ṣ.'s kindly treatment of a runaway to the Yemen and goes on to describe how Ṣ. helped him to rise from insignificance to glory and shows how the favoured one became ungrateful to his benefactor and what efforts were made by Ṣ. to reconcile the contending parties at Mecca. M. is anxious that blood be not shed on the holy land, but gives Ṣ. latitude to deal with the situation as he chooses, relying upon his good sense.

In reply to Ṣ.'s complaint, M. says that Ṣ. did not properly understand the reason of stationing the Amīr Za'im ad-daula Ḥusain b. Aḥmad at Mecca, whom Ṣ. holds responsible for the cause of war. M., however, reassures Ṣ. that he will write to the Amīr in the matter.

In compliance with Ṣ.'s request, M. grants Ṣ. his wish to bestow upon 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh al-Ḥusainī favours from the public treasury (Bait al-māl).

(8) f. 23b-f. 24a.—To Ṣ., date missing :—

This letter contains tidings of the birth of a son to M. in the second third of Jumadā I, A.H. 457. The new-born child is named al-Muḥsin and surnamed Abn'l-Faḍl. The letter abruptly ends with the words : لناخذ بحظك من الإغبات بمن موردها وتزج. The last part is missing.

(9) f. 24a-f. 25a.—A considerable portion of this letter is missing, and only the concluding part is preserved. It is dated "Muḥarram of the above-mentioned year". The year is mentioned in the last portion. The fragment contains M.'s sermon addressed to one of the Ṣulaiḥids on the code of conduct he should adopt in the administration of the affairs of his kingdom.

(10) f. 25b-f. 26b.—To Muḥammad, son of Ṣ., dated Rajab, A.H. 457 :—

Replying to Muḥammad's letter, M. pronounces his blessings upon the young Prince, and appreciates the Prince's part in the administration of the affairs of his father's kingdom and exhorts him to be dutiful to his parents and affectionate to his brothers and the faithful.

(11) f. 26b-f. 27b.—To Ṣ., date missing :—

M. announces the news of the birth of a son to him, who is named al-Ḥasan and surnamed Abū Muḥammad. The letter ends abruptly with *ويكاد زيتها يضيء ولولم تمسه نار نور على نور يهدي الله لنوره* من يشاء, the last part missing.

(12) f. 28b-f. 30a.—To Ṣ., dated Friday, 22 Rajab, A.H. 448 :—

M. acknowledges the receipt of this letter at the hands of the messengers of Ṣ. M. assures him of the high esteem in which M. holds the Sharif Tāj al-ma'ālī Muḥammad b. Sharif Ḥasan b. Ja'far al-Ḥusainī, whose case Ṣ. has recommended, and gives his assent to whatever Ṣ. does to ensure the bonds of friendship in the interests of the House to which he (M.) and the Sharif belonged.

(13) f. 30a-f. 31b.—To Ṣ., dated 'Īd al-Fiṭr, A.H. 445 :—

This contains a description of the pomp and magnificence with which M.'s procession marched towards the Public Prayer Ground (Muṣallā) on the Festival of the 'Īd, of his prayer and sermon, and of his return to his Palace.

(14) f. 32a-f. 36a.—To A.M. (see 'U.A., f. 64a-f. 66a), dated 1st Rabi' I, A.H. 478 :—

M. gives A.M. elaborate condolences on the death of his father, al-Mukarram. The letter contains a high tribute to Badru'l-Jamālī, as also to the deceased. M. sends Amīr Abu'l-Ḥasan Janhar al-Mustansiri to offer condolences in person on behalf of M., and gives him powers to perform other formalities. From the literary point of view, the style of Inshā' in which this letter is composed is one of the most elaborate in this collection.

(15) f. 36b-f. 39a.—To A.M., dated 7th Muḥarram, A.H. 479 :—

M. writes very highly of the services of (Badru'l-Jamālī) Amīr u'l-Juyūsh, then goes on to describe the high position of his son, al-Afdal, and asks A.M. to mention al-Afdal in the official sermon along with himself and Amīr al-Juyūsh.

(16) f. 39b-f. 42a.—To A.M., dated Jumādā I, A.H. 480 :—

M. describes the anarchy which once paralysed his kingdom,

then the advent of Badr and the consequent establishment of order and peace. But M. complains that one 'Abdullāh ar-Rikābī is still busy with his mischievous work against the State. M. therefore asks A.M. to direct all his powers to annihilating the mischief-monger.

(17) f. 42b-f. 44b.—To Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad, son of Muk., dated Rabi' I, A.H. 480 :—

This contains M.'s exhortation to Muk. to be loyal to his brother.

(18) f. 45a-f. 47a.—To A.M., dated 'Īd al-Fiṭr, A.H. 480 :—

The rejoicings of the Festival of the 'Īd are described.

(19) f. 47b-f. 49a.—To A.M., dated 'Īd al-Fiṭr, A.H. 478 :—

The festivities of the 'Īd described.

(20) f. 49b-f. 51b.—To S.H., dated Shawwāl, A.H. 472 :—

M. asks her to follow in the footsteps of her mother-in-law and seek the advice of Badr. He asks her to secure the arrest of (1) 'Abdullāh ar-Rabbānī, (2) Ibrāhīm Ghulām al-'Āmirī, who claimed prophethood for himself, (3) al-Huṣairī, (4) his son (i.e. of al-Huṣairī). M. says that they are hypocrites and mischief-mongers. They had gone to the Yemen and joined hands with the enemies of the Da'wat. They should be either captured or killed (see below, No. 39).

(21) f. 51b-f. 52a.—To S.H., date missing :—

The last part of the letter is missing. The fragment contains expressions of M.'s high appreciation of Badr.

وطالعي الوالد السيد الأجل أمير الجيوش . . . بدر المستصري . . .  
فهو خليفتنا وباب دعوتنا الحال منا محلا لم يحله احد قبله القائم من امورنا  
مدام الأساس لمشكلات الالتباس وهو عليك شفيق وصالح حاكم سالك في  
كل طريق

The document ends with the words : واعلمي ذلك وسارعي اليه إن شاء الله تع

(22) f. 52b-f. 56a.—To A.M., dated Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 481 :—

M. says he has issued orders that the faithful remain loyal to him and to his mother Ṣ. He then mentions the co-operation of Badr and praises him in high terms. M. acknowledges the receipt of S.H.'s letter, which she wrote in reply to M.'s. M. sends this letter to her by the hand of Shaiḫ Abū Naṣr Salāmah b. Ḥusain, together with other letters addressed to the Sultāns and the believers in the Yemen. M. is pleased to note that the quarrel between Sabā b. Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣulaiḥī and Sulaimān b. 'Āmir az-Zawāḥī had been settled amicably.

(23) f. 56b-f. 58a.—To A.M., dated Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 481 :—

M. acknowledges the receipt of the letter in which A.M. excuses himself for delay in sending the amount of poor-rate (*zakāt*). M. administers a mild rebuke for neglecting this essential obligation, particularly when A.M.'s ancestors were so punctual in their remittances.

(24) f. 58b-f. 60a.—To A.M., dated Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 481 :—

M. conveys his condolences upon the deaths of Muḥammad, A.M.'s brother, and of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Malik aṣ-Ṣulaiḥī, A.M.'s cousin.

(25) f. 60b-f. 62b.—To A.M., dated Rabi' I, A.H. 480 :—

This letter speaks of the nobility of A.M. and of his ancestors, and also of their services to the cause of the Da'wat. Amīr 'Aḍud ad-daula has informed M. about this. M. then speaks of the favours he has bestowed upon A.M. and his mother, S.H., and gives promise of further attentions.

(26) f. 62b-f. 65b.—To A.M., dated 7th Rabi' II, A.H. 478 :—

On receiving news of the death of al-Mukarram, M. has ordered that all correspondence be addressed to A.M. He entrusts the duties of the Da'wat and all the functions of the State to A.M. M. states that he has deputed 'Aḍud ad-dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan Iauhar to A.M. with letters to him (A.M.) and other leaders of the Yemenite Da'wat, as also with letters from Badr al-Jamālī. M. also takes note of a letter from S.H. describing the death of Muk. and requesting the appointment of A.M. in the place of the deceased. M. has accordingly issued orders to the people of the Yemen.

(27) f. 66a-f. 67b.—To Muk., dated 'Īd al-aḍḥā, A.H. 478 :—

Felicitations on the 'Īd are conveyed. M. informs Muk. that everything is well with his kingdom in the hands of Badr and of his son al-Aḍḍal.

(28) f. 68a-f. 69a.—From the Sayyida, the sister of Mustansir, to Muk., dated 14th Dhu'l-ḥijja, A.H. 478 :—

The Sayyida acknowledges the receipt of Muk.'s letter. The affairs of the kingdom, she says, are managed by Badr and the territory, which was once lost, has been restored through him. The Sayyida sympathizes with Muk. for his sufferings on account of the frequency of his wars and congratulates him on the final victory over the enemy.

(29) f. 69b-f. 70a.—To Muk., dated Jumādā I, A.H. 461 :—

M. has received a petition from Ḥumyar under the signature of one Ja'far the artist (الصانع) in which attention was drawn to

Muk.'s administration. M. asks Muk. to show favour to the petitioner and help him.

(One can read between the lines the complaint of the petitioner against the maladministration of Muk. (لأسباب دعته إلى ذلك) and the guarded manner in which M. desires Muk. to win the petitioner over by showing favour to him.)

(30) f. 70a-f. 72a.—To Muk., dated Wednesday, 'Īd al-adhā, A.H. 474:—

Felicitations on the 'Īd are described. The letter is dispatched after the ceremony is over. M. attends the Public Prayer Ground in company of Badr, and after prayers offers sacrifice

« . . . عدل إلى موضع المنحر فبحر بسنان يمضي مضى الحنف في ادعائه شاكرًا لله على ما خوله من جزيل عطائه . . . آخ »

Mukarram is asked to give publicity to this letter.

(31) f. 72a-f. 73b.—To Muk., dated Saturday, 'Īd al-Fiṭr, A.H. 476:—

Felicitations on the 'Īd.

(32) f. 74a-f. 75b.—To Muk., dated 29th Ṣafar, A.H. 467:—

M. acknowledges the receipt of Muk.'s letter at the hands of his messengers Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan and companion. M. had replied to this letter, when there reached him another letter from Muk., to which the present letter is the reply. M. is sure that his previous letter will satisfy Muk., and declares that the most important part of his writing was about Badr, who had raised the pillars of the Fāṭimid Kingdom after they had disappeared *فقد قرر أمير المؤمنين في نفسه أنك تحمل منه محل الأولاد وأنه يرى فيك أن يرفعك من درج الفضل إلى السبع الشداد وجدد هذا الفضل بهذا الذكر لما كان بحضرة من أهم الأمر فاعلم ذلك من رأي أمير المؤمنين*.

(33) f. 76a-f. 76b.—To Muk., dated 1st Rabī' I, A.H. 461:—

M. has received a petition from al-Qā'id. Muqbil, and Muwaffaq, who complain of Muk.'s treatment of them. Muk. is asked to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards them.

(34) f. 77a-f. 80a.—To Muk., dated 29th Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 470:—

This letter contains an elaborate description of the high position of Badr and of his great services to the Imām.

قد نشر الله تعالى به دعوة أمير المؤمنين بعد أن أصبحت رميمًا ونضربه



خلافة أمير المؤمنين بعد أن أصبحت فشيئاً لم يكن لأمر المؤمنين بد من أن يرقه في الرفع والأعلاء فوق الفراقد ويحلّه منه محلّ الوالد ويجعل له مقام الملك و ينزله في عقد خلافة الإمامة مكان السلك فنصّ عليه في كفالة قضاة المسلمين وهداية دعاة المؤمنين نصّ حق وقلها منه إلى محق مستحق إذا كان مبرزاً في ميدانها ناطقاً بلسانها عالماً بأحكامها . . . الخ

This refers to the union of the functions of the state Khilāfat and the mission (Da'wat) in the leadership of Badr. M. asks al-Mukarram to follow the guidance of Badr

فول وجهك نحو هذا السيد الأجل . . . واجعله قبله دينك في مصادرك ومواردك الخ.

(35) f. 80b-f. 88a.—From the mother of al-Musta'li, son of M., to S.H., dated 8th Ṣafar, A.H. 489 :—

This letter (see 'U.A., vii, f. 79b-f. 83b; also No. 43 below) describes the nomination (*naṣṣ*) of M. in favour of his son, Musta'li, the revolt of Nizār and Aftagīn at Alexandria, al-Afḍal's campaign against Nizār's insurrection, and the events leading to the arrest of Nizār.

(36) f. 88b-f. 92b.—To S.H., dated Rabī' I, A.H. 480 :—

M. expresses his co-operation and support in her work. On hearing of the death of her husband, M. hastened to appoint her son, A.M., in place of his father. When Amīr 'Aḍud ad-dīn returned, accompanied by Abū Naṣr Salāmah al-Kātib, M. learned from them the news of the Yemen. S.H. is asked to seek the assistance of Badr. M. assures her and her two sons of his attention towards them. Regarding the controversy between Abū Ḥimyar Sabā b. Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣulaiḥī and Abū'r-Rabī' Sulaimān b. 'Āmir az-Zawāḥī, M. is aware of S.H.'s correspondence with Na'im aṣh-Shā'ir al-Hilālī, then with Sa'dn'llāh and his companion aṣh-Shirāzī. The Amīr 'Aḍudn'd-dīn and Shaiḥh Abū Naṣr also acquainted M. with the nature of his quarrel. M. entrusts to S.H. the task of settling the dispute between the two. M. acknowledges the receipt of the sacrifices, poor-rates, and presents sent by S.H. through her agent Shaiḥh Abū Naṣr.

(37) f. 93a-f. 98a.—To A.M., dated Rabī' I, A.H. 480 :—

Since A.M. is the son of the Da'wat (سبيل الدعوة وخطبها) and his ancestors were attached to the "rope" of the Da'wat, M. has appointed A.M. in place of his father and issued orders (سجلات) at

the hands of 'Aḍud-d-din, and in these letters M. informed him :  
 واعلمك أن دعاة أمير المؤمنين وأوليائه نجوم في سمائه إذا حوى نجم اطلع  
 ونجما و سيف إذا أتمد حساما اقتضى حساما. There came to M. also  
 A.M.'s agent, Shāikh Abū Naṣr Salāmah b. Ḥusain, who conveyed  
 to him A.M.'s messages. Badr is again mentioned in eulogistic terms.  
 A.M. has come to the throne through the favour of the Imām in his  
 teens, but M. assures him that he himself came to the Khilāfat when  
 he was under eight years of age and his grandfather, 'Alī b. Ḥusain,  
 became Khalifa when he was just nine years old. It is argued  
 وقد جاز هذا في الإمامة وهي الدرجة التي تلي النبوة فكيف الدعوة التي  
 لأمير المؤمنين أن ينصرف فيها على اختياره. M. reassures him of further  
 co-operation and acknowledges the receipt of the dues of poor-  
 rate, etc.

(38) f. 98b-f. 103b.—To the Sultans of the Ṣulāḥids and the  
Zawāḥids and the grandees (Mashā'ikh) of Hijāz and to all sections  
 of the Believers, dated Rabī' I, A.H. 480. The letter is an earnest  
 appeal to the Ṣulāḥids and Zawāḥids to shelve their mutual differences  
 and to obey S.H. and her son, A.M. The letter contains a strong  
 plea for unity in the cause of the Dā'wat and records the surpassing  
 services of Ṣ., al-Mukarram, and S.H.

(39) f. 104a-f. 106a.—To Muk., dated Shawwāl, A.H. 472 :—

This contains an order to arrest (1) ar-Rikābī, *alias* 'Abdullāh,  
 (2) Ibrāhīm Ghulām al-Āminī, (3) al-Ḥusairī, and (4) Ḥusairī's son,  
 (5) a poet, who was with Ṣubḥ al-Khārījī, (6) a chamberlain of the  
Khalifa's Palace in the service of the sisters of the Khalifā, all of whom  
 had fled from Egypt and made for the Yemen. M. asks Muk. to  
 administer severe punishment to these miscreants, and send them  
 as captives to Egypt (see No. 20).

(40) f. 106b-f. 109a.—To Muk., dated Sha'bān, A.H. 460 :—

M. expresses sorrow at the death of Ṣ., and confirms his appointment  
 to Muk. M. also notes Mukarram's reference to the ungrateful conduct  
 of Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥāshim al-Ḥusainī.

(41) f. 109b-f. 111b.—To Muk., dated Rabī' I, A.H. 463 :—

M. has received a letter from Muk., describing the troubled state  
 of the Yemen and the subsequent victory of Muk. M. is pleased  
 with this news. With reference to what Muk. has written about the  
 death of the Dā'ī stationed in India, M. pronounces mercy on the

وَأَمَّا مَا أوردته من شأن الداعي المقيم كان بالهند ومضيه أسيله :  
 فالله تعالى يتجاوز عنه وقواك في دعاء الحاجة إلى من يسد مسدّه  
 ويحفظ نظام المؤمنين بتلك الديار جاهداً جهده فأنت أقرب الناس من ذلك  
 الحظ وأولاهم بالقبض والبسط فافسح في ذلك وفي سواء غاية الأمل والالحظ  
 . . . وكتب بذكر من يقع الاعتماد عليه لنعضده بالمكاتبة ونشده (f. 109b)

Muk. is asked to seek the help of Badr.

(42) f. 112a-f. 114a.—To Mukarram, dated Jumādā II, A.H. 461 (sec No. 55):—

M. bestows upon Muk. the further title of Amīr al-Umarā, and sends this glad tidings together with a *tashrif* through Mukarram's agents, the Qāḍī Lamak b. Mālik, 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. Hasan, Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar Abu'l-Barakāt b. 'Alī 'l-Ashīrā, with whom M. is pleased.

(43) f. 114a-f. 120b.—From al-Musta'li to S.H., dated 8th Ṣafar, A.H. 489:—

This contains an elaborate account of the Nizārī Aftakīn's rebellion and the subsequent victory of Afḍal over both.

(44) f. 121a-f. 123a.—To S.H., dated Ṣafar, A.H. 471:—

M. pronounces his blessings upon S.H. and reassures her of his own and Badr's co-operation.

(45) f. 123a-f. 125a.—To S.H., dated Rabī' I, A.H. 480:—

M. acknowledges the receipt of S.H.'s letter, and pays a high tribute to S.H. for all her sacrifices and services in the cause of the Da'wat.

(46) f. 125b-f. 128a.—To S.H., dated 7th Rabī' II, A.H. 478:—

After the death of Muk., M. appointed his son, A.M., and sent orders to that effect through his agent, 'Aḡud ad-dīn Jauhar al-Mustansīrī. These were also accompanied by letters from Badr. Soon after the agent had left for the Yemen, there came to M. S.H.'s agent with news of Muk.'s death and request to appoint A.M. M. had already sent the agent with instructions to unify the forces of the Da'wat in the Yemen.

(47) f. 128b-f. 130a.—To S.H., dated Rabī' I, A.H. 480:—

A letter of consolation to S.H. and her son, A.M., on account of the calamities inflicted upon them by their enemies.

(48) f. 130b-f. 133a.—To S.H., dated 10th Rabī' I, A.H. 478:—

S.H. is praised for her great services in the cause of the Da'wat.

After the death of Muk., M. appointed his son, A.M., as his successor. Badr is also mentioned in this connection. M. has deputed 'Aḡud ad-dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan Jauhar al-Mustanṣirī with royal letters—one to express condolence upon the death of Muk. and others to leaders of the State and the Da'wat asking them to be loyal to A.M.

f. 133b.—*Lacuna* (ياض بقى من غير كتابة بسهو الكاتب).

(49) f. 134a-f. 136a.—To S.H., dated Rabī' I, A.H. 480 :—

M. is pleased with S.H.'s information that the Ṣulaiḥids and Zawāḥids had composed their differences. Amīr 'Aḡud ad-dīn and Shaiḡh Abū Naṣr also acquainted M. with the situation.

(50) f. 136b-f. 137b.—To S.H., dated Dhū'l-Qa'da, A.H. 481 :—

This letter (see *U.A.*, vii, f. 62b-f. 63b; cf. also No. 63) gives formal sanction to S.H.'s appointment to the Da'wat of India of Aḡmad, the elder son of the Dā'ī Marzubān b. Ishāq b. Marzubān on the death of his father. M. also approves of S.H.'s appointment of Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm, who was the Dā'ī at 'Ummān (Oman), to help the Aḡmad mentioned above, and of Ḥamzā, son of the late Sibṭ Ḥamīd ad-dīn, to the Da'wat of Oman. M. appreciates S.H.'s vigilance in the affairs of the Da'wat. M. entrusts to S.H. the management of the Da'wat of India.

(51) f. 138a-f. 139a.—From the Saiyida Malika, mother of M., to S.H., dated Ṣafar, A.H. 471 :—

M.'s mother receives S.H.'s letter and promises her own, M.'s, and Badr's co-operation and support.

(52) f. 139b-f. 141b.—From Saiyida, the daughter (?) of az-Zāhir (mother (?) of M.), to S.H., dated Rabī' II, A.H. 480 :—

She has received S.H.'s letter at the hands of the latter's agent, Shaiḡh Abū Naṣr Salāmah b. al-Ḥusain. She pays a tribute to S.H. for her services and says that letters have been issued to A.M. and to the Sultāns of the Yemen to support A.M. in his sovereignty of the Yemen.

(53) f. 141b-f. 144a.—From M. to S.H., dated Jumādā II, A.H. 480 :—

M. describes the disturbed condition of the State and afterwards the establishment of peace and order by Badr, the flight of his adversaries to the Yemen, and the subsequent annihilation of those fugitives at the hands of Muk. Only one man, known as 'Abdullāh ar-Rakābī (المنتسب الى الترمين), still survives in the Yemen to carry

on the nefarious work. He should be immediately arrested and killed. All efforts should be directed towards this.

(54) f. 144b-f. 147b.—To Muk., dated Rabi' II, A.H. 469:—

M. entrusts the government of 'Ummān to Muk., although the country was outside his jurisdiction, but since the people of this country have revolted against the established authority of the then prevalent church, M. suggests this course. As the Hijāz was near the Yemen, M. asks him to take over also the responsibilities of the administration of this country. Amir 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī al-'Alawī (مستخلص الدولة العلوية و عديتها) of al-Aḥsā has supported the government against its enemies. Muk. is, therefore, asked to take the Amir into his confidence.

(55) f. 148a-f. 149a.—To S.H., dated Jumādā II, A.H. 461 (see No. 42):—

M. mentions a previous letter which he has addressed to S.H. This letter M. had communicated after al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-din's letter:

وفى الكتاب المقدم ذكر عطف كتاب داغى دعاته المؤيد فى الدين  
عصمة المؤمنين صلى أمير المؤمنين و وليه احسن الله عونه وتسديده وتوفيقه  
وهو يرجو وصوله فيقع منك موقع الشفا من ذوى العلة واليا من ذوى الغلة

M. had also sent honours and titles (التشريفات والالقب والكريمات) to S.H.'s son<sup>1</sup> by her own agents, the Qāḍī Lamak b. Mālik, 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, Ḥusain b. 'Alī, 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr, and Abu'l-Burakāt b. al-'Ashīrā.

(56) f. 149b-f. 152b.—To Muk., dated Muḥarram, A.H. 467:—

M. acknowledges the receipt of Muk.'s letter handed over by محمد بن تميم الكتامى and ابراهيم بن الحسن العامرى. M. is satisfied with the support of Muk.'s followers, particularly of 'Āmir b. Sulaimān az-Zawāḥī and Aḥmad b. al-Muẓaffar aṣ-Ṣulalī. M. then speaks of the disorganization of the State, the appearance of Badr, and the subsequent peace and glory of his kingdom.

(57) f. 153a-f. 156b.—To Muk., dated 29th Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 468.

<sup>1</sup> The text has الى ولدك, whereas in No. 42 it is said that these honours were sent to Mukarram with these agents. While Mukarram was still living, these could only have been sent to him. الى ولدك may perhaps be the copyist's mistake.

This long letter is a description of Badr's campaign against the insurrection of Baladkosh and of the subsequent victory of Badr.

(58) f. 157a-f. 159b.—To Muk., dated 27th Shā'bān, A.H. 468 :—

In this, M. congratulates Muk. on having conquered twenty mountain strongholds and on his victory over the enemy. This is accompanied by the mention of Badr's successes.

(59) f. 160a-f. 162a.—To Muk., dated Shawwāl, A.H. 472 :—

This letter confirms M.'s complete confidence in Badr. He entrusts all the affairs of the State, Khilāfat and Da'wat to Badr. Also Badr's two sons—Abu'l Ḥusain 'Alī and Abu'l-Qāsim Shāhanshāh are mentioned in eulogistic terms. This letter is sent with Ṣā'id b. Ḥamza.

(60) f. 162b-f. 165a.—To Muk., dated Rabī' II, A.H. 461 :—

Muk.'s letter has been received. M. sympathizes with Muk. upon his father's assassination and the destruction of his family, but expresses his joy at the defeat of the enemy and at Mukarram's taking revenge on him.   
 فَللهِ دَرَكٌ أَيُّهَا الْأَجَلُ لَقَدْ ذَكَى غَرَسُكَ وَطَابَ وَحَقُّ  
 أَمَلِ أُمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي تَقْدِيمِ قَدَمِكَ وَمَا خَابَ فَاعْلَمْ أَنَّكَ خَلِيفَتُهُ فِي بِلَادِ  
 الْيَمَنِ وَعَمَادُهُ وَعِدَتُهُ وَسَادَهُ وَقَرَعِينُكَ بِمَا أَعْطَاكَ مِنَ الرَّبَّةِ السَّنَةِ وَالدرَجَةِ الْعَالِيَةِ

Regarding the representations of Ḥars ad-dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥusain b. Yūsuf as-Saimūrī (?), which are referred by Muk. to Egypt, M. advises him to consider the situation and his own strength to meet it.

The bearer of Muk.'s letter, Ḥusām ad-daulah Nādir al-Mustaṣṣirī, is asked to return with this letter in company of a former agent, Ja'd b. Ḥamīd b. al-Huwaid al-Yāmī (?). M. also orders other agents who came in the time of Ṣ. to return to the Yemen.

M. bestows upon Muk. the further title of Amīr al-Umarā,

(61) f. 165b-f. 167b.—To Muk., dated 15th Ramaḍān, A.H. 461 :—

M. has received a letter at the hands of Muk.'s two agents, Sifr b. Sināh b. Abī'l-'askar and Ja'd b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān al-Yāmī, and is pleased to hear of Muk.'s crushing victory over the enemy.

M. pays a tribute to Muk.'s mother and congratulates him upon the birth of a male child, honours the new-born babe with the title of الأمير نجيب النجباء and sends an amulet to be tied on its arm :   
 وَكُتِبَ لَكَ بِحُطِّ يَدِهِ شَبُّ الْعُودَةِ لِتَشُدَّ بِهَا فِي عَضْدِهِ وَاللهُ تَعِ بِجَعْلِهِ مُبَارَكٌ  
 النَّاصِيَةِ وَيَتَوَلَّاهُ بِالْعَيْشَةِ الرَّاضِيَةِ بِهِ

Regarding Muk.'s inquiries about Shahrayār b. Ḥasan, M. says

وأما ما سئلت فيه مما يتعلق بالوفى : شهر يار بن حسن فإنّ الشيخ الأجل داعى الدعاة المؤيد فى الدين عصمة المؤمنين صفى أمير المؤمنين ووليه أبانصر هبة الله بن موسى سلمه الله واحسن توفيقه وتسديده يفعل فى ذاك ما يوجهه حكمه ويقتضيه . . .

(62) f. 168a-f. 168b.

This is a fragment from M.'s letter addressed probably to Ṣ. (?). There is no date. M. had written a separate letter dealing exclusively with the unrest at the Ḥaramain and had asked Ṣ. to spend from his (Ṣ.'s) own purse for the performance of the rites and ceremonies of the place. In this letter, M. reminds him of his former injunction and asks him to carry with him 10,000 dinars to the Holy Places. He has also dispatched Amīr Ṭāhir b. 'Alī b. Ḥassa (? حساسه) with the clothes he has worn and prayed in on the last Friday of Ramaḍān in order to elevate the position of Ṣ.

(63) f. 168b-f. 170b.—To Muk., dated Rabī' I, A.H. 476 :—

Mukarram's letter received. Regarding the Da'wat in India and 'Umrān, M. had received letters from these parts with requests to send deputies to fill the vacancies caused by the death of their dā'is. Also Mukarram's suggestion to appoint Marzubān b. Ishāq b. Marzubān to the mission of India and Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Jābir to that of 'Umrān is accepted. Orders to this effect have been issued by the office (majlis) of the Amīr al-Juyūsh and sent with the Amīr Mu'izz ad-daula Ṭauq b. Nāsik (see No. 50).

(64) f. 171a-f. 172b.—To Muk., dated Friday, 'Īdu'l-aḍḥā, A.H. 476 :—

Greetings on the 'Īd.

(65) f. 173a-f. 174b.—To S.H., dated 15th Ramaḍān, A.H. 461 :—

M. expresses his great pleasure to hear from her the glad tidings of the birth of a male child to her. He bestows upon the new-born babe the title of أمير محيى النجباء. This letter is sent with the Amīr Abu'l-Faḍl Ṭāhir b. 'Alī b. Ḥabāsa and two of her own agents (see No. 61).

(66) f. 174b-f. 175b.—To S.H., dated 12th Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A.H. 478 :—

This letter is in reply to S.H.'s inquiries regarding the insurrection of the "seceders" (الخوارج). M. informs her of the complete victory over the rebellious forces through the efforts of Badr.

## The nature of the Persian Language written and spoken in India during the 13th and 14th Centuries

By M. J. BORAH

IT has often been said that the Persian language written and spoken in India does not possess that flavour which is generally found in the writings of the Iranian authors. There is an element of truth in the foregoing charge so far as the literature produced in India during the later period of Muslim rule is concerned. But the Persian literature produced in India from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century may be favourably compared with the writings of many an indigenous Iranian scholar. The works of Amir Khusrau and Hasan of Dihli and Badr-i-Chāch, who flourished during this period, are highly esteemed by Iranian scholars and are placed next to Sa'di and Jalāl ul-Dīn Rūmī. The early immigrants who made India their permanent home retained the purity of their tongue in a much larger measure than their successors. But with the growing influence of the Hindu scholars who began to study Persian to qualify themselves for the service of the State, the difference in the style of India and Persia proper became more marked. According to Firishṭa this influence of the Hindus on the Indo-Persian literature began to work from the time of Sikandar Lodi's accession to the throne in A.D. 1489. He says: "The Hindus began to study and write Persian (during the reign of Sikandar Lodi) which was not in vogue amongst them before this time."<sup>1</sup> With regard to the nature of the Persian language written and spoken in India during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we have an interesting account left by one of the contemporary writers, namely Amir Khusrau of Dihli. In the preface to his *Ghurraṭ-ul-Kamāl*<sup>2</sup> he says:—

"The singers of the land of Hindustan, particularly the immigrants who have settled at Delhi, surpass all the scholars of the world in their attainments. Therefore no Arab, Khurāsānī, Turk, Indian, nor any other who comes to the Muslim cities of India and spends his whole life in places like Delhi, Multan, and Lakhanautī, and not in places

<sup>1</sup> Firishṭa, vol. i, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum MS. Add. 21, 104 f., 153.

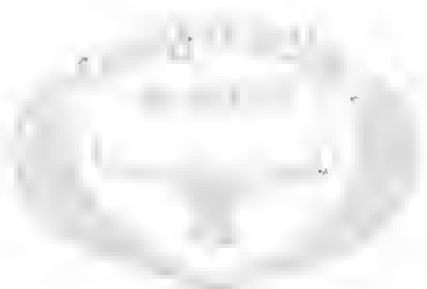


like Gujarat, Malwa and Deogir, the land of Hindu Idolatry, suffers deterioration in his own language. Assuredly he speaks according to the standard of his own country. For example, if he is an Arab, he is the master of his own language only, and he cannot lay a proper claim to the language of others; his broken speech is a proof of his foreign origin. If a Hindu citizen or a villager continually lives and mixes with the inhabitants of Delhi, yet there is imperfection in his Persian. A Khurāsānī, Irāqī, Shīrāzī or a Turk, however intelligent he may be, commits blunders in the Indian language, even if he burns many a midnight candle and claims eloquence in an assembly, yet at the end he stumbles and breaks down. But the Munshis (secretaries) born and brought up in Indian cities and particularly at Delhi, with but little practice, can speak and understand the spoken language (of others) and also obtain a command over prose and verse; they can adopt the style of every country they visit. And it has been fully proved from experience, that many of our people who have never been to Arabia, have acquired an eloquence in the Arabic language such as has not been achieved by the scholars of Arabia themselves who take lessons from the flow of their language. The Arabs, in spite of being eloquent in their own tongue, have not ability to learn our Persian correctly.

I have seen many Tāziks<sup>1</sup>—not Turks—who have learnt Turkish with industry and erudition in India; and they speak in such a way that the eloquent men of this tribe who come from their original home are astonished at it. In the case of the Persian language, which has been derived from the Persians, there is no other correct style than the style of Trans-Oxiana, which is the same as that of Hindustan. Because the Khurasanis pronounce the word چہ (*cha*) as چی (*chī*), and some of them read کجا (*kujā*) as کجو (*kaju*), but in writing they use چہ (*cha*),

<sup>1</sup> The word Tājik or Tāzik is used by different writers in different senses. The early Armenian writers applied it to the Arabs, modern Armenians have imposed it on the Turks and the Turkish Empire and even on Muslims in general. Professor Nöldeke has suggested that Tājik (better Tāchik) and Tāzi are the same word, the former being merely the older form. *Chik* means "belonging to" and in this case "belonging to the tribe of Taj". In modern Persian *Chik* becomes *Zi*. D'Ohsson says: "The Mongols gave the name of Tājik, or Tāzik to the Muhammadans, and in the historical works of this period it will be found that they employed this word in opposition to that of 'Turk'. The first served to designate the Muhammadan inhabitants of towns and cultivated lands, whether they were of Turki, Persian, or Arab origin mattered not." (*Vide* Ross and Elias's *Introduction to Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 85, 87, 90-1). I think Khurasan has used this term in the sense of Persian-speaking Turkestanis.

not چى (*chi*) and كجا (*kujā*), not كجو (*kaju*). The correct pronunciation is that denoted by the spelling. There are many words like these which are pronounced in one way but are wrong if written so. But the Persian speech prevalent in India, from the bank of the Indus to the coast of the Indian ocean is everywhere the same." It is evident from this account that the standard style of Persian adopted in India was that of the Trans-Oxiana.



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## Isophones of the Orthographic *gh-*, *bh-*, *dh-*, etc., and of *h-* in the Ambala District <sup>1</sup>

By BANARSI DAS JAIN

THERE is a saying in India that language changes every twelve *kos*.<sup>2</sup> This saying will still hold good if we say language changes every *kos*, although the amount of change in the latter case will be almost impossible to detect. In spite of this saying, which is correct at bottom, we are apt to believe that our next-door neighbours (if they are not recent strangers) speak exactly the same language as we do. Similarly we also believe that we speak exactly the same language as our parents spoke or our children will speak. But this our belief is not true, for, as a matter of fact, language changes gradually and almost imperceptibly both in time and space. The language of one's neighbours is slightly different from one's own, but when the distance grows and two persons separated by twenty or thirty miles talk together, they are certain to pick up some peculiarities in each other's speech. In the like manner the speech of the children differs from that of the parents, and in the course of a few generations this difference becomes appreciable.

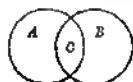
Although on the whole speech varies so gradually from village to village that it is almost impossible to draw a definite line of separation between two neighbouring dialects so that we could say that to one side of this line there is one dialect and to the other side the second, yet geographical division, more or less definite, can be attempted with reference to the following points :—

(1) *Vocables*, i.e. words signifying a particular idea. In the Punjab there are at least three words meaning "the back"—*piṭṭh*, *ḍhvi*, *kaṇḍ*. All the three are not found in one and the same dialect. The area in which each of these predominates can be ascertained, but the

<sup>1</sup> "Lately there has been no lack of would-be new methods, which sometimes have been announced in a rather noisy way. Of real importance is the principle of linguistic geography, which has been illustrated in a series of linguistic atlases and special investigations founded on them. It is hardly necessary to remark how many-sided is the information on the history of words which may be derived from these works." Holger Pedersen, *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century*, Harvard University Press, 1931, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> The implication is that the difference between two languages spoken 12 *kos* apart is appreciable.

boundaries between these areas cannot be determined quite definitely as there will be wide strips intervening between the two areas where both the words spoken in the adjacent areas find currency.



Supposing *A* represents the *dhui*-area and *B* the *piṭṭh*-area, the strip *C* will be such that here both *dhui* and *piṭṭh* are used. The speakers employ these words indiscriminately and find it difficult to decide which is their own and which is foreign.

The lines or bands separating the areas of different vocables are called *isoglosses*.

(2) *Forms*, i.e. different forms of the same word, e.g. *puṭṭ*, *puṭṭar*; *tur*, *ṭur*; *paccī*, *panjhā*; *sapp*, *samp*; *kittā*, *kareā*, etc. Experience shows that the lines separating the areas of these forms are also wide, i.e. between the areas there are wide bands where the speakers are not quite certain as to which form they should call their own. These lines or bands may be called *isomorphs*.

(3) *Speech-sounds*.—There are certain speech-sounds which are employed in one area and are absent in its neighbourhood. Such are the voiced and unvoiced *h*, *tʃ* and *ts*, *r* and *r̥h* (i.e. *r* followed by a vowel in the low tone), various pronunciations of *gh-*, *bh-*, etc., and numerous others. The lines separating the areas of speech-sounds, however, admit of a more definite and precise determination than either of the two factors mentioned above. These lines may be termed *isophones* (or *isotones* if the difference is in tone only).

It will not be without interest to describe here briefly how I became interested in, and what method I followed to investigate the isophones of the initial *gh-*, *bh-*, *dh-*, etc., and of *h-*. This will serve a twofold purpose. Firstly it will indicate, to some extent, the degree of accuracy of the results obtained, and secondly such persons as feel interested in the work and find opportunity may avail themselves of it in collecting more materials.

Everybody comes in contact with speakers of different dialects, and thus gets an opportunity of noting certain points of difference. I became particularly interested in the various pronunciations of the orthographic *gh-*, *bh-*, etc., and *h-*. It was in my school days that I noted the pronunciation of *gh-* in the Bāngarī word *ghāl* "to put" to be different from my pronunciation of the same letter in the initial position. Later, in 1908, I found that a class-fellow of mine from

Gujranwala pronounced the *h* in the English words *he*, *his*, *behind* differently from the way I did. Still later in 1914 I observed that the pronunciation of *gh*, *bh* in the words *ghōrā*, *bhāī*, *bhain* in the Juhbul dialect (Simla Hills) was quite peculiar and was different from mine and Bāngarū pronunciations. About that time I had analysed my pronunciation and had found that the symbols *gh*-, *bh*-, *dh*-, *dh*-, *jh*- had three distinct values. I brought this to the notice of Mr. A. C. Woolner, who pointed out that two of them were surd and sonant varieties of the same thing. The third was more different. I also discovered that when an unaspirated surd stop was followed by a vowel of the lowest note as in *Ālāp* or solfaing the result was a sound that differed very little from the surd variety of the peculiar pronunciations of *gh*-, *bh*-, etc. That this peculiarity of pronunciation was due to variation of pitch of vowels was discovered by Dr. T. G. Bailey and announced by Professor Daniel Jones in his lectures on phonetics delivered at Lahore in 1913.

So far I have noted the following values of the initial *gh*-, *jh*-, *dh*-, *dh*-, *bh*- :—

(1) The voiced stop followed by voiced aspiration. This is the original pronunciation of these symbols and is now found in Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, etc. I shall call it the true pronunciation.

(2) Unvoiced unaspirated stop followed by a vowel in the low-rising tone. This pronunciation is typical of Panjabi, and hence I call it the Panjabi type.

In those areas where the intervocalic *h*- followed by a stressed vowel is lost, and the vowel pronounced in the low-rising tone, the previous voiced unaspirate does not lose its voice, e.g. *ḍhāī* "wages for placing" (= *ḍahāī*) is pronounced differently from *ḍhāī* "two and a half".

(3) Voiced unaspirated stop followed by a vowel in the low-rising tone. This is the typical value obtained in the districts of Hissar, Rohtak, Karnal, etc., and I call it the Bāngarū type.

(4) Voiced unaspirated stop followed by a vowel in the high-falling tone. This pronunciation prevails in the hill dialects about Simla, and I call it the *Pahārī* type.

The following values of the initial *h*- have been observed :—

(1) Unvoiced *h*- as in standard English. This pronunciation is found in the districts of Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore



values to these letters seldom gave them the Panjabi values and vice versa, it struck me that a definite line separating these pronunciations could be determined. I, therefore, observed the pronunciation of a number of words beginning with *gh-*, *bh-*, *ḍh-*, etc., and with *h-* from the lips of the students of schools at Patiala, Ambala, and Karnal, noting down the place from where each had come. In this way I got a rough idea as to the path of the separating line. Some time after I made a tour in small towns and villages and observed the pronunciation of school students there. This resulted in giving me an almost definite line separating the two pronunciations. The names of the places of which pronunciation was observed are shown on the accompanying map.

#### CONCLUSION

1. On looking at the map it will be seen that when going from Ambala to the east, the pronunciation of *gh-*, *jh-*, *ḍh-*, and *bh-* changes earlier than that of *h-*. There is a band about six miles wide where the pronunciation of *h-* is Bāngarū while that of *gh-*, *jh-*, etc., is Panjabi. To the west of this band the pronunciation of *gh-*, *jh-*, etc., and of *h-* is Panjabi and to the east of it, it is Bāngarū.

2. The line separating the pronunciation *gh-*, *jh-*, *ḍh-*, *dh-*, and *bh-* travels roughly along the Begna stream.

3. Another fact brought to notice by this investigation is that the compensatory lengthening of vowels before old consonant groups, e.g. Skt. *hasta-*, H. *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, first appears in this intervening band.

4. The rise and fall of the musical tones is not the same everywhere. In some places the difference is quite distinct. This requires a still closer study.





# Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie

VON SIEGFRIED BEHRING

## INHALTSÜBERSICHT

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## ABKÜRZUNGEN

- BB. = *Bibliographie bouddhique* (in der Serie *Buddhica*, herausgegeben von J. Przyluski). Paris, 1930 ff.
- Bibl. (mit darauffolgender Nummer) = bezieht sich auf die Nummern der vorliegenden Bibliographie.
- Dem. = Damiéville, *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha*, 1924 (= Nr. 6 dieser Bibliographie).
- ERE. = Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.
- Held = *Deutsche Bibliographie des Buddhismus* von H. L. Held. München-Leipzig, 1918.
- HOS. = Harvard Oriental Series.
- JA. = *Journal Asiatique*.
- JCBRAS. = *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- JPTS. = *Journal of the Pali Text Society*.
- JRAS. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- M. = *Milindapañha*. Stehen Zahlen dahinter, so beziehen sie sich auf Seite und Zeile der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe.
- PTS. = Pali Text Society.
- Q. = Rhys Davids' *Übersetzung des Milindapañha* (Sacred Books of the East, Bd. 35 und 38). Dahinterstehende nicht eingeklammerte

Zahlen nennen den Abschnitt, eingeklammerte Zahlen Band und Seite der Übersetzung.

- R.H.R. = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*.  
 S.B.E. = *Sacred Books of the East*.  
 S.C. 1 = *A Supplementary Catalogue of the Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛit Books in the Library of the British Museum acquired during the years 1892–1906*. Compiled by Lionel D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Oriental printed books and MSS. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. London: British Museum, 1908. 4°. pp. vii + 548 (= 1096 Spalten).  
 S.C. 2 = (dasselbe) . . . *acquired during the years 1906–1928*. . . London: 1928. 4°, pp. vii + 847 (= 1694 Spalten).  
 Westergaard, Niels Ludvig = *Codices indici Bibl. Regiae Havniensis*. Kopenhagen 1846 (= *Codices orientales Bibl. Regiae Havniensis*, Pars prior). 4°, pp. x, 122.  
 Z.W. 1 = *Catalogue of the Sinhalese MSS. in the British Museum*, by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe. London: 1900. 4°, pp. xxiii, 199.  
 Z.W. 2 = *Catalogue of the printed books in the Library of the British Museum*, by D. M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe. London: 1901. 4°, pp. vii + 154 (= 304 Sp.).  
 Die Abkürzungen S.T., Tōk.T., T.T., die sich nur in Teil I finden, sind Bibl. 1 erklärt.

## I. DIE CHINESISCHEN VERSIONEN DES MILINDABUCHES

### A. TEXTE

1. 那先比丘經, kürzere Fassung in 2 Kapiteln (卷). Im *Shanghai'er Tripiṭaka* (Ausgabe des 頻伽-Klosters in Shanghai, vollendet 1913. Abkürzung: S.T.) und im *Tōkyō'er Tripiṭaka* (vollendet 1885. Abkürzung: Tōk.T.) findet sich das Sūtra in Abteilung 24 (藏), Heft 8<sup>1</sup>, fol. 43 recto–52 verso<sup>2</sup>. Im von Takakusu und Watanabe herausgegebenen japanischen Tripiṭaka (*Taishō-Ausgabe*, 1924 ff. Abkürzung: T.T.) unter No. 1670 A im 32. Band, Seite 694a–703c. *Kyōto'er Tripiṭaka*, xxvi, 9, 769 recto–777 recto<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Specht's Angabe, „troisième fascicule“ in Bibl. 26, p. 521, n. 1 muss ein Versehen sein; in Bibl. 28, p. 155, sagt er „8-c fascicule“.

<sup>2</sup> Tōk.T. war mir nicht zugänglich. Die Stellenangaben für diese Ausgabe verdanke ich dem Werke von Demiéville: *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha* (Bibl. 6), und zwar: p. 75 n. 1 für die Bibl. 1 und 2 genannten Texte, p. 64 n. 2 für Bibl. 4a und 4b, p. 66 n. 5 für Bibl. 3. Für die Āgama-Abschnitte war mir die Übereinstimmung der von Anesaki zu seiner Arbeit „The four Āgamas in Chinese“, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, xxxv (1908), 3, benutzten Tōk.T.-Ausgabe mit der im Besitz des Ostasiatischen Seminars der Universität Leipzig befindlichen S.T.-Ausgabe aufgefallen, vgl. *Asia Major*, vol. vii, p. 28, unter „ST“. Da auch die Bibl. 1–4 genannten Texte sich in den beiden Ausgaben an gleicher Stelle finden, auch beide Ausgaben auf jeder Seite 20 Zeilen zu je 45 Zeichen enthalten (vgl. Anesaki, op. cit., p. 5), so ist anzunehmen, dass S.T. nur ein Nachdruck von Tōk.T. ist.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Demiéville, op. cit., p. 75, n. 1.

2. 那先比丘經<sup>1</sup>, längere Fassung in 3 Kapiteln (*Bun'yū Nanjō* No. 1358). Steht im Anschluss an die unter *Bibl.* 1 genannten Stellen, in *S.T.* und *Tōk.T.*: fol. 52 recto–64 verso und in *T.T.* als No. 1670 B auf p. 703c–719a.

*Bibl.* 1 und 2, die von einem unbekannten Übersetzer unter der Dynastie der östlichen Tsin 東晉 (317–420) übersetzt worden sind, in anderen Tripitaka-Katalogen und Ausgaben: s. Dem., Kapitel ii und die Indexbände von *T.T.*

a) das Sūtra in 2 Kapiteln: *T.T.* Indexband i, p. 998c, Zeile 6 von links (Bemerkung: „auch 3 Kapitel“); p. 1014b, Zeile 5 von links; Indexband ii, p. 109b, No. 1009; p. 233c, No. 1454 (mit dem Vermerk „auch 3 Kapitel“ = Dem., p. 20, Zeile 19–22); p. 458b, No. 1072; p. 755b, No. 966 (mit einem kurzen Referat über den Inhalt; hervorgehoben die Abschnitte xxxviii und lxxx — nach der Einteilung von Demiéville — des chinesischen M.); p. 829b, No. 992 (= Dem., p. 20, Zeile 14–18; mit einem kurzen Referat über die Abschnitte cvi und cviii des chines. M.).

b) das Sūtra in 3 Kapiteln: *T.T.*, Indexband i, p. 780b, Zeile 9; p. 813a, No. 1000; p. 843c, Zeile 8 von links; p. 872b, Zeile 4 von links; p. 900a, Mitte; p. 920b, No. 1014; p. 939, No. 1011; Indexband ii, p. 58c, No. 1006; p. 140a, No. 1004; p. 171b, No. 1020; p. 260c, No. 1016; p. 293c, No. 1351; p. 318a, No. 1349; p. 346c, No. 1106; p. 382a, No. 1351; p. 421a, No. 1009.

c) das Sūtra in 2 und 3 Kap.: Indexband ii, p. 501c, No. 1363.

d) unbestimmt wieviel Kap.: Indexband i, p. 916b, No. 8.

Zu diesen chinesischen Fassungen des Milindabuches führe ich ferner noch folgende Stellen aus dem chinesischen Tripitaka an, in welchen auf Milinda und Nāgasena Bezug genommen wird:

3. 難陀王與那伽斯那共論緣, „*Avadāna vom Gespräch des Königs Nanda mit Nāgasena*“, das 111. avadāna, im 9. Kapitel<sup>2</sup> der Sammlung 雜寶藏經 (*Bun'yū Nanjō*, No. 1329; *Taishō-Ausgabe* No. 203), übersetzt A.D. 472 von Ki-kia-ye 吉迦夜 und T'an-yao 曇曜 unter der Dynastie der nördlichen Wei 北魏 (386–534). *S.T.* und *Tōk.T.*: Abteilung xiv (宿), Heft 10, fol. 39 verso–40 recto, *T.T.*: Band 4, p. 492c–493b.

4. In den chinesischen Übersetzungen von Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* von Paramārtha 真諦, dessen Übersetzung 563–567

<sup>1</sup> Die alte Sung-Ausgabe (1104–1148), die der „Library of the Imperial Household“ gehört, liest hier, wie in der *Taishō-Ausgabe* vermerkt wird, 那先經.

<sup>2</sup> So *T.T.* und *S.T.* Takakusu, *JRAS.*, 1896, pp. 16 und 17, gibt es als im 8. Kap. stehend an; *Bibl.* 30, p. xlix, n. 3, sagt er: „vol. viii, avadāna 61.“

datiert ist, und Hiuen Tsang 玄奘, der dasselbe Werk 651–654 übersetzt hat, gibt es einen Abschnitt „Widerlegung derjenigen, welche (die Existenz eines) Ich behaupten“ (破説 [bzw. 執] 我), in welchem zum Beweise dessen, dass es keine Seele gebe, und damit die Frage nach der Identität von Seele und Körper müßig sei, ein Gespräch des Königs Milinda mit Nāgasena berichtet wird.

a) Paramārttha. 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論 (*Bun'yū Nanjō* No. 1269; *Taishō-Ausgabe* No. 1559, Band 29, pp. 161c ff.; Forke's *Katalog d. Pekingener Tripiṭaka* No. 12). Der Milinda-Abschnitt (Nāgasena wird hier 那伽斯那 wiedergegeben, Milinda 旻隣陀) steht: *S.T.* und *Tōk.T.*: Abteilung xxiii (冬), Heft 2, fol. 32 verso; *T.T.*: Band 29, p. 307a, 18–307b, 3.

b) Hiuen-Tsang. 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (*Bun'yū Nanjō* No. 1267; *Taishō-Ausgabe* No. 1558, Band 29, pp. 1 ff.). Der Milinda-Abschnitt (Nāgasena = 龍軍, Milinda = 旻隣陀) steht: *S.T.* und *Tōk.T.*: Abteilung xxii (收), Heft 10, fol. 105 verso; *T.T.*: Band 29, p. 155c, 17–156a, 1.

Die chinesischen Kommentare zur Milinda-Stelle in *Bibl.* 4b sind sehr unergiebig; vgl. Dem., p. 65, n. 3.

5a. In dem von Tao-shi 道世<sup>2</sup> in der Mitte des 7. Jahrh. redigierten Werk 諸經要集 (*Bun'yū Nanjō* No. 1474; *Taishō-Ausgabe* No. 2123) findet sich im 17. Abschnitt (卷) oder: im 3. 緣 (歸信) des 27. 部 (占相)<sup>3</sup> eine Stelle, in welcher das 那先比丘經 unter dem Titel 那先比丘問佛經 zitiert und über den Inhalt von drei Abschnitten<sup>4</sup> daraus berichtet wird. *S.T.* (und wahrscheinlich auch *Tōk.T.*<sup>5</sup>): Abteilung xxxvi (雨), Heft 2, fol. 31 recto, Zeile 20 – fol. 31 verso, Zeile 7; *T.T.*: Band 54, p. 165a; *Ausgabe Kyōto*: xxvii, 8, p. 515 recto<sup>6</sup>.

5b. Dieselbe Stelle findet sich im 23. Abschnitt (卷) oder: im 3. 部 (生信) des 15. 篇 (獎道) eines anderen von Tao-shi redigierten Werkes, des 法苑珠林 (*Bun'yū Nanjō* No. 1452; *Taishō-Ausgabe* No. 2122). *S.T.* (und wahrscheinlich auch *Tōk.T.*<sup>5</sup>): Abteilung xxxvi

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Dem., p. 64, n. 2. S. Lévi in *Bibl.* 16 muss eine andere Tōkyō-Ausgabe vorgelegen haben, denn er gibt dort, p. 233, für *Bibl.* 4a: vol. ii, p. 35a, l. 11 sqq. und für *Bibl.* 4b: vol. iii, p. 108a, l. 18 sqq. an.

<sup>2</sup> So ist auch *J.A.*, 1914, ii, p. 384 n., statt 道宣 zu lesen.

<sup>3</sup> Bei durchgehender Zählung im 155 緣.

<sup>4</sup> = Dem., §§ cvi, cix, und cxii.

<sup>5</sup> Die Abteilungen und Hefte stimmen überein (vgl. Katalogband 1 der *Taishō-Ausgabe*, p. 630b, Zeile 10–11 und p. 610c, Zeile 1–2). Nur die Identität der Seitenzahlen müsste noch festgestellt werden.

<sup>6</sup> Nach Pelliot, *J.A.*, 1914, ii, p. 384 n.

(兩): Heft 6, fol. 60 recto, Zeile 7-14. *T.T.*: Band 53, p. 457c-458a. Ausgabe *Kyōto*: xxxviii, 5, 164 recto und verso <sup>1</sup>.

## B. ÜBERSETZUNGEN

### a) von Bibl. 1 und 2

6. Demiéville, Paul: „Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha.“ In: *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, xxiv (1924), pp. 1-258.

Eine Übersicht über die Einteilung dieser wichtigen Arbeit, welche nach den nicht zum Abschluss und zur Veröffentlichung gelangten Arbeiten von Specht <sup>2</sup> und Dufresne <sup>3</sup> die erste und, soviel mir bekannt, einzige vollständige Übersetzung der chinesischen Versionen des Milindabuches in eine europäische Sprache enthält, mag von der Menge der darin behandelten Einzelfragen eine Vorstellung geben.

Einteilung der Arbeit: I. État des recensions conservées (pp. 1-4). II. Histoire des versions chinoises (pp. 4-21). III. Comparaison des versions chinoise et palie (pp. 21-35). IV. Ménandre (pp. 35-46). V. Nāgasena (pp. 46-67). VI. Valeur doctrinale de l'ouvrage (pp. 67-74). VII. Traduction (pp. 75-180). Appendices: 1. Sur les éditions imprimées du canon chinois (pp. 181-218). 2. Sur un passage du Mahameghasāstra (pp. 218-230). 3. Sur le fleuve Che-p'i-yi (pp. 230-1). 4. Sur la pensée unique (pp. 231-246). Collationnement des citations anciennes (pp. 247-8). Approximation du nombre des caractères écrits sur chaque feuillet des exemplaires officiels du canon à l'époque des T'ang

<sup>1</sup> Nach Pelliot, *J.A.*, 1914, ii, p. 384 n.

<sup>2</sup> Specht, der zusammen mit Sylvain Lévi als erster auf dem 9. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongress in London (1892) auf die chinesischen Entsprechungen zum M. hingewiesen und Teile daraus übersetzt hatte (vgl. *Bibl.* 26), arbeitete an einer vollständigen Übersetzung der chinesischen Versionen. Leider verhinderte sein im Jahre 1906 erfolgtes Ableben (ein ihm vom damaligen Präsidenten der Société Asiatique, M. Barbier de Meynard, gewidmeter Nachruf ist abgedruckt in *J.A.*, 1906, i, pp. 305-9) die Vollendung dieser Arbeit.

<sup>3</sup> Auf diesen Gelehrten wurde ich durch die Bemerkungen Pelliot's in *J.A.*, 1914, ii, p. 379, und *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923), p. 210, aufmerksam. Prof. Pelliot hatte die Freundlichkeit, mir auf eine Anfrage mitzuteilen, dass Herr Dufresne sich auf den Rat seines Lehrers Sylvain Lévi an eine Übersetzung der chinesischen Version des M. gemacht hatte, aber durch seine Versetzung an die École Française d'Extrême-Orient und den Eintritt als Professor in die „Direction de l'instruction publique“ der indo-chinesischen Verwaltung seine Milinda-Arbeiten aufgeben musste und nichts darüber veröffentlicht hat.

(nach p. 248). Vocabulaire de la version chinoise (pp. 249–253). Druckfehler- und Inhaltsverzeichnis (pp. 255–8) <sup>1</sup>.

7. Ivanovski (Aleksij Osipovič) <sup>2</sup>.

Professor Ivanovski übertrug die Einleitung und andere Stücke der chinesischen Milindapañha-Version nach in St. Petersburg vorhandenen Texten ins Russische. Professor v. Oldenburg fertigte davon eine englische Übersetzung an und sandte sie im Frühling 1892 an Professor Rhys Davids. Leider ging diese Übersetzung auf dem Wege verloren, vgl. SBE. 36, p. xi.

b) von Bibl. 3–4 <sup>3</sup>

8. Chavannes, Edouard: *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka chinois et traduits en français* par Ed. Ch. Publiés sous les auspices de la Société Asiatique. Paris: Leroux 1910–11. 8°, 3 Bände. i: 1910. xx, 428 pp. ii und iii: 1911. 449 und 395 pp.

Im 3. Bande, pp. 120–4, findet sich unter No. 418 die Übersetzung von Bibl. 3.

9. La Vallée Poussin, Louis de: *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* traduit et annoté. Société Belge d'Études Orientales. Paris: Geuthner. 8°. 5 Bände. 1) 1. u. 2. Kap. pp. vi, 331, 1923; 2) 3. Kap. pp. iii, 217, 1926; 3) 4. Kap. pp. 255, 1924; 4) 5. u. 6. Kap. pp. xi, 303, 1925; 5) 7. 8. u. 9. Kap. pp. iii, 302, 1925.

Der Übersetzung liegt der Text von Hiuens-Tsang zugrunde.

Die Nāgasena-Milinda-Episode (Bibl. 4b) findet sich auf pp. 263–4 des V. Bandes.

10. Lévi, Sylvain: (Übersetzung von Bibl. 4a und b) s. Bibl. 16.

11. Takakusu, Jyunjirō: (Übersetzung von Bibl. 3 ins Englische) s. Bibl. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Im Sonderdruck steht statt dessen ein Index (pp. 255–8) und eine erweiterte Liste von Verbesserungen und Nachträgen (pp. 261–4). Als Ergänzung zu dieser Liste hier noch einige kleine Druckfehler, die mir bei der Lektüre aufgefallen sind: p. 63, n. 4: lies xcv statt xxv; p. 65, n. 3: Yaśomitra statt Vasu-; pp. 79–80 fehlt die Kapitelbezeichnung X; p. 81, l. 15: Çatapatha statt pata-; p. 130, n., l. Zeile: Vasilev statt Vasilve; p. 133 n., l. 1: cakkhurviññāpaṃ statt naṃ; p. 137, n. 2: abbhantars statt abha-; p. 138, n. 6: udghāṭayati statt udghāṭṭ; p. 150, n. 5: bāhire āyatane statt bāhīyā; p. 170, n. unter iv: Digha Nikāya, vol. ii statt iii; p. 236, l. 3: °smariṣyanti statt °smariṣyanti (so ist auch im Druckfehlerverzeichnis, p. 264, zu lesen); ebenda ll. 18 und 19: akuṣala statt °sala.

<sup>2</sup> 1863–1903. Kurzer Artikel über ihn in der russischen Enzyklopädie von Brockhaus-Efron (in der Ausgabe 1890–1904: Band 12 A (= 24. Halbband), Sp. 757; in der neuen Ausgabe 1904–1914 (*Novyj Enciklopedičeskij Slovar'*), die beim Buchstaben I abgebrochen worden ist, im 18. Band). In der *Boľšaja Sovjetskaja Enciklopedija* fehlt der betr. Band noch.

<sup>3</sup> Übersetzungen von Bibl. 5 sind mir nicht bekannt.

C. ARBEITEN, DIE SICH MIT DEM CHINESISCHEN MILINDAPAÑHA BEFASSEN <sup>1</sup>

12. Davids, T. W. Rhys : *The Questions of King Milinda* (genauen Titel s. *Bibl.* 74).

Beschäftigt sich im 2. Bande (SBE. 36), pp. xi-xv mit den chinesischen Versionen des M.

13. \*Genshin 源信 (942-1017) von der Tendai-Sekte.

Zitiert in seinem Werk *Ôjôyôshu* 往生要集 das 那先比丘經, allerdings aus zweiter Hand, nach Tao-shi (vgl. *Bibl.* 5a und 5b) in der Sammlung *Shinshûseikyôtaizen* 眞宗聖教大全, Bd. ii, pp. 437-8 (Dem., p. 245 und n. 8).

14. Ivanovski, Professor, s. *Bibl.* 29.

15. \*Kanenori, Hari 堀謙徳 : „La géographie des lieux où enseignèrent les Maîtres en sāstra de l'Inde.“ In: *Shigaku Zasshi*, vol. xix, pp. 1157-1160.

Erklärt : „Le maître en sāstra Long-khun, ou Na-k'ia-si-na, ou encore Na-sien, convertit le roi Méandre en lui prêchant la doctrine mahāyāniste“ (Dem., p. 63, n. 4).

15a. \*Kimura, J. : Buha Bukkyô ni okeru Fumbetsu Jôzasu no Chii to sono Shûgi no sadamekata (La situation des Vibhajjāvādin dans Theravāda et leur doctrine). In: *Shûkyô Kenkyû*, Juli 1930, 6 pp.—Angezeigt von K. Okamoto in *BB.*, fasc. 2, No. 263.

Nach der genannten Anzeige in *BB.* empfiehlt Professor Kimura in dieser seiner letzten Arbeit zur Klärung der im Thema aufgeworfenen Frage zwei Wege : „examiner ce que nie le *Kathāvatthu* et comparer *Milindapañha* avec *Vibhanga*.“

16. Lévi, Sylvain : „Un nouveau document sur le Milindapracna.“ In: *Comptes rendus de l'Ac. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 4<sup>e</sup> série, tome xxi, 1893, pp. 232-7.

Bringt zum erstenmal aus den im Chinesischen erhaltenen Versionen (Paramārtha und Hinen-Tsang) von Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* die Stelle (s. *Bibl.* 4a und 4b), auf welche sich der Kommentator Yaśomitra, der einen Nāgasena erwähnt, bezogen hatte und die man bis dahin nicht vergleichen konnte, da der Sanskrittext des *Abhidharmakośa* nicht erhalten ist. Auf die betreffende Stelle in Yaśomitra's Kommentar, der *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, hatte schon Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 570, im Jahre

<sup>1</sup> In dieser Abteilung habe ich auch (aus Dem. und *BB.*) Arbeiten japanischer Gelehrter aufgenommen, in denen der M. nur erwähnt wird. Diese Arbeiten sind mit einem \* bezeichnet.



1844 aufmerksam gemacht, und L. Feer teilte auf eine Bitte Rhys Davids' Genaueres aus Burnouf's Manuskript mit, vgl. *JRAS.*, 1891, 476-8. Lévi's Aufsatz brachte zwei Jahre später willkommene Aufklärung. Er fasst das Resultat seiner Untersuchung wie folgt zusammen.: „Le texte pâli du Milindapañha et les versions chinoises étudiées par M. Specht n'ont pas de passage qui corresponde au fragment cité par Vasubandhu, mais la doctrine est de part et d'autre absolument conforme“ (p. 235).—S. auch Dem., Abschnitt v, iv (pp. 64-5): „*Le maître ancien de Vasubandhu.*“

17. Lévi, Sylvain: Einleitung zu Specht's Ansatz „Deux traductions, etc.“, s. *Bibl.* 26.

18. —, —: (Diskussionsbemerkung) in: *JA.*, viii<sup>e</sup> série, t. xix (1892, i), p. 343.

„M.S.L. estime que la version chinoise (du M.) permettra de reconstituer la forme primitive de l'original.“

19. \*Maeda, Eun, 前田 慧雲: Geschichte des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus (大乘佛教史論). Tōkyō, 1903.

Anf pp. 122-7 „l'auteur se borne à renvoyer au texte sur le Nirvāṇa (v. ch. § xciv); de ce passage 'et d'autres pareils' il conclut qu' 'en lisant attentivement ce dialogue' on ne peut manquer d'y reconnaître des éléments mahāyānistes; puis vient l'argument de fond: si Nāgaseṇa exposa la théorie hīnayāniste de la négation du moi, c'est par contrainte et pis-aller, parce qu'il lui fallait convertir un profane, un païen, un roi grec, un débutant, auquel convenait seule cette doctrine élémentaire on 'initiale'“ (Dem., p. 63, n. 4). Demiéville weist darauf hin, dass dieselbe Meinung schon fünfzehnhundert Jahre früher von Vasubandhu geäußert worden sei.

20. \*Matsumoto, Bunzaburō: Über das Sukhavāti-Paradies, Gokuraku jōdo ron 極樂淨土論. Tōkyō, 1904.

Sieht (pp. 18-20) im § cvi des chines. M. (Dem., pp. 166-7) den ersten Vorläufer der Sukhavāti-Lehre und vergleicht auf pp. 149-151 den § cviii mit zwei Stellen aus dem Amitāyus-Sūtra. Ist geneigt, eine Abhängigkeit der Amida-Lehre von der im Nāgaseṇa-Sūtra zutage tretenden „idealistischen Konzeption“ anzunehmen, eine Ansicht, die Demiéville als „singulièrement fragile“ bezeichnet (Dem., p. 232).

21. \*Ōda, Tokunō 織田得能, bringt auf p. 1688 des

Bukkyōdaijiten 佛教大辭典 in seiner Notiz über den König Menander den § cvi des chines. M. (Dem., p. 232 und n. 1).

22. v. Oldenburg, Ssergej (Sergius, Serge)

war der Vermittler zwischen dem russischen Sinologen Ivanovski, der sich mit den in St. Petersburg vorhandenen chinesischen Milindatexten beschäftigte und augenscheinlich des Englischen nicht mächtig war, und den Englisch schreibenden Orientalisten (s. *Bibl.* 7 und 29).

23. Pelliot, Paul: „Les noms propres dans les traductions chinoises du Milindapañha.“ In: *JA.*, xi<sup>e</sup> série, t. iv (1914, ii), pp. 379–419.

Analyse von 24 im chines. M. vorkommenden Eigennamen. „Mon but, en rédigeant le présent article, a été de fournir aux indianistes des indications que la plupart d'entre eux ne peuvent pas aller prendre directement dans les sources chinoises; et en même temps j'ai essayé, à propos de cette onomastique, d'utiliser d'une façon plus précise qu'on ne le fait généralement les données de la phonétique chinoise ancienne“ (p. 417).

24. Rahder, J(hannes): Groot-Indië. Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het hoogleerarsambt aan de Rijks-Universiteit te Utrecht op den 7den April 1930, door J. R., gr. 8°. pp. 33<sup>1</sup>.

pp. 10–12: weist auf die Übersetzung von Demiéville hin und belegt durch einige chinesische Umschreibungen indischer Wörter seine Ansicht, dass das Original der chinesischen Milinda-Übersetzung nicht in Pāli, sondern in einem altindischen Prakrit abgefasst sein müsse, ähnlich dem Dialekt der Kharoṣṭhī-Inschriften.

24a. Sasaki, N.: Zui-kyō 隋經 (Sūtras de l'époque Zui). 5 pp., 19 photog.; Tōkyō, 1930.—Angezeigt von K. Okamoto, *BB.*, fasc. 2, No. 148.

Behandelt die im Titel genannte Abteilung des in Nara aufbewahrten Tripiṭaka von Shōsōin 正倉院, die auch ein 那先比丘經 enthält, s. Indexband 1 der *Taishō-Ausgabe*, p. 946b, No. 8. Es handelt sich um ein Heft, ich weiss aber nicht, ob von *Bibl.* 1 oder *Bibl.* 2.

25. Schrader, F(riedrich) Otto: Die Fragen des Königs Menandros. Aus dem Pāli zum ersten Male ins Deutsche übersetzt Berlin: Raatz o.J. (1907). 8°. pp. xxxv + 172 + xxvii.

<sup>1</sup> Anzeige von Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *BB.*, fasc. 2, No. 102.

Enthält ein Kapitel: *Die chinesischen Ausgaben und ihr Verhältnis zum Pāli-Text*, pp. 117–125.

26. Specht, Édouard: Deux traductions chinoises du Milindapañho. Mit einer Einleitung von Sylvain Lévi.

Diese Abhandlung, welche die Orientalistik zum erstenmal auf die chinesischen M.-Versionen hinwies, wurde am 9. Sept. 1892 von L. de La Vallée Poussin der indo-arischen Sektion des 9. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses in London vorgelegt<sup>1</sup> und ist dann erschienen in: *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* (held in London, 5th to 12th September, 1892), ed. by E. Delmar Morgan, in two vols. London: printed for the committee of the Congress, 1893. Vol. i (Indian and Aryan sections), pp. 518–529.

27. —, —: Deux traductions chinoises du Milindapañho. Paris: Leroux, 1893. 8°. pp. 25.<sup>2</sup>

Dieses Büchlein habe ich mir leider nicht beschaffen können, so dass ich nicht weiss, wie weit es von *Bibl.* 26 abweicht.

28. —, —: (eine Mitteilung) in: *JA.*, ix<sup>e</sup> série, t. vii (1896 i), pp. 155–7.

Enthält die Antwort auf die von Takakusu in *Bibl.* 29 ausgesprochene Frage nach den in Paris vorhandenen Ausgaben des chinesischen Milindatextes. Specht's Angaben betr. Vorkommen des chines. M. in den Katalogen des chines. Tripitaka sind nach *Bibl.* 23 und besonders nach *Bibl.* 6, wo dieser Frage ein besonderer Abschnitt gewidmet ist (pp. 4–21), zu ergänzen, bzw. zu berichtigen.

29. Takakusu, Jyunjirō 高楠順次郎: Chinese translations of the Milinda Pañho. In: *JRAS.*, 1896, pp. 1–21.

Teilt die Einleitung aus dem Milindatext der Sammlung des India Office in teilweiser Übersetzung mit und kommt zum Schluss, dass man nicht, wie Rhys Davids in der Einleitung zum 2. Teil seiner Milindapañha-Übersetzung (SBE. 36, p. xi und Anm. 3, und p. xii mit Anm. 1) annehmen zu müssen glaubt, drei (+ Exemplar von St. Petersburg) oder gar vier (+ Exemplar der India Office-Sammlung) chinesische Fassungen besitze, sondern, dass es mit den schon von Specht in *Bibl.* 26

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *Transactions, etc.*; vol. i, p. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Kurzes Referat darüber von Senart s. *Comptes rendus de l'Ac. des Sc. et B.-L.*, 1893, p. 113.

genannten zwei Fassungen sein Bewenden habe. Weiterhin bringt er eine Übersetzung von *Bibl.* 3<sup>1</sup>. Zum Schluss ist als Bestätigung der Annahme von Takakusu eine Mitteilung des russischen Sinologen Ivanovski abgedruckt, die durch v. Oldenburg an Takakusu und von diesem an Rhys Davids weitergegeben wurde. Ivanovski stellte die Übereinstimmung des in St. Petersburg vorhandenen Textes mit der von Takakusu auf pp. 5 ff. seines Aufsatzes gegebenen Übersetzung fest.

30. —, —: A Pāli chrestomathy with notes and glossary giving Sanskrit and Chinese equivalents. Tōkyō: Kinokōdō & Co. 1900. 8°. pp. xciv + vi + 272.

Auf pp. xlviii-liii finden sich neben einer einführenden Notiz über die Pāli- und chinesischen Versionen des Milindabuches Auszüge aus dem chines. M. und Vergleiche mit dem Pālitext (die entsprechenden Pālistücke: pp. 69-88).

31. \*Tokiwa, Daijō 常盤大定.

Sagt in *Encyclopædia Japonica*, vol. vii (1916), pp. 1229-1230: „Les commentateurs chinois font (de l'interlocuteur de Ménandre) l'auteur d'un Trikāya-sāstra et lui attribuent une doctrine différente de celle des représentants de l'école de Nāgārjuna; mais ce point n'a pas été étudié de près. . . La doctrine (du M.) ne comporte qu'une faible part d'éléments pouvant être appelés mahāyānistes; toutefois on y trouve quelques passages fort remarquables, notamment un paragraphe relatif au 'salut par la force étrangère'. Cet ouvrage est un document important pour l'histoire du bouddhisme au 1<sup>er</sup> siècle avant l'ère chrétienne dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest“ (Dem., p. 64, n. 1).

32. Watters, T.: „The eighteen Lohan of Chinese Buddhist temples.“ In: *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 329-347<sup>2</sup>.

Anknüpfend an den 12. Arhat 那伽犀那 werden chinesische Texte, in denen ein Nāgasena vorkommt (*Bibl.* 3, 4a, 4b, 2 und 1) erwähnt, ausserdem der Pāli-Milindapañña (p. 341).

Demiéville meint, der Arhat Nāgasena könne natürlich der kanonisierte Held des M. sein (das ist die Ansicht von Watters); er (D.) sei jedoch eher geneigt, den Arhat mit dem Sthavira

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl.* 3 ins Französische übersetzt s. *Bibl.* 8.

<sup>2</sup> Dasselbe Thema, jedoch viel eingehender, behandelt der Aufsatz von Lévi und Chavannes „Les seize arhat protecteurs de la loi“, in *JA.*, 11<sup>e</sup> série, t. 8 (1916, II), pp. 5-50 und 189-304. p. 274 findet sich hier die Bemerkung, der Arhat Nāgasena sei durch die Bekehrung des Menander zum Buddhismus bekannt.

Nāgasena zu identifizieren, der nach tibetischen und chinesischen Quellen im Zusammenhang mit einer Sektenspaltung genannt wird (Dem., pp. 47-52).

## II. GIBT ES EINE TIBETISCHE ÜBERSETZUNG DES MILINDABUCHES?

Die einzige Stelle, in welcher ich einen Hinweis auf das Vorhandensein einer solchen Übersetzung zu finden glaubte, steht im 8. Bande (1915) der *ERE*.

33. Rhys Davids sagt hier (p. 632b), nachdem er vom Verhältnis des indischen Originals zur Pāli- und zur chinesischen Version gesprochen hat und von verschiedenen Möglichkeiten, dieses Verhältnis zu erklären: „A solution of this Milinda problem would be of the utmost importance for the elucidation of the darkest period in the history of Indian literature. Unfortunately, each of the alternatives suggested above involves great difficulties, and none of the scholars who have written on the subject has so far been able to persuade any other to accept his conclusions. The evidence at present available is insufficient. When the Tibetan translation has been properly examined<sup>1</sup>, when all the quotations from the Milinda in the Pāli commentaries are edited, when all the references elsewhere (and especially those in the numerous Buddhist Sanskrit works still buried in MSS.) have been collected, we shall be better able to estimate the value of the external evidence as to the history of the Milinda literature in India.“

Doch stellte sich sehr bald heraus, dass ich Rhys Davids missverstanden hatte. Fran Rhys Davids war eine tibetische Übersetzung nicht bekannt, und auch Frl. Marcelle Lalou, an welche ich mich mit der Bitte um Auskunft gewandt hatte, wusste nichts von einer solchen Übersetzung im tibetischen Kanon. Rhys Davids spricht also von der Zukunft und meint, dass vielleicht im tibetischen Kanon sich eines Tages eine Milinda-Übersetzung finden würde, die dann unter ständen wertvolle Hinweise zur Geschichte der Milinda-Literatur rn könnte.

34. Auch Sarat Chandra Das verspricht sich von einem Durchsuchen tibetischen Kanons nach einer solchen Übersetzung Erfolg.

<sup>1</sup> Von mir gesperrt.

Er sagt (*Journal of the Buddhist Text and Research Society*, vol. vii, pt. iii (Sept. 1904), p. 5: „As the Tibetans translated all the Mahāyāna works which were written in Sanskrit it is very probable that Milinda Prasna may still be found either in original or in translation in Tibet. Its recovery may some day be announced by the future Tibetan scholar when he has carefully analysed the Tangyur collection of Buddhist shastras.“<sup>1</sup>

35. Auch bei Pavolini, *Buddismo* (*Bibl.* 112), p. 98. n. 2, habe ich eine ähnliche Äusserung gefunden: „ . . . ed è probabile, e desiderabile, che del dialogo si trovi poi anche una versione tibetana . . . Leider erklärt Pavolini sein „probabile“ nicht näher.

Es sei also hiermit an die Tibetologen der ganzen Welt die Bitte gerichtet, einer wissenschaftlichen Institution oder mir Mitteilung zu machen, ob ihnen etwas vom Vorhandensein einer tibetischen Übersetzung des Milindabuches bekannt ist. Dieses Werk wäre, wie das ja auch Rhys Davids in der *Bibl.* 33 zitierten Stelle hervorhebt, von grösster Bedeutung für die Milinda-Kunde.

Von Bearbeitungen tibetischer Quellen, in denen auch auf Milinda und den M. Bezug genommen wird, sind mir nur bekannt geworden:

36. Stcherbatsky (Ščerbatskoi), Th(eodor) I.: „The soul theory of the Buddhists.“ In: *Izvestija Rossijskoi Akademii Nauk* (*Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*), 6. Serie, Band xiii (1919), pp. 823-854 und 937-958.

Die Arbeit ist die Übersetzung des Anhangs zum 8. Kapitel (von manchen als 9. Kapitel bezeichnet) von Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, „Widerlegung derjenigen, welche (die Existenz eines) Ich behaupten“<sup>2</sup> nach dem tibetischen Tandjur. O. O. Rosenberg hat die Übersetzung mit den chinesischen Versionen des Hinen-Tsang und Paramārtha verglichen.

Die Geschichte von Nāgasena und Milinda findet sich auf pp. 846-8.

37. Waddell, L(aurence) A(ustine): „An historical basis for the Questions of King 'Menander' from the Tibetan.“ In: *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 227-237.

Meint, dass der M. auf einen Dialog zwischen Nāgasena und einem König Ananta oder Nanda von Bengalen oder Südostindien

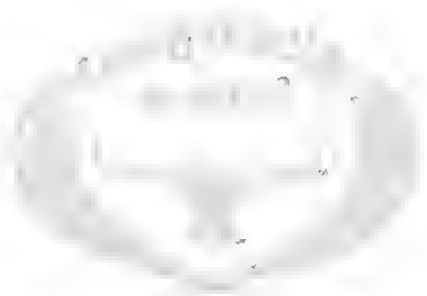
<sup>1</sup> Merkwürdig ist, dass Das hier offenbar den M. zu den Mahāyānawerken rechnet.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. *Bibl.* 4a und 4b.

zurückgeht. Diese Hypothese ist jedoch kaum zu halten, vgl. Garbe, *Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte*, Berlin 1903, Anm. auf S. 109 und 110<sup>1</sup>; Goblet d'Alviella, *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce* (Ausgabe Paris 1926), p. 27, n. 3 (= *Bulletins de l'Ac. Royale Belgique* 1897, i, p. 688 n.); Dem., pp. 47 ff., besonders n. 3 auf p. 47 und n. 3 auf p. 52.

<sup>1</sup> Im Aufsatz in der *Deutschen Rundschau* (s. *Bibl.* 108) fehlt diese Anm.

(Teil III folgt.)



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## A Grammar of the Language of Vaturanga, Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands

By W. G. IVENS, Litt.D.

### VATURANGA

VATURANGA itself is the name given to a small district at the extreme north-west end of the island of Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands; but, according to Bishop J. M. Steward, who worked as a missionary on that end of the island, the language spoken along a very considerable portion of the north-west coast, as well as of the north-east coast, of the island is very closely allied to the language of Vaturanga. In addition, through the work of the Melanesian Mission, the language of Vaturanga has become the "ecclesiastical" language in the schools and churches of the mission throughout the portion of the island indicated.

The translational work in the Vaturanga language undertaken by the Melanesian Mission comprises: (1) A translation of the Book of Common Prayer, with the usual daily and occasional services, the liturgical Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, together with fifty-four Psalms, and a Hymnary. These translations represent the work, at various times, of Rev. P. T. Williams, Bishop J. M. Steward, Rev. F. Bollen, and Rev. H. Toke. (2) The Gospel according to St. Luke. This was issued many years ago, and the translation was the work of the Rev. P. T. Williams, with native assistants. In 1932 a translation of the four Gospels and the Book of the Acts was published by the Melanesian Mission Press. Various native teachers of the Mission were responsible for the translation.

The following grammar has been drawn up as a result of the study of the existing translations in the language, with the help of a MS. dictionary and MS. notes on the grammar compiled by Bishop J. M. Steward.

Dr. Codrington presents a grammar of the Vaturanga language on pp. 539-545 of his *Melanesian Languages*, the material for which was gathered from Vaturanga-speaking native boys in the Melanesian Mission School at Norfolk Island. This grammar has also proved of use in compiling the present grammar.

The translations in the language were made long after Codrington's



grammar was published. It is therefore possible now, with the new material available, to do a much fuller grammar of the language and to amend any mistakes made by Dr. Codrington. The present grammar has been submitted to Bishop Steward for comment and criticism, and his corrections and additions have been incorporated in the text.

According to Codrington (*Melanesian Languages*, p. 540), there is a connection between the languages of Vaturanga and that of the neighbouring island of Savo, but rather in phonology and vocabulary than in grammar. Bishop Steward, however, thinks that there is no connection between the two languages. It may well be that certain words are common to both languages, and that certain sounds are found in both.

Codrington calls attention to the fact that the Vaturanga language has the remarkable characteristic of making fixed and certain changes of letters with the language of Florida, the island of the central Solomons which lies midway between the islands of Guadalcanal, Ysabel, and Mala, and with which a considerable intercourse has been maintained in the past by the peoples of the neighbouring parts of these three islands. Thus, as Codrington says, the Florida *g* (what Codrington calls "the Melanesian *g*") is *h* in Vaturanga, and the Florida *h* is *s* in Vaturanga; e.g. Florida *hege* "self, alone", is Vaturanga *sehe*. But, he adds, "it cannot be said that every *h* and *s* in Vaturanga is the equivalent of a corresponding *g* and *h* in Florida, since the vocabularies of the two languages are not the same." In addition, it may be said that the Florida *s* changes into *j* or *z* in Vaturanga; e.g. Florida *sisi* "red", *subiri* "to trade", are in Vaturanga *jiji*, *zabiri*. Codrington also notes that Florida *sani* "from" becomes *tani* in Vaturanga.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>adj.</i> , adjective.	<i>MIL.</i> , <i>Melanesian Island Languages</i> ,
<i>adv.</i> , adverb.	S. H. Ray, M.A., Cambridge University
<i>excl.</i> , exclusive, i.e. excluding the person	Press.
spoken to.	<i>pl.</i> , plural.
<i>incl.</i> , inclusive, i.e. including the person	<i>pers.</i> , person.
spoken to.	<i>sing.</i> , singular.
<i>MIL.</i> , <i>Melanesian Languages</i> , R. H.	<i>TSE.</i> , <i>Torres Straits Expedition</i> , vol. iii,
Codrington, D.D., Clarendon Press.	Cambridge University Press.

For references to Bugotu see "Bugotu Grammar" (Ivens), *BSOS.* Vol. VIII, Pt. 1, 1933.

For references to Inakona see "The Language of Inakona" (Rev. A. Capell, B.A.), *JPS.*, No. 154, June, 1930.

For references to Longgu see Ivens, "A Grammar of the Language of Longgu, Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands. to be published shortly in BSOS.

# I. ALPHABET

1. (a) Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u.*

(b) Consonants: *b, d, h, j, k, ngg, l, m, n, ng, p, r, s, t, v, z.*

According to Bishop Steward, the vowels have the sounds of the English *ah, eh, ee, oh, ugh*, except before *b, d, ngg, ng, z*, when *a, e, i, o* have shorter sounds, as in the English "pan", "pen", "pin", "on." The *b* in Vaturanga is sounded as *mb* in "tumbler", the *d* as *nd* in "handle"; *ngg* is sounded as *ng* in "finger", and *ng* as *ng* in "singer". *j* is sounded as *ts* in "Tsar", *z* as *nds* in "handsaw".

Bishop Steward also says that every vowel in the language is given its full sound, and that diphthongs do not occur.

In the translations, *ng* is printed as *n* and *ngg* as *g*. The *ngg* sound is a change from *k*, however, and not from *g*.

Bishop Steward dissents from Codrington's statement, *Melanesian Languages*, p. 540, that *j* is sounded as *ch* in English "church", and gives its value as above. Again, with regard to Codrington's statement that *j* in Vaturanga has not always the same sound, being sometimes the equivalent of the English *z*, and sometimes containing an *n* sound, Bishop Steward says that the value of *j* is *nj*, i.e. *nts*, but adds that in practice it is often very difficult to know whether to write a *j* or a *z* for the sound, each sound apparently being heard at different times and from the same speaker.

In the translations, *j* is often used where Bishop Steward writes *z* in his dictionary; e.g. *jajahali* or *zajuhali* for *zazahali*.

An *l* has been lost in many words, but without any "break" in the pronunciation such as occurs in the Sa'a, Mala. language, when medial consonants are dropped; e.g. *tindao* for the Florida *tindalo* "ghost", *sangātu* for the Florida *sangulatu* "hundred" (in this case the *a* is lengthened); *teteo* for *tetelo* "little". Bishop Steward, in his grammatical notes, writes also a form *teteko* "little", showing a change from *l* to *k*.

The letters *q* and *w* do not occur, as also is the case in the languages of Florida and Bugotu. Where *w* occurs in Sa'a as an initial letter it is missing in Vaturanga; e.g. the Sa'a *wasi* "wild, unowned", *walu* "eight", are in Vaturanga *aji, alu*.

The "Melanesian *g*" or, as Ray calls the sound, the "guttural

trill," is also absent in Vaturanga, its place being taken by *h* in words in which it occurs in Florida.

## II. ARTICLES

2. (a) Demonstrative :—Singular : *na*.

Plural : *hira*.

(b) Personal, masculine, *a* ; feminine, *ko*, *a ko*.

The articles precede the noun.

3. The article *na* is used before all nouns, and seems to be more or less attached to the noun, being often written as one word with it, and not being dropped for the plural ; it may mean either "the" or "a" ; *na mane* "a man, the man" ; but usually a demonstrative pronoun follows the noun when "the" is indicated : *na mane ngene* "that man, the man, he who". *Na* is used, as in Bngotu, with the gerundival forms : *na paneteana* "the doing of it, to do it" ; *e lalave na reiana* "he sought to see him". It may denote purpose, and in itself contains a gerundival force : *ara tu na vano* "they rose up to go". A noun form follows the words *tungomana* "to be able", and also *jika* and *mole*, the dehortatives : *jika'na hoko* "do not speak". *Na* is used preceding the possessive noun *ni*, to which the pronouns of possession, *nggu*, *mu*, *na*, etc., are suffixed ; *na* in this case is written separately : *na miu*, "yours" ; also it is used with the interrogative pronoun *hua* "what", and with the ordinal numbers : *na hua* "what ?" ; *na ngidana* "first, the first" ; *na ononina* "the sixth" ; *na sangavulunina* "the tenth" ; also *na toha* "a thousand". In itself *na* is singular, but it is used following *hira*, the personal pronoun 3rd pers. pl. which is used to denote plurality : *hira na ome* "things" ; also *hamu na taovia* "ye kings !"

When the connotation is general the article *na* is omitted : *loho vale* "house-building". No article is used with a noun following and qualifying another noun : *na vale jinoho* "the guest-house" ; *na vale vatv* "a stone-house".

4. An article *na* is used, as in Florida, before the name of a place in order to denote "belonging to" a place ; *na taovia adiru na Judea* "the King of the Jews" ; *ihoe na Galilea* "you are a Galilean". Bngotu has an article *gna* denoting "of, belonging to, a place", and these articles *na* and *gna*, in Florida, Vaturanga, and Bngotu, according to Mr. S. H. Ray, are connected with *na* the ligative article in Indonesian languages ; thus *na* in Tagalog *si Jesus na taga Nazareth*

"Jesus of Nazareth" is the same as *na* in the Vaturanga *a Jesus na Nazareth*, or as *gna* in the Bugotu *a Jesus gna i Nazareth*.

5. The personal pronoun *hira*, 3rd pers. pl., is used preceding the singular article *na* to denote the plural: *na ome* "a thing", *hira na ome* "things". Ray regards a similar use of the pronoun in the Tasiriki language of Espiritu Santo, *MIL.*, pp. 371-2, as being a case of apposition rather than a plural sign. In a letter he states that when the personal pronoun, 3rd pers. pl., is used as a plural sign in certain languages of the New Hebrides, cf. *MIL.*, pp. 247, 274, 285, etc., it follows the noun and does not precede it.

6. A plural is shown by the doubling of a phrase with the copula *ma* "and": *na ome* "a thing", *na ome ma na ome* "things, many things", (this is probably the *manacume* of Codrington's grammar, p. 541); *na vavata ma na vavata* "generations, from generation to generation". The Longgu language of Gnadalecanal has a similar use, as also has Bugotu.

7. The personal article *a* is used with the names of males only; it also personifies: *a Basilei*; *a John*; *a nggunggure* "the tempter"; it is used with the relationship terms to denote a specific person: *a dale* "the son", *a tina* "mother", *a mama* "father", *a tasima* "your brother", *inau a tamana* "I (am) his father"; it may be preceded by the pronoun *aia* "he, she": *aia a tamana* "his father", *aia a tinangu* "my mother", *aia a Lord* "the Lord"; it is used with *mea* "person", which is equivalent to the Florida and Bugotu *hanu* "person", and is probably the same as the Maori *mea* "thing": *a mea* "the male person, he who", *ko mea* "the woman, she who", *a ko mea de* "this woman"; and there is the usual Melanesian usage of *a* with the word meaning thing: *na ome* "a thing", *a ome* "so-and-so, such and such a man", *ko ome* "such and such a woman". There is a use of the article *a* with the plural, as in Bugotu: *hamu a mea* "you people!", *hira nina a mea anggo* "his workmen", *hira a tasida* "our brethren", *kura a dalena* "his two sons".

The article *ko* is used with the names of females only; *a* may be prefixed: *ko Mary*, *a ko Mary*; *ko ni* "you" is used in address by a child to its mother.

### III. NOUNS

8. Both Dr. Codrington and Bishop Steward state that there is the usual Melanesian distinction in the Vaturanga language between nouns that take, and those that do not take, the suffixed pronouns

of possession; but neither of these authorities gives any examples. The names of parts of the body take the suffixed pronouns, as do the words for "name" *soa*, "bed" *nihe*, "house" *vale*, "village" *vera*, "speech" *hoko*, "day" *bongi*, "thing" *ome*, and also all the relationship terms except the vocative *mama* "father"; but the words for "friend, neighbour, enemy" do not take the suffixed pronouns, nor do certain words which denote a man's close possessions, such as "bag, money, bow, spear, shield, arrow, canoe, paddle"; also the names of things to eat, and the names of animals, "dog, pig," do not take the suffixed pronouns; all these latter being used with the possessive nouns *ni* or *ha*, with the pronouns of possession suffixed; while *vale* "house" is used with the suffixed pronouns, and also with the possessive noun *ni*: *ninggu na vale*, *na valenggu* "my house".

9. A word which in form is a verb may also be used as a noun, the article *na* preceding, without any change of form: *ngao* "to desire", *na ngao* "the will, the desire", *hoko* "to speak", *na hoko* "the word", *na hokonggu* "my word"; a noun form, i.e. the article *na* followed by a verb may denote purpose: *na vanaho* "to steal", *ara vano na zabiri* "they are going to do some trading"; an object may follow a noun form: *na beku au* "to bury me, my burial"; this gerundival form is used after the verbs *turiha* "to begin", *ngao* "to desire"; also as noted above in § 3 it is used after *tangomana*, *jika*, *mole*: *mole asei na vota ikura* "let no one separate them".

10. The verbal noun suffixes are *na*, *ha*, *ana*; these are added to verbs to make nouns.

*na* is in common use as a noun suffix: *hoko* "to speak", *na hoko*, *na hokona* "speech"; *sere* "to be white", *na serena* "the white one"; *male* "to be tidied up", *na malena* "the courtyard"; *tutuni* "to believe", *na tutuni*, *na tutunina* "belief, to believe"; *loki* "to be big", *na lolina* "the master, chief". Compound phrases occur with *na* suffixed to the last member: *jika na molo lakutina* "cease not"; *na totu rahona* "righteousness". *Inakona* also has *na* as a noun suffix.

*ha* added to verbs may convey a gerundival idea, the pronoun *na*, of the object, 3rd pers. sing., being suffixed: *ke tuvuhana na jupu* "he will feed the flock", *kamu zajahana* "you will know (it)", *otudahana* "deceit, to deceive" (*otula* "to deceive"), and *zajahana* "wisdom" (*zaja* "to be wise") have both *ha* and *na* suffixed. In Sa'a the suffix *ha* has a gerundival use, and the pronouns of possession are added to it.

Bishop Steward regards the suffix *ha* in Vaturanga as meaning "full of"; it seems, however, to be the adjectival ending *ha*, Florida *ga*, while *na* is the Sa'a *nga*, a noun ending. The word *susuliha* (*suli* "bone") is used as both adjective and noun, "strong" and "strength". However, in the case of *titinaha*, *atitinaha:kode* "the universal mother", (*tina* "mother"), and *levucha* "middle" (*levu* "side, part"), *ha* is a noun suffix added to words which are nouns.

There are instances in the texts of *ha* being used as a verbal suffix: *kibo* "to transgress", *kiboha* "adultery, to commit adultery"; *hikilu* "to mock", *ara hikiluhana aia* "they mocked him". The transitive verbal suffixes *li*, *si*, see § 41, are used as verbal noun suffixes: *na veseli* "goodness", *na kibohasi* "adultery". In the later instance *si* is added to an existing noun suffix. In *Inakona ga*, the Vaturanga *ha* is used as a verbal suffix; *toba* "heart", *tobaga* "to love".

*ana* is used, as in Bugotu, as a noun suffix, being added to both transitive and intransitive verbs: *sasi* "to err", *ninggu na sasi-lakiniana* "my error", *na vano saheana* "ascent", *na ba saheana* "entry", *na dodoniana* "wisdom", *na rongomiana* "hearing", *na kibohusiana* "adultery". Its use with intransitive verbs precludes the idea that *ana* is composed of the gerundival form *a* and *na*, the suffixed pronoun.

Three words in the texts, *maia* "coming", *mateu* "death", *vanoa* "going", show the use of *a* as a noun suffix, the pronouns of possession being suffixed.

11. In Vaturanga, as in Bugotu, there is a use of the gerundival form *a* with *na* and *dira*, the suffixed pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. and pl.; the suffixing of these pronouns shows *a* to be a noun. The verbs which have this gerundival form *a* suffixed are always transitive, and hence *na* and *dira* are used as objects: *jauli* "to reach", *na jauliana* "to reach it", *na Idiana* "the forbidding of him"; *na peroana aia* "to betray him", shows an object following; *na ngiti votaana na bread* "the breaking of the bread, to break bread" shows a compound verb with a gerundival use and with an object following. The second member of such a compound phrase need not, however, be a transitive verb: *labu tobo* "to kill for no reason", *na labu toboana* "to murder him", *na tconidira* "to follow them".

12. Genitive. A genitive relation is shown (1) by the use of the preposition *na* "of": *na rara na hai* "a tree-branch", *vera na aso* "village of the sun", *na tako na tutumina* "the shield of faith", *hira*

*na hoko na sasavo* "the words of prayer". No article is used after *na* according to the usual Melanesian custom. Tasiko, New Hebrides, has *na* as a genitive, *MIL.*, p. 238; see also *MIL.*, pp. 287, 337, for *ne* as a genitive, and compare the use of *e* in Lau, which may be for *ne* through the loss of *n*; (2) by the use of the suffixed pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. and pl.: *hira na dalena na maramana* "they its children the world", i.e. "the children of the world"; *na lilina na sautu* "the side of the path", *na matađira hira na tinoni* "the eyes of men"; (3) by the use of the possessive nouns *ni*, *a*, with the pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. or pl., suffixed: *na manabo nina a God* "the peace of God", *hira na hau adira na mane* "the men's knives".

13. Prefix. An instrumental prefix *i* is seen in the words *iko* "crook", *itai* "bond", *tai* "cord". *Tama* is a prefix, as in Florida and Bngotu, used with relationship terms: *tasi* "brother, sister", *na tamatasi* "brethren".

14. Plural. Plurality is denoted by the use of *hira*, personal pronoun, 3rd pers. pl., preceding a noun with the article *na*, see § 5: *hira na mane* "the males, the men folk", *hira de* "these", *hira ngene* "those"; *hira* is used even when the anticipatory object *hira* "them" immediately precedes: *aia na tuovia kaputihira hira na tinoni* "he is lord over men"; but the plural article *hira* is not used when the forms *dira*, *adira* "their" precede: *hira na ome adira na tinoni ngene* "the things belonging to the men", *na tahoadira na ome* "to take the things".

The word *kode* "finished, all" is added to a noun to denote completion or totality; *kode lalaku* denotes "all, completely"; *lalaka* is a reduplicated form of *laka* "perfect, whole, very good"; *hira na ome kode lalaka* "every thing" (*Inakona lakulaka*); *lelevoka* means "all kinds of", and also conveys the notion of plurality: *na ome lelevoka* "all kinds of things"; *popono* "to be whole, closed, complete" denotes "all": *na vera popono* "the whole land".

15. Four nouns, *mena*, *puku*, *mate*, *rongo* deserve notice; *mena* means "place, thing, instrument for": *na mena liu* "the way of going", *mena tete saru* "way of crossing, bridge", *na mena vorou* "a stretcher", *na mena bongi* "an hour", *tana mena* "while, when"; *puku* means "thick end, trunk, the real thing, very, actual, master"; *na*, the possessive pronoun, 3rd pers. sing., may be suffixed: *na pukuna na hai* "a log", *na puku vale*, *na pukuna na vale* "the master of the house", *pukuna na mana* "its real power, truly powerful", *taho puku* "to inherit", *taho pukuha* "to be free".

*Mate* and *rongo* are used with all the suffixed pronouns of possession; *mate* means "because, because of, concerning, sake": *matena*, *na matena* "because"; the personal pronouns may be added as well: *mateda ihita* "concerning us, for our sake", *matenggu inau* "for my sake"; *rongo* means "cause, reason, because of, on account of", *na rongoda ihita* "because of us".

*pipi* "each, every, all" is a noun: *pipihira na tinoni* "all the people"; *pipi aseī*, *pipi sei* "every one, each": *ihita pipihita na rarada kōde* "we are all members of each other", *pipi bongi*, *na pipi bongi* "every day".

16. Gender. To denote gender, *mane* "male" is added for males, and *kakave* "woman" for females. Bishop Steward says that *na boo na mane* does not mean "a male pig", but "a feast of pork for males only", where the second *na* is evidently the preposition *na* "of".

17. The reduplication of a noun serves to denote an inferior sort: *tinoni* "man", *titinoni* "wooden image", *niu* "coco-nut", *niuniu* "palm".

#### IV. PRONOUNS

##### 18. (1) Personal :—

Sing.	1. <i>inau</i> , <i>nau</i> , <i>au</i> .
	2. <i>ihoe</i> , <i>hoe</i> , <i>o</i> .
	3. <i>aia</i> .
Pl.	1 incl. <i>ihita</i> , <i>hita</i> , <i>a</i> .
	1 excl. <i>ihami</i> , <i>hami</i> , <i>ami</i> .
	2. <i>ihamu</i> , <i>hamu</i> , <i>amu</i> .
Dual	3. <i>ihira</i> , <i>hira</i> , <i>ara</i> .
	1 incl. <i>kuta</i> .
	1 excl. <i>kuami</i> .
Trial	2. <i>kuamu</i> .
	3. <i>kura</i> .
	1 incl. <i>taluhita</i> .
Trial	1 excl. <i>taluhami</i> .
	2. <i>taluhamu</i> .
	3. <i>taluhira</i> .

19. The forms in the 3rd pers. sing. and pl. are used of things as well as of persons. The forms *nau* and *hoe* of the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. are not in very common use.

The forms in the first column may follow the nouns *mate* and *rongo*, § 15, when the suffixed pronouns of possession have been attached to



these nouns; see instances above; also *seni* "alone": *senina aia* "he alone, by himself"; the dual and trial forms are added to nouns used with the suffixed pronouns of possession when speaking of two or of three people: *ko tobalira kura* "the hearts of the two of them".

The short forms in the third column are used by themselves as the subject: *au vano* "I am going"; but the long forms of the first column, *inau*, etc., must always be followed in the singular and plural by the shorter forms either of the second or of the third columns; while the forms of the second column must always be followed by the short forms. However, *hoe* is never used with *ihoe*, though it may serve as a subject, being followed by *o*. The forms of the third column, when used with those of the other two columns, practically take the place which verbal particles occupy in such languages as, e.g., Mota and Sa'a, but they are definitely pronouns. The dual and trial forms are never used alone as the subject, but are always followed by the short plural forms of the third column.

The use of the forms with *i* prefixed conveys a certain amount of emphasis; the copula *ma* may often precede: *ihoe ko totu; minau ku vano* "you will stay; I shall go".

*au* is composed of *a*, the personal article, and *u*, the true form of the pronoun, 1st pers. sing. (*ML.*, p. 118); in Bugotu and Florida and Longgu *u* is used by itself as the personal pronoun, 1st pers. sing.; *au* is compounded with the verbal particle *ke* in the form *kau*. The *h* which appears in *ihoe*, *ihita*, etc., is for the *g* of the Florida forms; *o* is for *go*, through the dropping of the consonant (*ML.*, p. 118).

*o* used with a verb may denote an imperative; but *o vano*, with a rising intonation, may denote the question "Are you going?" *o* is compounded with *ke*, the verbal particle, in the form *ko*.

*aia* is composed of *a*, the personal article, and *ia*, the common Melanesian pronoun, 3rd pers. sing.; it is used with the verbal particles *e*, *ke*: *aia e hoko nina* "he spoke for his part", *aia de* "he, this person", *maia (ma aia) na soana* "and this is his name", *aia numu* "this, this person, he who, I mean", *aia a tamana* "his father", *aia na mane* "the man, he who", *aia na uso* "the sun", *aia na tinoni aia a Lord e ba veseali aia* "the man whom the Lord blesses".

*a* of 1st pers. pl. is for *ta* (cf. *ta* in the dual form *kuta*, and in Florida *gita*) through the dropping of *t*; Api has *ita*, Raga *ta*, Oba *da* (*ML.*, p. 113) for "we" incl., and Florida has *a*, and Bugotu *ati*, 1st pers. pl. incl., while Duke of York has *diat* "we". The *ti* of the Bugotu form *ati*, has been shown to be part of *vati*, the numeral for

"four",<sup>1</sup> so it may be concluded that the Vaturanga and Florida *a*, as above, and the *a* of Bugotu *ati*, are for the personal pronoun *ta*, "we" incl., through the dropping of *t*.

The forms *ami*, *amu*, are shortened forms of *hami*, *hamu*, i.e. *gami*, *gamu*, through the dropping of *g*; *hamu* is used as an imperative and also as a vocative: *hamu vano* "go ye!" *hamu*, *hira na baka* "you boys!"; but *bakamiu* "you boys!" is a colloquial use.

*ara* is composed of *a*, the personal article, and *ra*, the common Melanesian pronoun, 3rd pers. pl., "they"; *ara* may be used by itself as subject, or it is used following the longer forms. The forms *a*, *ami*, *amu*, *ara* are compounded with the verbal particle *ke* in the forms *ka*, *kami*, *kamu*, *kara*.

The *ku* of the dual forms is paralleled by *ku* of Sa'a *kure* "we two", incl., and also by *ko* used with the dual, see § 22.

The prefix *talu* of the trial forms is evidently a form of the numeral *tolu* "three"; and the trial forms are composed of *talu* used with the plural forms *hita*, etc. The trial number is used of three persons.

20. There is a form *ko* which is used with the dual forms, following the governing pronoun or pronouns; it expresses the idea "two people", and is used thus before possessive nouns or prepositions to which the pronoun *dira* is suffixed: *mara ko koaza a James ma a John* "as also did James and John", *ku'ami kamu ko tangomana* "you two are able", *ti kura kara ko sasavo* "that they two might pray", *kura ko dira na vuho* "their nets", *tana ko valedira* "in their house", *a ko tinadira kura* "the mother of the two", *ko kimadira kura* "the hands of the two". This *ko*, and also *ku* of the dual form above, may be a change from *ru* (*rua*) "two", through *l*. Inakona has the forms *tako*, *miko*, *muko*, *ako*, in the dual, where *ko* is evidently the *ko* of Vaturanga.

21. *talu* is used of three persons just as *ko* is used of two persons: *kara talu totu* "they three will sit", *ara talu sesuke* "they three went up", *e visu mai talu konidira* "he returned to the three of them", *ko, talu, dalemiu* "the children of you two, of you three". The forms *taluhita*, etc., are composed of *talu* and *hita*, *hami*, etc.

22. (2) Pronouns suffixed to verbs and prepositions as the object:

Sing. 1. *au*.

2. *ho*.

For the 3rd pers. sing. the personal pronoun *aia* is used as the

<sup>1</sup> See Bugotu Grammar, Ivens.

object; in the plural number the personal pronouns *hita*, *hami*, etc., are used as the object, and in the dual and trial numbers also the personal pronouns are used as the object. The form *ho* is paralleled by Florida *go*, Sa'a 'o.

*aia* and *hira* are used as anticipatory objects following a preposition or a verb, but only in the case of persons; while *hira* is regularly used in this way, the use of *aia* as an anticipatory object is more or less confined to prepositions: *vaniaia ninggua a Lord* "to my Lord", *kau labuhira ara hini jika aia* "I will destroy them that hate him".

In Vaturanga there is no plural ending in *i* such as is used in Florida to denote the object when things are in question.

The pronouns of the object are suffixed to *taile* "in vain": *taileau*, *tailecia*, *tailehira*, in agreement with the person or persons.

23. (3) Pronouns suffixed to nouns to denote possession:

Sing.	1. <i>nggu.</i>	Pl.	1 incl. <i>da.</i>
	2. <i>mu.</i>		1 excl. <i>mami.</i>
	3. <i>na.</i>		2 <i>niu.</i>
			3 <i>dira.</i>

These forms are the same as in Florida, except in the 3rd pers. pl., where Florida has *dia*, *dira*, with *ni* used of things.

For the nouns that take these suffixed pronouns see § 8. The suffixing of *na*, *dira*, to nouns may convey a genitive idea, see § 12: *na papasana kokoji* "the dust of the earth", *na lovuna na tinoni* "a man's head", *na madoadira hira na tinoni* "men's right hands"; also *na* and *dira* are suffixed to prepositions as anticipatory objects: *i polina na kema* "on the sea", *i konidira hira na tabu* "among the saints". Certain verbs have the pronominal form *na* suffixed as an object, or used as an anticipatory object: *ara titibongina matena* "they made a promise about it", *e rei papadana* "he perceived it", *ara papada zajana* "they were aware of it", *na malobuna na susubu* "to keep the commandment", *ke turahana na jupu* "to feed the flock"; *veihaluve* "to have pity on" is used with all of the above forms of the pronouns suffixed as object; *talao* "to be angry", *tamani* "to own" have the pronominal forms suffixed in agreement with the person or persons: *aia e talaona* "he is angry", *e tamaridira* "he is their master".

The personal pronouns *inau*, *hita*, etc., may be added to nouns to which the above pronouns have already been suffixed: *na mateda hita* "ou our account", *na kimangu inau* "my hand", *na rongoda ihita* "because of us".

The plural forms *mami*, *miu*, *dira*, are used with the article *na*: *na mami* "our", *na miu* "your", *na dira* "their"; these precede the noun; for the 1st pers. pl. incl. *na nida* is used; these forms are also used following the verb, but without an article and meaning "for our part", etc.

24. (4) Possessives: *ni*, *ha*. These are nouns and are used with the pronouns *nggu*, *mu*, *na*, etc., added to the possessive form.

<i>ni</i> :	Sing.	1. <i>ninggu</i> .	Pl.
		2. <i>nimu</i> .	1. excl. <i>nimami</i> .
		3. <i>nina</i> .	2. <i>nimin</i> .

There is no *a* added to the forms in the 1st and 2nd pers. sing., as occurs in Florida and Bugotu.

*ni* denotes (1) "my, mine", etc., (2) "for my part", etc.; in the former case it either precedes or follows the noun with which it is used, and the article *na* may precede it: *na nina na pai* "his dog", *na nina ome na tinoni ngene* "that man's things", *na haluve nina dida a God* "the mercy of our God"; in the latter case it follows the predicate and is not preceded by *na*. Nouns which do not take the suffixed pronouns are used with the possessive *ni*; see also *ha* below.

In the plural *dida* is used for the 1st pers. incl., and *dira* for the 3rd pers. The forms in Florida for the same persons are *dida*, *didira*. Codrington states (*ML.*, p. 528) that this is probably due to the attraction of *d* to *n*; but in Vaturanga the plural pronominal forms, *dida*, *mami*, *miu*, *dira* are used as meaning "our, your, their", and it will be noticed that these, with the exception of *dida*, are the forms which are suffixed to nouns to denote possession. (In the Longgu language the form *mami* occurs in the existing texts with a similar use.) It would seem, then, that in Vaturanga, the plural forms in § 23 are also used to denote possession without being suffixed to a possessive form. In this case *dida* may be a reduplicated form of *da*, with the vowel changed to correspond with *i* of *hita* "we" incl.; while the Florida *didira* may be a reduplicated form of *dira*, rather than a change from *nidira*.

*ha*. The pronouns which are suffixed to *ha* are those of § 23; *ha* denotes close relationship, and is used also of things to eat and drink; it is not used, however, of the relationship terms, but it is used with the words for "companion, neighbour, enemy": *hana udu* "his friend, companion", *hamu na vera kolu* "your neighbour",

*hanggu na lina mate* "my enemy", *hana ko* "his water to drink", *hana muza* "his food", *hadira* "their food". A prefix *a* is added to the forms *ninggu*, *nima*, *nina*: *aninggu* "for my part", *anina* "for his part, his doing"; there are no instances in the texts of the forms *animami*, *animiu*, but they doubtless occur. This *a* is also prefixed to the forms *mami*, *miu*, *dira*: *amami* "for our part", etc. There is a form *adida* "for our part, our doing", which shows *a* prefixed to *dida*. These forms with *a* precede or follow the noun, and are not used with the article *na*.

25 (5) Demonstratives. "This, here," *de*, *ade*, *iade*; "these," *hira de*; "that," *ngene*, *angene*, *iangene*; "those," *hira ngene*; "that person," *a mea ngene*. It is probable, as Codrington says, that *de*, *ngene*, primarily mean "here, there".

*ade* is composed of *a*, personal article, and *de*; *iade* shows the presence of the *i* which is used with the pronouns *inau*, etc., in Melanesian languages; *de* may be added to *koaza* "thus": *koaza de*, *e koaza de* "thus, in this fashion".

A demonstrative *di* denotes "this very", and has an explanatory use as well; it also serves to enliven the diction; it follows the word with which it is used: *inau numu di* "it is I indeed", *e koaza di* "just so", *kura di* "we indeed", *aia ke rongomi di* "let him then hear"; *di*, like the Bugotu demonstrative *ri*, is used of a preterite: *aia e totu noho di* "he has sat down".

26. (6) Interrogatives. *asei* "who?" plural, *hirasei?* *hua*, *na hua* "what?" *asei nasoamu* "what (who) is your name?" *hirasei ngene*, *mara pante na hua* "who are those (they) and what are they doing?" *e hua*, *ke hua*, *koi hua*, *laka ke hua* "how?" *o hua* "what are you doing? how are you?"

The interrogatives are also used as indefinites: *asei na lina mate* "some enemy".

27. A distributive meaning is conveyed by *pipi*, see § 15. *visa*, *visana* denote "other, another, some": *mara visa* "others", *visa muza* "any, some, food", *na visana* "another, the other", *hira visana*, *hira na visana*, *hira e visana* "others". The numeral *kesa* "one", is used to denote "the one . . . the other": *e kesa . . . e kesa*.

28. Relatives. There are no relative pronouns. A relative sense is conveyed (1) by the addition of *a mea* "the person, he who" to the name of a person: *a Judas ngene*, *a mea e pero aia* "that Judas (it was), the person who betrayed him"; (2) by the use of the pronoun

*ara* "they": *amu dodoni hirasei aru vano* "you know them they are coming", i.e. "those who are coming"; (3) by the use of a dependent clause: *a Judas ngene, maia e pero aia* "that Judas (it was), and he betrayed him".

29. A word *seni* "alone, by oneself, of one's own accord", is used with or without the suffixed pronouns of possession: *inau seninggu* "I alone", *senina aia* "he alone", *e kesa seni* "different, a different thing", *kita seni* "we ourselves".

## V. ADJECTIVES

30. Words which qualify nouns are used in a verbal form, i.e. they are used with a verbal particle; and all so-called adjectives, except those with a definite adjectival form, are really verbs.

Adjectival suffixes: *ha, a*.

*ha* (Florida *ga*) is used (a) with nouns: *habu* "blood", *habuha* "bloody"; *nangu* "dirt", *nanguha* "dirty"; *kakaru* "thorn", *kakaruha* "thorny"; (b) with verbs: *bau* "to be dirty", *bauha* "dirty"; *bule* "to be foolish", *bubuleha* "foolish"; *mataku* "to fear", *matakuha* "fearful".

Adjectives, with or without an adjectival ending, are used with the verbal particle *e*: *na Turunga e Tabu* "the Holy Ghost"; *na mane e reseu* "a good man". In the latter case the particle may be dropped.

The adjectival suffix *a* is seen in *saiu* "always" (*sai* "to join"); *hunoa* "grown up" (Bugotu, *gano* "to be full grown").

The verbal suffixes, *li, si*, may take an adjectival meaning: *na ome bubulehasi* "a foolish thing", *maturu veseali* "to sleep well", *me pado kaso sosongoli na tobana* "his mind was much grieved". For a different use of *li, si*, see § 10.

Adjectival prefixes: *ma, ta (tata), tapa, tava*.

*ma*: *madeli* "smooth, slippery" (Lan, Mala, *ufe-dali* "smooth"), *mauggu* "burdened" (Lan *gulu* "to be heavy"), *matolu* "thick", *maluku* "soft, gentle", *madevi* "thin".

*ta* is used of condition, and is prefixed to verbs: *tanggoti* "broken", *takuti, tatakuti* "to break off, broken off", *kuti* "to cut", *taraji* "to break, broken", *raji* "to rend", *tatavota* "separated", *vota* "to divide".

*tapa* is used of spontaneity: *tapatuhuru* "to leap upright".

*tava* is also used of spontaneity: *tavanusi* "untied, to come

<sup>1</sup> *li* is used in Fiji as an adjectival suffix, *MLL.* p. 168.

undone", *nusi* "to loose", *tavakeji* "to depart", *tavatuhruru* "to get up".

31. Comparison of Adjectives. Comparison is expressed by the use of *ba* following the verb and carrying the meaning of "rather, very", and denoting degree: *e veihahue ba* "very miserable", *me kara laho pabo ba* "and they shall receive more", *e loki ba* "rather big, too big"; to denote comparisons, *ba* is used with the preposition *koni*, *i koni* "with, from": *ara aro ba i konidira* "they are more than they", *na boo e loki ba i konina na bohu* "a pig is bigger than a rat".

There is also a use of *ba* with *tana* "in, from" to express comparison. It would seem that *tana* is used properly of things only, while *koni*, *i koni* is used properly of persons.

This *ba* is evidently the verb *ba* meaning "to go", see § 37; and its use as both verb and a means of comparison is paralleled by a similar use of *va* in Florida.

The verb *puji*, "to pass by, farther on", is used with *ba* or with *kae* "up" following, to denote comparisons: *puji ba*, *e puji ba*, "greater", *e puji kae i konidira* "is great among them", i.e. "is greater than they", *e puji kae ba* "it is greater, greatest". A superlative is expressed by *sata* "very, numerous": *e loki sata* "very big, too big".

## VI. VERBS

32. Verbal Particles. The verb in Vaturanga is conjugated by means of verbal particles or of pronominal forms; any word used with the verbal particles is a verb, whatever be its form.

The verbal particles precede the verb and may be used with or without a subject expressed. The particles in use are *e*, *ke*, the former being without temporal significance and the latter being used of the future. The verbal particle *e* is used of 3rd pers. sing. only. Apart from its use with adjectives, § 30, *e* is used without a subject expressed when the meaning is "there is, it is": *e tahara* "it is not, no", *e vesea* "it is good", *e manana* "it is true, verily", *e koaza* "thus, saying"; *e* may be used with a subject: *na aso e aso* "the sun shines", *na usa e usa* "the rain rained"; a subject may be understood: *e hoko vaniau* "he spoke to me". There is a use of *e* with a plural subject which is used collectively: *hira na ome nina a Lord e puji kae* "the things of the Lord are great"; *e* is used in the expressions *e hua* "how?" *e ngisa* "how many?" The numerals from "one" to "ten" are preceded by *e*: *e kesa* "one".

The verbal particle *ke* is used in an uncompounded form of the 3rd pers. sing. only ; it is used without a subject when the meaning is "there will be, it will" : *ke usa* "it will rain", *ke uso* "it will be fine weather", *ke mate* "almost dead", *ke jikai* "only one, if one", *ke ruka* "only two, if two, let it be two"; it may be used with a subject: *na kokoji ke hini vuraha mai na muza* "the earth shall give her increase". Also it is used in certain phrases in an uncompounded form: *ke ba me ba* "for ever and ever", *ke ngeni* "to-day, of time to come", *ke dani* "to-morrow", *ke hua* "how will it be?"

*ke* is compounded with the short pronominal forms *au*, *o*, *a*, *ami*, *amu*, and also with *ara*; the resulting forms are *kau*, *ko*, *ka*, *kami*, *kamu*, *kara*. These forms are used of the future or the subjunctive, or with a conditional force; *ko* and *kamu* are also used of the imperative. The compound forms are used either by themselves as the subject, or they follow the longer pronominal forms *inau*, *ihoe*, *ihita*, etc. The Florida forms *u*, *o*, *a*, *ai*, *au* (*ML.*, p. 530), to which the particles *te* and *ke* are prefixed, are evidently pronouns, *u* and *o* (*ML.*, p. 118) being the true forms of the pronoun, 1st and 2nd pers. sing., while *a*, *ai*, *au* show the loss of *t* and *m*, since the forms *ta*, *ami* *amu* occur elsewhere in Melanesia. Longgu has the forms *u* and *o*.

The past tense. A definite past is shown by the use of the adverb *noho* "already" (Maori, *noho* "to sit") following the verb; a sentence such as *hirasei ara kari hira* may be rendered as "those who carve them", or "those who carved them". The particle *na* is used following the verb, as in Longgu, to denote a preterite: *na hua o hoko na* "the thing which you said". See also the use of *di*, § 25.

33. Imperative. For the imperative the verb is either used directly and without a pronominal subject, or else it is used with the pronouns of the second person either singly or with the addition of the particle *ke*: *atu* "be off!" *amu mai*, *kamu mai*, *amu ke mai* "come here!"

34. Conditional. Conditional clauses or sentences have the particles *e*, *ke*, used with the conjunction *ti* preceding: *ti e*, *ti ke*.

*ti* denotes "if, supposing that, haply, in order to, to": *ti ko rerei aia* "if you see him", *ti e tahara* "if not, or else", *(ti) ke tau* "lest", *ti na hua ke tau nanga* "lest anything be lost", *e tahara tau ti ke sanga au* "there is no one to help me", *na prophet numu di ti ke mai* "that prophet who should come", *ti hoc ko tau teri na tuamu* "lest thou strike thy foot".

35. Negatives. The negative used with verbs is *tau*; both the verbal particles are used with *tau*: *aia e tau zajahana* "he does not



understand", *ti aia ke tau molo luaniho* "lest he deliver you"; no particle is used when the past tense is in view: *au tau rei* "I did not see". A word *tahara* denotes "not to be, not": *e tahara* "it is not (so)", *tahara tau* "not at all", *tahara pipizu* "certainly not, by no manner of means". Inakona has *tagara, tara*, thus used.

Dehortative. For the dehortative or prohibitive *jika* and *mole* are used; these are both verbs; *jika* means "to hate, reject, avoid" (Florida, *sika*), and *mole* means "leave alone, leave off"; both are followed by a noun form, and the pronouns of the second persons may precede, being compounded with the verbal particle *ke*: *jika na totu sira* "don't sit down!", *jika na varano* "don't go!", *ko mole na papadana* "don't think of it!", *mole na mataku* "don't fear".

36. Illative. The illative is *visi, visini* "then, thereupon, immediately, just now"; it precedes the verb and is used with the verbal particles.

37. Verbal Prefixes. The causative prefix is *ba* "to make, cause to be"; *ba* may be used with an intransitive verb, making it transitive, or it may be used with a transitive verb, thus increasing its active sense: *mate* "to die", *matesi* "to kill", *ba matesi* "to kill", *na ba matesiana* "the killing of him", *sori* "to bind", *ara ba sorihira* "they bound him", *ke ba hini soadato na soamu* "thy name shall be glorified", *o ba tuji paepanete* "make ready", *ba kakaisi* "to make straight", *ba jijili* "to make red". So far as the texts are concerned, it is difficult to distinguish between the use of the causative *ba* and the verb *ba* "to go"; and since it is hardly likely that the causative *ba* is a form of the common Solomon Island causative *va*, it may be that *ba* "to go" is also used as the causative in Vaturanga.

There is a frequent use of the verb *ba* "to go" before another verb as a kind of auxiliary: *mara ba jau* "and they came, reached", i.e. "they reached": *a Hoko e ba tinoni* "the Word became man", *me ke ba e kesa na bara* "and there shall be one fold", *ba vuno* "to go", *ba dato, ba sahe* "to go up, ascend", *me ba panete* "and it came to pass"; compare the use of *lae* "to go, to be" in Sa'a: *e lae i diana* "it went good", i.e. "it is good", *nou lae oto i manataine* "I go to knowing it", i.e. "I know it"; and the use of *la* "to go" in Longgu: *ara la varara ilana* "those who (go) trust in him"; and of *pa* or *ba* in Sesake (*ML*, p. 466); also of *va* in Florida (*ML*, p. 532). Instances are found in the texts of *va* used as a causative: *valaka* "to make tidy", *variro* "to turn round", *vararongo* "a listener". These may perhaps be due to a Florida translator.

38. A prefix *hi* is used to denote consequence of action, "thereupon, then, and, next, again, in turn, at all": *ko jika na hi matahu* "have no more fear", *me ke hi na rukanina na bojana mai* "and be born the second time", *ke tau hi inuri hoto* "will not drink it again", *ke hi sahelu na sahorena na dani* "and then put on the armour of light", *ti ke tau hi puka* "that I fall not again", *ke ba hi kujapili joni na maramana* "before the foundation of the world". The use of *hi* corresponds in a measure with that of the Sa'a *hai*, which is used of repetition or continuance.

39. A prefix *hini* also denotes consequential action: *maia e hini poro aia* "and he (then) touched him", *man hini bulu tana nina na veila* "and I continue in his love", *ti ke ba hini hotoli hami* "to justify us", *au hini subuni a nia, me hini vavano* "I then sent so-and-so, who thereupon went", *mara hini vevesa aia* "and then they questioned him".

*hini* has an additional meaning of "thereat, about, concerning" (Longgu *vini*): *e tuji hini malobongi* "he first made a promise about it", *jika na hini tutuwina* "believe it not", *ko jika na hini hoko xuni ase* "tell no one about it".

*hini* is used with certain verbs in the way that *ni*, the "prepositional verb", is used in Florida and Bugotu; in these cases the pronoun of the object is not suffixed to *hini*, as it is to *ni* in the other two languages, but follows the verb in the ordinary way: *hini dodoni* "to think", *hini jika* "to hate", *hini kate* "to declare", *hini kesi* "to harm", *hini liu* "to echange", *hini sore* "to be unwilling", *ara hini jika hita* "they hated us". It is probable that this *hini* is *hi* the verbal prefix, and *ni* the "prepositional verb". It certainly is not the instrumental preposition *hini*, q.v. below.

40. Reciprocal Prefix. The reciprocal prefix is *vei*, *vevei*, *veivei*; the transitive suffix *hi* is generally added to a verb which is used with the reciprocal prefix; the suffixing of *hi* does not necessarily cause the verb to become transitive: *veivotahi* "to be divided one against the other", *veipunihi* "to run a race", *veisousoahi* "to call one another"; in some cases the reciprocal form, with or without *hi*, is used both as noun and verb: *veisukuradihi* "a dispute, to dispute", *veihalwe* "mercy, to be merciful", *veizaza* "distress, to be in need". There is a form *veihi* which follows the verb and has a reciprocal meaning: *kumu veioko veihi* "speak to one another". This form may be compared with the Bugotu *veimigi* "mutually".

41. Verbal Suffixes. The suffixes which are added to verbs to make them transitive are :—

- (1) Simple : *hi*, *ki*, *li*, *mi*, *ni*, *ngi*, *ri*, *si*, *ti*, *vi*.  
*oli* "to change", *olihi* "to change something".  
*tuji* "to be first", *tujiki* "to do a thing first".  
*aza* "to be equal", *azali* "to liken, to equalize".  
*lulu* "to drown", *lulumi* "to drown a thing, to be drowned".  
*matahu* "to fear", *matahuni* "to be afraid of".  
*mana* "to be powerful", *manangi* "to empower".  
*lapo* "to slap", *lapori* "to clap (the hands)".  
*mate* "to be ill, to die", *matesi* "to kill".  
*luba* "to loose", *lubati* "to loose something".  
*inu* "to drink", *inuvi* "to drink of".

In compound verbs the second verb is used with a transitive suffix even when the first verb has a transitive force, or is used itself with a transitive suffix; the second verb often carries an adverbial sense: *maturu veseali* "to sleep soundly", *turuvahini kakaisi* "to set up firmly", *me pada kaso sosongoli na tobana* "his heart was grieved", *ngao lokisi* "to desire earnestly"; *labati* "openly" (*laba* "to appear"), *vulahi* "openly" (*vula* "to appear"), are used as adverbs. In some cases a compound verb, the second member of which is used with a suffix, may be used as a noun: *na hoko veseali* "praise", *na veseali* "goodness".

A verb with a transitive suffix is sometimes used as a noun: *mate* "to die", *na matesi* "death"; *tangi* "to cry", *tatangisi* "to bewail", *na talangisi* "wailing"; *kibo* "to be at fault, to commit adultery", *kibohasi* "to commit adultery, adultery". In the latter example the transitive suffix *si* is added to *ha*, see § 10.

The transitive suffixes may be used with a verb which is preceded by *ba*: *ba lokisi* "to increase the size of", *ba matesi* "to kill".

These transitive suffixes are not used according to any particular rule; it merely happens that a particular suffix is attached to a certain verb. Some verbs take two different suffixes: *nanggu* "to be dirty", *nangguhali*, *nangguhasi* "to defile", where *hi* and *si* are attached to the suffix *ha*.

*hini* (Florida *gini*) is also used as a transitive suffix: *tubula* "to stumble", *tubulahi*, *tubulahini* "to cause to stumble", *soa* "a name, to name", *souhini* "to give a name to", *daovi* "to rub, anoint", *daovihini* id.; *voti* "to buy", *na volihiniana* "to buy him".

(2) Compound: *kahini*, *lahini*, *ngahini*, *rahini*, *sahini*, *tahini*, *vahini*.

These suffixes convey a *definite* transitive force to the verb, and are perhaps more recognizable as transitive suffixes than are the simple forms. Some verbs use both simple and compound suffixes: *nanga* "to be lost", *nangali*, *nangalahini* "to lose".

*ara* "to swing, to disperse", *arakahini* "to throw away, to disperse".

*loro* "to fly", *lorolahini* "to fly off with".

*kada* "to be heavy", *kadungahini* "to be too difficult for".

*jimi* "to drizzle", *jimirahini* "to sprinkle".

*labu* "to strike", *labusahini* "to strike a person".

*rose* "to paddle", *rosetahini* "to paddle a canoe".

*ngora* "to lie down", *ngorarahini* "to knock down".

The suffix *tahini* also means "away". A verb with a compound suffix may be used as a noun: *sasi* "to err", *na sasilahini* "error".

42. Reduplication of Verb. A verb is reduplicated by the doubling of the first syllable: *anggo*, *angganggo*; *vano*, *vavano*. The reduplicated forms, *quepanete* (from *panete*) and *veirei* (from *vei*) are irregular.

The reduplication of a verb signifies continued or intensive action, and also changes or modifies its meaning. Some verbs exist only in a reduplicated form. The mere repetition of a verb may signify continued or intensive action: *aia e vano me vano me vano* "he went on and on".

43. Reflexive. A reflexive sense is conveyed by the use of *visu* "to return, back", following the verb: *aia e labu matesi visu aia* "he killed himself"; *tuhu* "to exchange" may be added to *visu*.

44. Passive. There is no special way of forming the passive; but *ba* may denote a passive, the verb being used without a subject: *me ba panete* "and it was done, it came to pass", *me ba mare* "it is written", *a mea e ba voli aia* "the person who was bought"; in some cases the subject may be expressed, a transitive suffix being added to the verb: *e kakuisi na laonggu* "my heart is strengthened". A passive sense is given by the use of the 3rd pers. pl. of the pronoun: *ara joko saiau i konidira* "they numbered me among them", i.e. "I was numbered".

45. Order of the Sentence. The subject frequently occurs at the end of the sentence, though not necessarily so: *na meu e sun na aso* "when the sun was setting", *e visu mai a tasimu* "your brother has

returned", *na rara na hai ke tau vua* "a branch that does not bear fruit".

The sentences are rather balanced than made dependent the one on the other, and the copulative *ma* "and" is often introduced where in English no copula would be used: *pipi rura ke vua, maia ke vingge malesi na rara ngene* "every branch (that) does not bear fruit, and he purges that branch".

46. The anticipatory object. The pronouns of the 3rd pers. sing., *aia* in the case of persons, and of the 3rd pers. pl., *hira*, in the case of both persons and things, are used as anticipatory, or extra objects of verbs and prepositions: *vaniaia na tidaonggu* "to my soul", *kau labuhira hira ara hini jika aia* "I will destroy them that hate him"; but this is not always done in the case of verbs, see § 22: *kau turuwahini hira na tutungamu* "I will set up thy descendants".

## VII. ADVERBS

47. Time. *mu* "yet, still" (Florida *maqua*) follows the verb: *tau mu* "never", *tahara mu* "not at all", *kesa mu* "only one", *mole mu* "wait a while!"; *vati, viti* "yet" precede the verb: *e tau viti boja mu* "he was not yet born", *e tau viti visu mai* "he has not returned yet"; *tuji* "first, before all", precedes the verb; *hoto* "again, also, moreover", follows the verb; *noho* "already", follows the verb, and is used as a preterite; *saia* "always, for ever", follows the verb; *poi* "until"; the verbal particles *e, ke*, may follow: *poi jauhi, poi ke jauhi* "until, as far as", *poi kau vano* "till I come", *sau ba* "in a little while, soon", *kalina de* "this time, now", *i ngeni* "to-day", of present or past time; *ke ngeni* "to-day", of part of the day to come; *ke dani* "to-morrow", *ke dani ke hira* "by and by, in the future"; *hira* in this phrase is perhaps *hi* the verbal prefix, § 38, and *ra* "to shine", *kisa* "soon", *na dani* "by day", *na bongi* "by night", *i no* "yesterday", *nona de* "the day before yesterday", *i ngari* "of old", *ke ngari* "hereafter", *volungana* "a little while ago, the day before yesterday", *i ngisa, ke ngisa* "when"?

Place: *ide* "here, there", *tade* "there, here", *tabani de* "on the other side", all show *de*, a demonstrative pronoun; *itana* "here, there, there it is!" *ngge* "there", *i ngge ni ngge* "here and there", *i ava* "where? anywhere", *popoli* "above, around", *i popolina* "above, above it, on top", *mai* "here, hither", *atu* "away"; these last two words are verbs meaning "come here!", "be off!"; the

words *dato*, *puji*, *kae*, all meaning "up", and *sivo* "down", are also verbs; *i kaji* "outside", *i hotu* "above", *i rava* "down cast", *i longa* "ashore, inland, south", *na niao* "south", *i ata* "west", *i tasi* "north". The last six examples, except *na niao*, all contain the locative preposition *i*.

Manner: *le, lele, mu, le mu* "just, only, merely, at all, any how" (Florida *lee*); *kodasi* (a verb) "thus, in this manner"; these all follow the verb; *koaza, koaza de* "thus", *ekoaza* "as follows, saying", *laka* "saying", of reported speech; *numu* "forsooth, that is to say, I mean", is used in explanations and follows the word it qualifies: *au mare numu di* "I mean, I wrote"; *ngazu* "perhaps", follows the verb; *na hua, ke hua, koaza na hua, laka ke hua* "how?"; *o hua* "what did you do?"; these are also used as indefinites meaning "what?"; *sala*, a superlative, *soana* "very"; both of these follow the verb; *pizu, pipizu* "entirely, completely", is only used with the negatives: *tahara pipizu, jika pizu* "not at all"; *tau mate pipizu* "not quite dead".

48. The negative adverb is *tahara* "no"; *e tahara* "it is not"; *eo, uo, iso*, all express affirmation; *ni* asks a question, "is it so?" (*Sa'a ni*); *ko ni* "mother" is used in address to a woman by a small child.

#### VIII. PREPOSITIONS

49. Locative: *i*.  
 Rest at: *ita, ta, tana, itana, koni, i koni*.  
 Motion to: *kaputi*.  
 Motion from: *ni, tani*.  
 Dative: *vani*.  
 Genitive: *na*.  
 Instrumental: *hini*.

The locative *i* is used with place names: *i Vera na aso*; *ita* means "at, on", the pronouns of possession may be added: *ita kokoji* "on the earth"; *ta* is of general significance, and denotes "at, in, from, to" of place: *ta ningu na mena mamao* "in, from, to, my resting place", *ue bunguti tatavata ta na parako* "and gazed steadfastly up into heaven", *ta na vale* "in, to, from, the house"; the pronouns of possession are not suffixed to *ta*, except in the case of *tana*; *tana* denotes "in", and is used with or without the article *na* following; it is composed of *ta*, with *na* the suffixed pronoun, 3rd pers. sing.; it denotes "in, with, belonging to, from": *tana soana*,

*tana na soana* "in his name"; *tana* is used of comparison, § 31; *itana* denotes "to, in, on, from, here, there, there it is!" There is a use of *itana* in the translations meaning "concerning it". This is probably incorrect, being a rendering of the Mota *apena*; *koni, i koni* denote "with, at, to, from, among"; it takes the place in Vaturanga that *ta* does in Florida; the pronouns of possession are suffixed, and the personal pronouns may be added also: *i konimami hami* "with us", *e turiha dato i konidira (hira)* "it began with them"; *ara mai i konimu* "they came from you"; see the use of *saa, see*, in the Sa'a language.

*kaputi* denotes "against, in the way of, over against": *na taovia kaputi hira* "the ruler over them", *mole kaputi na table* "put it over by the table". In the translations there are several other uses of *kaputi* which would, incorrectly, make it equivalent to Mota *goro* in all its uses.

*ni* denotes "belonging to a place", and so "from a place", after the usual Melanesian idiom: *na vaka ni javo* "a Savo ship". Inakona has also this *ni*.

*tani* means "from", of persons or things; it may be followed by the article *na*, and the pronouns may be suffixed: *ko vano taniau* "depart from me". Codrington regards *tani* as the same as the Florida word *sani*.

*vani* means "to", and is used of persons only: *ko tusu vaniau* "give it to me"; *vani* is actually a verb with the meaning "to come, to go", and also "to say to, speak to": *e vanihani mai* "he came to us, spoke to us".

The genitive *na* not followed by the article *na*; for examples of its use, see § 12; *ni* is not used as the genitive, though it may occur in certain phrases, e.g. *ravi ni dalo* "a fishing-kite", the use of which kite is shown thus to be of Florida origin; *hini* precedes the word it qualifies, and means "by, with, thereby, therewith": *me lalave na hau ke hini ba matesi na boo* "he looked for a knife to kill the pig with", *ke hini ba zafuhali hani* "to instruct us therewith", *ke mamare hini na pen* "to write with a pen". There are a few instances in the Vaturanga texts of the use of *hini* meaning "with", of accompaniment: *hini baja, hini vasu* "to be born with"; this may be due to a Florida translation.

Codrington equates *hini* (*ML.*, p. 544) with *gini* of the New Hebrides and of Fagani (San Cristoval); it may well be divided into *hi + ni*, for Maewo has both *gi* and *gini* (*ML.*, p. 417), and Gog has *ni* (*ML.*,

p. 375) as instrumentals, and Florida and Bugotu have *nia*, instrumental, and *ni* the "prepositional verb" which is used before certain verbs. See also *hini*, § 39.

Compound prepositions like *i lao* "inside", *i laona* "in it, inside", *i poli*, *i polina* "upon", *i vavana* "underneath", are made up of nouns preceded by the locative *i*.

*kolu*, a verb meaning "to collect", is used to denote "with": *kolu hita* "together with us", *koluho* "with thee".

## IX. CONJUNCTIONS

50. Copulative: *ma*; *ti*.  
 Disjunctive: *ma*, *ma ti*; *diava*; *de*.  
 Conditional: *ti*.

The copula *ma* shifts its vowel to *e*, *i*, *o*, to agree with the first vowel of the word following, but *mi* is commonly used whatever be the succeeding vowel; the vowel of *ma* drops before the initial vowel of a succeeding pronoun and also before the verbal particle *e* *maia*, *minau*, etc.; *ma* also denotes "or"; *ma ti* is "but"; *diava* "but" raises a counter idea; it is composed of *de* "or" and *i ava* "where"; *de* is "or"; its vowel drops before *a* and *i*: *dihoe*, *da mea*; for the use of *ti* see § 34; further examples are: *jari vaniara ti ke mai* "tell him to come", *ti ke tu na hokona* "that the word might be fulfilled".

## X. NUMERALS

51. (1) Cardinals:—

<i>kesa</i> "one".	<i>ono</i> "six".
<i>ruka</i> "two".	<i>vitu</i> "seven".
<i>tolu</i> "three".	<i>alu</i> "eight".
<i>vati</i> "four".	<i>sin</i> "nine".
<i>jehe</i> "five".	<i>sangavulu</i> "ten".

These are the ordinary Solomon Island numerals, except *jehe* "five"; *kesa* "one" shows *sa* "one", which appears so commonly in Melanesian languages (*ML.*, p. 243); *jehe* is Inakona *cege*.

The verbal particle *e* is used before all the cardinal numbers, including *kesa*; it is sometimes omitted. *e kesa* . . . *c kesa* means "the one . . . the other", *e kesa semi* "different, not like any other", *kesa lele mu* "one and one only", *kesa mu* "the same, one and the same", *sai kesa* "together"; *tasa* "one at a time, from time to time", *tasahana* "one at a time, simple". *jiki* (Florida *siki*) means a "single one", generally with a negative sense, "not one"; *jikai* (Florida



*sikai*) means "one and no more"; *e taru jikai lele* "not even one"; *jikai mu* "only one"; *ke*, see § 22, is used of two people: *ko hadira udu* "his two friends"; *ara ko ruka* "they two"; *tahu*, see § 21, is used similarly of three people. A word *patu*, is used meaning "ten", but only in the phrase *e ruka patu* "twenty"; *e ruka patu kesa* "twenty-one"; "thirty" is *e tolu sangavulu*; "fifty-four" is (*e*) *jehe sangavulu vati*; *laka* "perfect" is added to *sangavulu* to denote "a full ten".

"Hundred" is *sangātu*, i.e. the Florida *hangalatu* with the *h* omitted; it is used with the article *na*: *e kesa sangātu ruka patu jehe* "a hundred and twenty-five". A "thousand" is *toha* (Florida *toga*), which is also used of a great number, a multitude; *mola* (Sa'a *mola*) means "ten thousand, a vast number"; both of these are used with the article *na*.

*jara* (*zara*) is used of numbers over ten; the word means "to be in addition, over and above", and its Florida and Bugotu equivalent is *sara* "to go on, reach"; it is used of the numbers over ten and a hundred: *sangavulu jara e ruka* "ten, two in addition", i.e. twelve; *e kesa na sangātu jara e ruka patu* "a hundred and twenty"; *mi jara* "and some over the ten"; *danqali jara* "to be in excess, abundance"

A prefix, *tango*, denotes "a party of, apiece": *tango ruka* "in pairs, two by two"; *tango ngisa* "how many each?" There are certain words which denote a specific number of things: *jugu* "ten bread-fruit", *pinggu* "ten coco-nuts", *tai* "ten fish", *tai* "a string", *talina* "six shell-monies, of six strings each", *tali* "rope, line".

52. (2) Ordinals. The ordinals are formed, except in the case of *ngidana*, *na ngidana* "first, the first", by adding *nina* to the cardinals: *rukanina*, *tolunina*, *sangavulunina*, *sangātunina*. This *nina* is evidently a compound of *ni* and *na*, noun endings, the former being used to make the ordinals in Bugotu, while the latter has a similar use in Sa'a. The ordinals are used with the article *na*.

53. Distributives. The idea of "at a time, apiece" is conveyed by the reduplication of the first syllable of the cardinal numbers: *kekesa* "one apiece, one and the same"; *kekesa hira* "each one of them"; *kekesamiu* "each one of your"; *ruruka* "two at a time, two apiece"; *papala ruruka* "to be of two minds, to doubt"; *vavati* "by fours"; *onono* "six apiece".

54. Multiplicatives. *kalina* "time, occasion", is used with the cardinals to denote "once, twice", etc.: *e kesa kalina* "once", *e aro kalina* "often"; "how many?" is *e ngisa*; *ara ngisa* "how many soever they are".

## XI. EXCLAMATIONS

55. *aia* "there ! there !"

*ai koi*, pain ; *ai rei*, grief.

*alao*, surprise.

*alele* "tut ! tut !"

*alova*, *lova*, surprise.

*ba*, satisfaction.

*eki* "oh !"

*kadasi*, satisfaction.

*kiki* "so ! well then !"

*mazi* "can't say ! don't know !"

*pile* dissent : *pile tahara* "not so !" *apile* "alas !"

*sasi*, *savi* "wrong !" of disgust.

*tasinggu* "my brother !" *tinanggu* "my mother !" *tinanggu kakare kode lalaka* "all my female mothers !" are exclamations of astonishment.

*vata* "wait a while ! in a moment !"



## Some Swahili Nautical Terms

By B. D. COPLAND

THESE words were collected at Bagamoyo and Tanga and on trips between Zanzibar and the mainland. Most of them do not occur in any of the standard dictionaries, that is, in Krapf, Steere, and Madan. In cases where a word has a specialized meaning or a different meaning from that given by the authority, the fact has been noted.

The following abbreviations are used : Kr., Krapf, *Suaheli-English Dictionary*; St., Steere, *Handbook of the Swahili Language*; M., Madan, *Swahili-English Dictionary*.

### A

- Arigamu* . . . Slightly curved central rib of hull (Halgam (R.) = on a boat or ship, Kr.).
- Ayari* . . . Shroud, and particularly the central running gear made fast to a rope (*shumiti*) and block from the mast-head, and to a rope loop (*shiraka*) on the ship's side.

### B

- Batali* . . . (= Ship's log, Kr., St., M.) Rope dependent from the foot of the sail used to make it fast when running before the wind.
- Bau* . . . Outrigger.
- Bitana* . . . (See *Fashin*.)
- Bosa* . . . Make fast with a hitch (= to affianse one, Kr.).
- Bumia* . . . (See *Fashin*.)
- Bunda* . . . Heavy shore used to support the hull in building (= pack, a bale of goods, Kr.).

### C

- Chande* . . . Flat stern.
- Chipi* . . . Gunwale (of outrigger canoe).

### D

- Dafurai* . . . Fender (Arabic دفع = push).
- Dauli* . . . Line of planking above the *Ubau wa Mariki* (q.v.).
- Dosari* . . . Boring worm.

## F

- Farasi* . . . Raised cross-bar right aft on which the yard rests when down.
- Fashin* . . . (= Prow of the vessel, Kr. ; = sternpost, St. ; = block of wood fastened to the sternpost (*bumia*) in a native-built vessel, and carrying the rudder, M.) A boat-builder explained the situation to me as follows: Both bow and sternpost are in two parts. The bowpost consists of the prow (*fashin ya mbele*) and a second member parallel to it inside (*bitana*) to which the hull planking is attached. (*Bitana* = double, lined, Kr., St., M.) The sternpost consists of two parts also, the inner (*fashin ya nyuma*) and the outer (*bumia*) to which the rudder is made fast. (*Bumia* = sternpost, St.)
- Fundo kubwa* . . Main cross-beam immediately forward of the mast.

## G

- Gidamu* . . . Bows (Arabic = قدام precede) (= sandal-strap, Kr., St., M.)
- Giyami* . . . Bollard.
- Gorati* . . . Temporary ribs used in shaping the hull.

## H

- Hamlau* . . . Rope leading from the forward end of the yard. (*Hamarawi*, M.)

## J

- Janja* . . . Painter.
- Jungu* . . . V-shaped ribs of the hull at bow and stern.

## K

- Karna* . . . Elbow-piece strengthening the cross-members (*fundo*) of the hull.
- Kasama* . . . Massive wooden block in the angle of the bows. (Arabic قسم = divide.) Krapf describes it as a cutwater, but it is inside the bowpost.

- Kifungo cha sarama* . . . Rope lashing passing through the sternpost (*bumia*) and holding the rudder down on its hinges.
- Kipaa* . . . Roofing amidships.
- Kiwaro* . . . Bowsprit lashing on outrigger canoe.
- Kiwinda* . . . (See *Nanga*.)
- Kwesi* . . . (*Msumari wa kwesi*) flat-headed keel-nail.

## M

- Magendo* . . . (*Mali ya magendo*.) Smuggled goods. Originally applied to slave-running. N.B.—*Mali* is the term commonly used for cargo on the *Mrima*. *Shehena* is rare.
- Mantiro* . . . Rope leading from the after-tip of the yard through a block at the mast-head to the deck. The *shebaha* is a similar rope made fast to the forward tip of the yard.
- Mariki* . . . Lay the keel, start building a ship. (See also *Ubau*.)
- Marahamu* . . . Seam.
- Mbela* . . . Short outrigger supports lashed to the main cross-members.
- Mrengu* . . . Main out-rigger cross-members.
- Mwana* . . . Short spar, set in the keel, which braces the main mast.

## N

- Nanga ya mbele* . . . Bow anchor.
- Nanga ya kiwinda* . . . Stern anchor.
- Nyungu* . . . Hole in the *mstamo* (see *Madan*) into which the mast is stepped.

## P

- Pua* . . . Large cringle through which runs the *sharuti* (q.v.).

## S

- Samaki* . . . (See *Ubau*.)
- Sarama* . . . (See *Kifungo*.)
- Sayari* . . . Curved side-ribs of the hull.

- Seremani* . . . (See *Ubau*.)
- Sharuti* . . . Rope made fast to the middle of the yard, holding it close against the mast and serving as an extra stay rope in the outrigger canoe. (Arabic شريط = rope.)
- Shaurisi* . . . Heavy splitting chisel used in shipbuilding.
- Shebaha* . . . (See *Mantiro*.)
- Shiraka* . . . (See *Ayari*.)
- Shungi* . . . (*Shungi la mlingoti*.) Mast-head.
- Sugua* . . . Careen.

## T

- Teku* . . . Roughness (*bahari ina teku* = the sea is rough). Compare *kutekua* = to toss, St.

## U

- Ubau wa mariki* . First plank above the keel.
- Ubau wa samaki* . Small planks, projecting aft of the *fashin* below the water-line, and gripping the *bumia*.
- Ubau wa seremani* . Raised planking round the poop.
- Ubau wa zinara* . Top line of hull planking, or line of planking just above the water-line. (Arabic زنار = girdle.)
- Ulimi* . . . Heel of the mast.
- Ushanga* . . . Wooden block (one of four or five) through which runs the *sharuti* (q.v.).

## V

- Vitabamba* . . . Flotsam.

## W

- Wadira* . . . Groove in the keel into which the *ubau wa mariki* is set.

## Z

- Zinara* . . . (See *Ubau*.)

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### Linguistica

*By R. L. Turner*

DÉMONSTRATION DE LA PARENTÉ DES LANGUES INDO-EUROPÉENNES ET SÉMITIQUES. By M. HONNORAT. 9 × 11, pp. 398. Paris : Paul Genthner, 1933.

In this attempt to prove the relationship between Indo-European and Semitic Mr. Honnorat appears to neglect entirely the generally accepted principles of linguistic science. Most of the book (pp. 100-397) consists of what purports to be a comparative vocabulary of Semitic and Indo-European. Resemblances of vocabulary alone are of little probative value ; but such a vocabulary as this is completely worthless. Not only are the most bizarre and impossible combinations set forth, but the forms quoted from a score or more of languages appear to be quite untrustworthy, if the alleged Sanskrit words may be taken as a sample : e.g. on the first three pages we find Skt. *avuk* 'father', *abik* 'husband', *caraba* 'black', *carabha* 'bird', *papa* 'father', *mama* 'mother', *gabas* 'give (?)', *sanat* 'year', *hana* 'old', *da*, *kaza*, *kasta*, *kaya* 'hand', *yuda*, *yoda* 'help'. These words have no existence outside Mr. Honnorat's mind and the covers of this book. On the same pages : Latin *hannus* 'year', *yudo*, *adyudo* 'help', *bheredo* 'mule'. Quid plura ?

STUDIA INDO-IRANICA. EHRENGABE FÜR WILHELM GEIGER ZUR VOLLENDUNG DES 75. LEBENSJAHRES. Edited by WALTHER WÜST. 6½ × 9½, pp. xii, 327. Leipzig : Otto Harrassowitz, 1931. M. 20.

This volume, edited by Professor Wüst, containing articles by thirty-six scholars, is a worthy tribute to the veteran scholar whose name is famous in the domains of both Iranian and Indo-Aryan. The very number and variety of the contributors make an adequate review of such a collection of good things almost impossible. Witness the list itself. Buddhadata, Hocart, Zachariæ, Jules Bloch, the late Ernst Leumann, Bachhofer, B. C. Law, R. Fick, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Winternitz, Hommel, Scheffelowitz, Schick, B. K. Ghosh, Hauer, Oertel, Betty Heimann, Edgerton, Renon, Walleser, H. K. Deb,



Wüst, Nyberg, Benveniste, Wackernagel, Meillet, Tavadia, Reichelt, Konow, Aurel Stein, J. J. Modi, Morgenstierne, O. Paul, Williams Jackson, Dombart, Merkel. These articles cover questions of Literature, Religion, Folklore, and Language. The last are the most numerous. To mention but a few of these: Jules Bloch considers the change of gender in Skt. *vārtman-* n. > Pkt. *vaññā* f., and connects it with the general IE. tendency to give animate gender to the word for 'road'. F. Edgerton maintains, against Wackernagel, that the pronominal stems in *-d*, *mad-*, *asmad-*, etc., rare in Vedic, and having no parallel in Iranian, are analogical formations after *tād*, etc. L. Renou contributes an illuminating and suggestive article on some aspects of the suffix *-k-* in Sanskrit. In the domain between Iran and India the editor himself, in a masterly treatise, sees in RV. *dlaka-* an Irano-Scythian proper name. On the Iranian side Nyberg deals with two problems of phonology, IE. *-(s)sk-* in Persian, and the appearance of *fr-* as *hr-* in Iranian loanwords in Armenian. Benveniste studies some differentiation in the Avestan nomenclature of animals which he ascribes to the difference between popular and learned language. Meillet shows also that Avestan *ikaēša-* by reason of its initial belongs to the popular vocabulary. Wackernagel writes on the Indo-Iranian type of formation seen in Av. *vaēdayanā*. Reichelt discusses two problems of Sogdian grammar, the augment and the infinitive and passive participle; and Konow establishes the existence of the neuter gender in the Sakian of Khotan.

ESQUISSE D'UNE HISTOIRE DE LA LANGUE SANSCRITE. By J. MANSION.  
5½ × 8½, pp. ix, 188. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1931. Frs. 50.

The history of the Indo-Aryan languages is known to us through documents of one sort or another over a longer period than that of any other branch of the Indo-European family. In attempting an outline of this history Professor Mansion has provided a much-needed book. Designed primarily for the beginner in Indian Studies and for any generally interested in linguistic problems, it can nevertheless be read with interest and profit by all Indologists. For the previous, and especially the subsequent, history of a language of such great cultural and linguistic importance as Sanskrit cannot be a matter of indifference to the student of any of its aspects. Unfortunately, despite its long history, we have not the same wealth and precision of facts as enabled Meillet, for example, to write what were perhaps the source of Mansion's inspiration, his two histories of Greek and Latin. Nevertheless, the

author has struck a happy mean between leaving the reader in a fog of hypothesis and recording as facts what are often only probable theories. The work deserves success, and (unless the rather high price for a book of this size proves deterrent) should soon run to a second edition. A few suggestions as to detail may then perhaps be permitted. The accent formed an integral part of Sanskrit (with Vedic and, as the author points out, Bhāṣā); it should, wherever known, be marked. The history of Sanskrit, even in a modest volume of this size, cannot be considered complete without some account of its extension beyond the borders of India and Ceylon, both to the North and the East. In Chapter VII on Indo-Iranian some mention might be made of the peculiar problem raised by the Kafiri group of languages and its discussion by G. Morgenstierne in his *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, pp. 50-69. The chapter on New Indian is incomplete without some reference to the Dardic group of languages, which a development to a large extent independent of the main body of Indo-Aryan languages in India proper renders particularly interesting to the linguist. Thus the complete disappearance of intervocalic unaspirated stops or the assimilation of *r* in consonant groups ascribed to New Indian on p. 101 does not apply to all the Dardic languages, some of which maintain *-k-* and *-t-*, and perhaps *-g-* as consonants in one form or another, while groups containing *r* as the second member remain intact generally in the North-West and even as far south as Gujarat. On pp. 65-6 the full implications of the phenomena of Sandhi are not brought out. These phenomena, as far as consonants are concerned, are based on the fact that all final consonants were unexploded. This accounts (1) for the complete disappearance of final consonants in Middle Indian: and (2) for the parallel treatment of final consonants and of interior consonants in positions in which they too were unexploded. Thus on p. 62, the description of the development of so-called final *ś* as *-ṣ* and *-k* does not take into account the different developments of final *\*-ks* and intervocalic *-ks*.<sup>1</sup> In the first, *\*k* before unexploded *-s* is itself unexploded and like interior unexploded *\*k* or *\*g* before stops other than dentals becomes *-ṭ* (*-ḍ*), while *\*-ks-* with exploded *s* and *k* became *-kṣ-*. Thus *vīt* < *\*wiks* as *vidbhiḥ* < *\*wiḡbhis* (after which *vīṣu* instead of earlier *vikṣu* < *\*wiksu*); and *dikṣi* < *\*diksu* like *vākṣi* < *\*wekṣi* (after which *dik* instead of *\*diṭ*, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, §§ 116, 149, does not envisage the possibility, if not probability, of a different development of *-ks* and *-ks*.

A few small points : p. viii, *m̃* is not a mere nasalization of the preceding vowels, as I have elsewhere shown from the evidence of its development in New Indian. P. 60, the inclusion of *jñ* among the palatals derived from gutturals is a slip. P. 61, the existence of affricates in Kafiri corresponding to the IE. palatal series, *ḳ*, etc., renders it doubtful whether these had reached the stage of *ṣ*-sounds in common Indo-Iranian. And, indeed, the development of the voiced *j* is more easily explained as from an Indo-Ir. *g'* or *d'* than from an intermediate *ṣ*. In Sindhi *j* < Skt. *j-* is still a strongly palatalized *d'* (*BullSOS.*, III, 301). The MI. change of Skt. *jñ* > *ññ* points to a pronunciation *g'ñ* or *d'ñ* rather than *[d͡ʒɳ]* which in the area where *j* had moved to *[d͡ʒ]* gave the development *jj*. P. 82, what is the authority for the pronunciation of Skt. *ā* as [ɔ:]? On the same page it might be more correct to substitute 'un Français' or 'un Belge' for 'un Européen', as one who confuses the first vowels of *bala-* and *bāla-*. P. 113 'singh. *āg*, feu' is perhaps a slip for Hi. *āg*. In Singhalese the descendant of Skt. *agnī-* is *aga*.

TRUTHS OF LANGUAGE. Or Comparative Philology of the Sanskrit, Bengali and incidentally other Prakrits. By SRINATH SEN. pp. 336. Calcutta, 1928.

This book would be better named 'Untruths about Language'.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE VÉDIQUE. By L. RENOU. 10½ × 7. pp. v + 339. Paris : Adrien-Maisonnave, 1931. Frs. 100.

In this *bibliographie raisonnée*, Mr. Renou has produced an incomparable instrument for the use of students of any department in Vedic study. It is as far as possible a complete list of books (including references to reviews of them) and articles dealing with Vedic studies. The term "Vedic" has been used in a large sense, to include the Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Sūtras, and the annexed texts. The work is divided into two parts. The first contains all references to texts and works directly dealing with them. The second, concerned with more general studies, is divided into seven sections : generalities, history, religion, philosophy, music, sciences, language. Numerous cross references and full indexes of author's names and of words add greatly to the convenience with which the book may be used. The author expresses the fear that some foreign publications, especially

those appearing in Indian periodicals, have escaped notice. But his hope that nothing of importance has been omitted appears justified. Once more Mr. Renou, with his wide and deep knowledge and accurate scholarship, lays all Sanskritists under a debt of gratitude.

VEDIC VARIANTS. By M. BLOOMFIELD and F. EDGERTON.  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ .  
Vol. I: The Verb, pp. 340. Vol. II: Phonetics, pp. 570.  
Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America. 1930-2. \$9.75.

Bloomfield's monumental *Vedic Concordance* made available the variant versions of the Vedic texts. At the time of his death he was engaged in collaboration with Professor Edgerton in arranging the linguistic material deducible from the variants. The work, far from finished, was continued by Edgerton, and we now have these two volumes (a third is promised shortly), the result of those labours. This great mass of material, so clearly sorted and arranged, bears witness to the scholarship of both its authors. It will be a work of reference invaluable both for the Vedic specialist, and in particular for the historian of the development of Sanskrit. Throughout, as the authors clearly recognize, we see in the variants of the later texts the influence of a younger stage of the language. This is very clear, for example, in the case of the verb, in which the later texts often show thematic stem forms beside the athematic of the older. It might be expected, however, that the variants besides giving evidence of the existence of younger forms might also betray some distinctions of local dialects. This is a matter on which further light is urgently required for the Indo-Aryan languages. It is possible that the variation between the two present stems *kṛno/u-* and *karo-/kuru-* may be not so much a distinction of hieratic and popular language as of local dialect. *kṛno/u-*, as the authors point out, has its counterpart in Iranian, and may therefore belong to the dialect area of the North-west, which, as shown by Tedesco and Morgenstierne, shares several isoglosses with Iranian as opposed to the more eastern and southern Indo-Aryan dialects.

Volume II consists of a lucid and penetrating analysis of the variants in so far as they involve phonetic changes. Though we must undoubtedly agree that many of the variants attest younger linguistic forms, it would be a mistake to use the term 'Prakritic' too easily. Thus (p. 34) to call the variant *jakṣur* for *caḥṣur* "a Prakritic anomaly" explains nothing, for the change of *c* to *j* is peculiar to the intervocalic position. Again, the term 'spontaneous lingualization'

(or cerebralization) is dangerous, for it is too readily used by some merely to cloak our ignorance; and in this particular case (p. 87) it is not required for an explanation of *avaṭā-* beside *avatā-*. The authors reject the connection of *avaṭā-* with *avār* on the ground that such connection could not explain *avaṭā-*. But if we hypothecate a form *\*avy-ta-* to explain *avaṭā-*, then *avatā* is the expected form of the South-west dialect, in which *yt- > at-*. For the variants containing *-gm-* for *-jm-* the authors offer no explanation (p. 72). Is it not possible that here, too, we have a local difference of pronunciation? I have above (p. 384) suggested a pronunciation according to dialect of *jñ* as *g'ñ* or *d'ñ*, on the one hand, and as *jñ* [ḍḡm] on the other. Is it not possible that in *jñ* the *j* may have preserved the pronunciation as *g'* in some area? The variation *khy* with *kś* may have a similar explanation, for if in MI. *kś* becomes *kḥ* it would be in agreement with the system that *kś* should become (*k*)*khy*; and it would be tempting to see in *khyā-* a dialectal development of *kśā-*. Then supposing *kś-ā-* to be a form of *kśś-* of which *caḥś-* is assumed to be a reduplicated present stem,<sup>1</sup> Pāṇini's rule, II, 4, 54-5, prescribing *khyā-* for *caḥś-* in the nomen agentis, the infinitive and gerundive, and optionally in the perfect is explained. The variation of *-bh-* and *-h-* from the purely phonetic point of view appears to be confined to the root *grabh-/grah-* (p. 65). I have pointed out elsewhere that the early opening of the plosive may be a particular development in this verb, and is paralleled by the similar early opening of *-bh-* in the verb *labhate*, which already in Aśoka has the form *lah-* (*Gavimath Inscr. of Aśoka*, p. 11, note 1). But a 'phonetic reduction of *ṛgh* to *rh*' (p. 68) appears to be impossible: the variation of *argh-* with *arh-* depends surely on the historically regular variation of the types *arghā-* and *ārhati*.

We shall await with eagerness the appearance of Volume III, for that can but add to the debt under which the authors have placed all Sanskritists and all students of language.

GRAMMAIRE SANSCRITE. By LOUIS RENOU. Two vols. 6½ × 10, pp. xviii, 576. Paris: Adrien-Maisonnave. 1930. Frs. 235.

There was need for a grammar of Sanskrit written in French. That need exists no longer. Even though Mr. Renou's *Grammar of Classical Sanskrit* may not replace that of Whitney (which includes Vedic material) or cover the ground of Wackernagel's (which is historical and comparative as well as descriptive), neither is it in any

<sup>1</sup> Better reduplicated present stem with suffix *-s*. — \**geqk'-s*.

way a mere repetition of existing works. Throughout it is personal, full of new points of view, and much new material, for both the native grammarians and the texts have been used with a sureness and a maturity of scholarship which belie the years of this brilliant Sanskritist. It is a grammar of post-Vedic Sanskrit from and including the Upaniṣads. In this sense it is historical as well as descriptive, for during the period thus covered the language underwent considerable change in its usages. But as a whole the work is envisaged as a descriptive grammar pure and simple, in which the actual facts of the language as established from the native grammarians, the lexicographers and, before all, the texts are set out with an insight and an analytical power altogether admirable. Renou deliberately abstains from explaining the facts, if the explanation lies outside the period of his description. But it is only an accomplished and brilliant linguist, such as he is, who could have kept to this intention without falling into the pitfalls besetting the grammarian who tries to explain his facts without being at home with the methods of historical and comparative linguistics.

Even in the hands of so accomplished a linguist, some inconveniences of this method may be observed. For occasionally phenomena, for which an explanation or partial explanation is offered from contemporary conditions, are more accurately explained by the methods of comparative grammar. It might be better to omit all explanation. Thus, on p. 16 it appears to be suggested that the change of *s* to *ṣ* in compounds of °*sah-* was due to the assimilatory effect of -*ṣ* in the nom. -*ṣāḥ* ; nevertheless, in view of the fact that it is especially the sibilants which assimilate each other at a distance, is not this assimilation to be referred back to a stage \*-*sāṣ* (< \*-*sāṣh-s*), in which later unexploded -*ṣ* was replaced by unexploded -*ṣ*. Similarly *aṣāḍha-* < \*-*aṣāḍha-* rather than < *aṣāḍha-*. This belongs then to the type of assimilation seen in *śuṣka-* < \*-*śuṣka-*, with *ś-* rather than *ṣ-* in the initial position. P. 22, *dehi* < \*-*daṣḍhi* < \*-*dadḍhi* or \*-*dedḍhi* rather than < \*-*daḍḍhi*. To say (p. 22) ' *v* tombe devant *u* au redoublement du parfait des racines (alternantes) en *vu-* : *uvāca* : *vac-* ' seems to imply an older \*-*uvvāca*, whereas from the historical and comparative point of view we have the continuation of the alternation of the syllables *ve* : *u*. P. 23, it is misleading from the strictly historical point of view to say that *ai* derives from *ā* + *e*, instead of considering it as the form taken by an earlier \*-*āi* < \*-*ēi*, \*-*ōi*, \*-*āi*. P. 41, the form *śa* before words beginning with a consonant is probably the direct descendant

of an earlier IE. \*so, rather than < saḥ with a special treatment of -ḥ, while so possibly represents sa u rather than \*saz. So, too, saṣa(h) may perhaps represent the normal sandhi of sa eṣa(h) rather than elimination of secondary hiatus (p. 45). P. 45, the type of sandhi, ka ṣṣiḥ, would seem to be derived from \*kaz ṣṣiḥ (with unexploded -z) rather than from ko ṣṣiḥ. gīḥ is better explained as < \*gīr + s (rather than < \*gīr + s, p. 64), where -īr represents the IE. \*r̥ and the alternation ir : īr is exactly parallel with uv : ū in bhuvāḥ : bhūḥ, with which it might have been brought into relation. P. 19, may not the n of anulepana- depend upon an \*anurepana-, rather than be an example of 'spontaneous' cerebralization? P. 62, that in the paradigm kurvaḥ kurmaḥ only 'le type "syncopé"' is in use depends perhaps on the fact that the verb 'to do' has in most languages a particular phonetic development (*BullSOS*, VI, 531). P. 19, even if the form skuptvā is unauthentic, the existence of a \*skup-,<sup>1</sup> on which it might depend rather than on skubh-, appears to be well attested in Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan (*Nepali Dictionary*, p. 184 b).

But once beyond the sections on phonetics we are free of such inconveniences, and the full clarity of the author's purely descriptive method can be appreciated. Renou's Grammar will be an invaluable instrument for all Sanskrit students, whether of literature or language.

THE USE OF THE CASES IN VEDIC PROSE. By SUKUMAR SEN. Reprint from the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vols. VIII-X. 6½ × 9½, pp. 176. Poona : 1930.

VEDIC STUDIES. By A. VENKATASUBBIAH. 6½ × 9½, pp. 292. Mysore : Surabhi and Co., 1932.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SOME DOUBTFUL WORDS IN THE ĀTHARVA-VEDA. By TARAPADA CHOWDHURY. Reprint from the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVII. 6½ × 9½, pp. 100. Patna, 1931.

These three books all represent the work of Indian scholars who, imbued with the traditional scholarship of their homes, have entered upon new lines of research under the inspiration of the newer methods of the West. The combination is one which is likely to be fruitful of good results. And if, as appears sometimes to be the case, the attitude of the National leaders tends to be hostile to the study of their Classical

<sup>1</sup> Also perhaps in Saka *skauts* 'touches' (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 181), which is probably < \*skupa-/\*skaupa-.

languages, the work of such scholars as these should help to show them that Sanskrit studies among the younger generation in India are by no means a stagnant backwater.

Mr. Sen's articles on the use of the cases in Vedic prose originally appeared in three volumes of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. They form a very useful collection of examples; and it is most convenient to have them thus collected in one easily accessible volume.

It is all the more desirable that Mr. Venkatasubbiah's Vedic Studies should have been collected, since they appeared previously in two separate journals, the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In republishing them, the author has made some slight alterations and has added four new articles. Mr. Venkatasubbiah has investigated a number of obscure words in the R̥gveda, and his method of making a careful comparison of all the passages in which they occur is sound and has led to excellent results. His work should not be neglected by Vedic scholars. The words studied are *nitya-*, *śūnām*, *indrasenā*, *śaymā-*, *svāsara-*, *arati-*, *dān*, *pṛthak*, *yakṣām*, *ābhva-*, *admasūd-*, *nirekā-*, *śrāddiṣṭi-*, *paṭbhīh*.

Whereas several of the above words occur in a good number of passages, most of the fifty obscure words from the Atharva-Veda which form the subject of Dr. Chowdhury's thesis occur a few times only, while several are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα. As in the case of the *Vedic Studies*, Dr. Chowdhury, too, has referred to the previous discussions of his words, and where possible has followed the same sound method of careful comparison of the passages in which the same word occurs. In the article on *ākṣu-*, to which he assigns the meaning "pole", I would draw special attention to his elucidation of AV. IX, 3, which enumerates the different things used in the construction of a *śālā*, by describing in detail the construction of a modern *śālā* in his own district of Mānbhūm. In a land where ancient customs have lingered so persistently this is a method of exegesis which might be fruitfully used more often. It seems curious that in discussions of *dūrśā-* and *pavāsta-* no previous scholars have had recourse to their Pali equivalents, *dussa-* and *poṭṭha(ka)-*, the meanings of which are fairly certain. For the second a reference might be added to my *Nepali Dictionary* s.v. *poto*, where the Sindhi *poṭho* 'rag for smearing with' is quoted. Dr. Chowdhury has produced an excellent piece of work, and it is to be hoped that he may continue with further studies of the same kind.



THE SAUNDĀRANANDA OF ĀSVAGHOṢA. Edited by E. H. JOHNSTON. Panjab University Oriental Series.  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. xv, 171. London : Humphrey Milford, 1928. 12s. 6d.

THE NIGHAṆṬU AND THE NIRUKTA. Edited by LAKSHMAN SARUP.  $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. 39 + 292. Lahore : University of the Panjab, 1927.

THE KĪCAKA-VADHA OF NĪTIVARMAN. Edited by SUSHIL KUMAR DE. Dacca University Oriental Publications Series, No. 1.  $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xxvii, 129. Dacca, 1929.

THE R̥GVEDĀNUKRAMAṆĪ OF MĀDHAVABHAṬṬA. Edited by C. KUNHAN RAJA. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2.  $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xxviii, 93, clxiv. Madras, 1932. Rs. 3.8.

These editions of four very diverse Sanskrit texts testify to the fortunate interest taken by the Universities of India in the study of India's Classical language : for they all form volumes in University Sanskrit Series. Three of the editions, *Saundarananda*, *Nighaṇṭu*, and *R̥gvedānukramaṇī*, have this further in common, that they are the work of pupils of the late Professor A. A. Macdonell. To that great scholar, renowned especially for his own Vedic studies, Sanskritists owe also a deep debt of gratitude for inspiring a younger generation of Indian scholars with the desire to edit in accordance with the canons of modern textual criticism Sanskrit texts hitherto either unpublished or uncritically or inadequately edited. The only previous edition of *Saundarananda*, that of MM. H. P. Sastri in *Bibliotheca Indica*, does not, as Dr. Johnston says, reproduce the MSS. with the fullness and accuracy necessary to settle a text so full of corruptions. The value of a Tibetan translation in establishing the text of Āsvaghoṣa's other poem, the *Buddhacarita*, has been fully explored by Dr. Johnston himself. For the *Saundarananda* unfortunately no Tibetan translation is known, and the editor had to depend on the two MSS. in the Library of Kathmandu. But making use of these Dr. Johnston has most admirably fulfilled his purpose, 'to give a complete description of the material available in the MSS. so as to facilitate further work by others on the text, and to provide as good a text as possible.' But he has done more : for he has added much valuable material both in his Notes and in his Index. On p. 147 *wāṣṭe* should be read *wāṣṭe* ; but it is doubtful whether Urdu *nām ke wāṣṭe* has directly replaced *nāma* in this sense. On p. 155 Dr. Johnston rightly remarks that *mṛṣṭa*- as applied to food is well authenticated in

Epic and Buddhist Sanskrit ; it is, moreover, the source of the words meaning 'sweet' in the later languages: Pkt. *miṭṭha-*, Hi. *mīṭhā*, etc. P. 156, for *anumattesu* read *anu*<sup>o</sup>. P. 157, to the meaning of *ghṛṇā* as 'compassionate disgust' it might be added that the word survives in the modern languages only in the sense of 'disgust, hatred' (e.g. Nep. *ghin*).

Professor Sarup began his study of the Nirukta at Oxford under Macdonell. On his return he carried into effect the determination to produce on critical lines a new edition of the text. In addition to the twenty-eight MSS. collated by the previous editors of the Nirukta, he collected and collated thirty-seven new ones. In the main, however, the resultant text is the same as that which served as the basis of his English translation. The labour involved in this collation must have been great, but the result repays it.

The Kicakavadhā of the eleventh-century poet Nīṭivarman was known previously only from quotations by writers on Grammar, Lexicography and Alankāra. Dr. S. K. De is already well known as an authority on Poetics; and there could be no more suitable editor for a poem such as this which is at the same time both a *yamaka*- and a *śleṣa-kāvya*. Together with the text he has edited the commentary of Janārdanasena, for a commentary is necessary to the understanding of such a text. In addition the editor has given us an excellent introduction and numerous illuminating notes.

The *kārikās* contained in the work which the editor, Mr. C. Kunhan Raja, has called *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* are taken from a commentary on the Ṛgveda by Mādhavabhaṭṭa, son of Venkaṭārya. This is the Mādhavabhaṭṭa mentioned by Sāyana. The text will prove of value to those interested in the traditional interpretation of the Ṛgveda in India and particularly in the history of that interpretation.

SADDANĪTĪ: LA GRAMMAIRE PĀLI D'AGGAVAMSA. Edited by HELMER SMITH. I, Padamālā. 6½ × 9½, pp. xi, 314. Lund: Gleerup. 1928. 21s.

Mr. Helmer Smith has undertaken the task of editing the *Saddanīti*, the system of Pali grammar dating from the twelfth century A.D., that is to say, from a period about four centuries earlier than the earliest manuscripts of the Pali texts. Since, as Mr. Smith himself says, Aggavamsa belonged to a school, whose teaching influenced the successive generations of copyists and emenders of the Pali canon, it is of great importance to know what exactly that teaching was, if the

linguistic facts of the traditional texts are to be properly evaluated. The need, then, for a critically edited text of *Saddanāṭi* is established. No more competent editor could be found than the present, whose knowledge of the Pali texts and the problems therewith connected is probably unequalled and who is a master of exact scholarship. The work is to appear in three volumes, of which this is the first.<sup>1</sup>

**JASAĦARACARIU OF PUṢPADANTA.** Edited by P. L. VAIDYA. Karañja Jain Series, Vol. I.  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 220. Karañja (Berar) : Karañja Jain Publication Society, 1931.

**NĀYAKUMĀRACARIU OF PUṢPADANTA.** Edited by HIRALAL JAIN. Devendrakīrti Jain Series, Vol. I.  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. lxiv, 210. Karañja (Berar) : Balatkara Gana Jain Publication Society, 1933.

However artificial a language the Western Apabhraṃśa, in which a certain number of Jain works were composed, may be held to be, there is, nevertheless, to be gathered from it considerable information as to the development of the Western and Central Indo-Aryan languages immediately preceding the modern stage. The first complete and critically edited work of this nature to appear was the *Bhavisattakāhā* of Dhanapāla, edited by Professor Jacobi in 1918. Since that time MSS. of a number of other works have come to light, especially through the activity of Professor Hiralal Jain, who discovered twelve Apabhraṃśa works in MS. at Karañjā in the Akolā district of Berar (*Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 1926) Professor Hiralal Jain's energy and enthusiasm led to the foundation of two series for the publication of these and other Apabhraṃśa Jain works, the first being financed by the generosity of Seth Gopal Ambadas Chaware in memory of his father, the second depending at present upon contributions made from time to time. Here we have the first-fruits of this activity, the first volume in each series being devoted to editions of two works by the Jain poet Puṣpadanta, who flourished in the tenth century A.D. The first of these, *Jasaharacariu*, is edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, the second *Nāyakumārucariu*, by the general editor of both series, Professor Hiralal Jain. In each case the work is admirably done : there is an informative introduction in English (including in the case of *Nayak*<sup>o</sup> a short grammatical analysis) ; the text with critical apparatus ; a number of notes ; and (most welcome feature) an index of all words with references to the text and their

<sup>1</sup> The remaining two, *Dhātumālā* and *Suttamālā*, have since been published, but we not yet been received here.

Sanskrit equivalents. One interesting phonetic development to which Professor Hiralal does not draw attention is the regular simplification of the MI. group -ss- with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel at a time when other long consonants are still maintained, e.g. *āsa* < *assa* < *āśra*-, *śīsa* < *śīśya*-, *dūsaka* < *duśśaka*-. The only contrary example that I have noted is the geographical name *kassīra* < *kāśmīra*-, which is a loanword from the NW. (-ss- < -śm-), precisely the district where long consonants were retained to a later date and in some languages, e.g. Panjabi, to the present day.

It is greatly to be hoped that these excellent editions will be followed by other works in the same series.

**TORWALI: AN ACCOUNT OF A DARDIC LANGUAGE OF THE SWAT, KOHISTAN.** By G. A. GRIERSON. 5½ × 8½, pp. vii, 216. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1929. 12s. 6d.

The Indo-Aryan language spoken in the upper part of the Swat valley was previously known from the very short grammar and vocabulary in Appendix D of Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, on which is based the account in *LSI*. VIII, 2, pp. 514-18. Sir Aurel Stein was the first European of modern times to visit this valley, in April, 1926. The linguistic material then collected there he handed over to Sir George Grierson, who with characteristic vigour forthwith used it to supplement the meagre information in *LSI*. with this book. He has analysed the material minutely and arranged it in a form most convenient to the reader. There are sections on phonology and grammar, followed by the folk-tales recorded by Sir A. Stein with a literal interlinear translation and a free translation. A vocabulary with etymological indications follows. Since the appearance of this book, Professor Morgenstierne in *Acta Orientalia*, VII, pp. 294-310, has published additional material recorded during his mission to the North-West Frontier and has added further etymological suggestions and comparisons.

I offer a few more here, with references to the *Nepali Dictionary* if the words concerned appear there.

Sir Aurel Stein did not record the difference between *c j š ž*, on the one hand, and *ç j š z* on the other, which is noted by Morgenstierne. *ā* 'peach': < \**ārā*, Nep. *āru*.

*ē* 'ewe', Morg. *ōi*, with other Dardic forms < Skt. *edī*- (since -*ḍ*- disappears). But possibly < Skt. *dvī*-.

*ē* 'this', perhaps cf. Sk. *esā* rather than *ena*-.

*abōsa* 'to arrive', < pres. stem. *āpnōti* rather than *āpayati*, with  
-b- < -p- < -pp- < -pn-, secondary single intervocalic surds  
becoming voiced.

*ośo*, f. *eśe* 'ugly', < Skt. *aśubha*?

*biū*, Morg. prob. 'willow', < Skt. lex. *veta*- rather than *vetasā*.

*būk* 'blunt', cf. Nep. *bukumu*.

*bolu-di* 'to-morrow', cf. Nep. *bholi* id.

*banūsa* 'to say', < Skt. *bhānati*, *bhaṇati* rather than *varṇayati*.

*bār*, f. *bār* (Biddulph), for *bāy*? Cf. Nep. *baṛo*.

*bīs* f. 'flute', < Skt. *vamśi* rather than *vamśa*- or *vamśyā*- (Morg.),  
cf. Ass. *bāhi*, etc., s.v. Nep. *bāsuri*.

*cōsu* 'to let go', perh. < Skt. *tyajati*.

*diū* 'he fled' < \**dyta*-, cf. Sk. *ḍrīṇa*- in Si. *ḍrīno* 'he fled'.

*dur* 'mist' (Biddulph), for *dur*? < \**dhūdi*-, see Nep. *dhulo*.

*gan* 'herd', < Skt. *gand*-.

*jagō*, *jogō* (Morg.) 'liver' G. cf. *yákṛt*-. Prob. < oblique *yakn*-, cf.  
Waigeli *yǝk* (Morg.).

*kū* 'valley', < Skt. *kūpa*- 'cave, hollow'; for meaning cf. Or.  
*kholā* 'cave': Nep. *kholo* 'valley'.

*kan* 'arrow', G. cf. Skt. *karni*-, rather < Skt. *kāṇḍa*-, Nep. *kār*.

*loj* m. 'light', G. cf. Skt. *ruci*-, perh. < \**loeya*-, cf. Skt. *rocya*-.

*pihil* 'green', cf. Nep. *pahēlo*.

*puran*-(*gām*) 'old', < Skt. *purāṇā*- or *purātana*-, Nep. *purānu*.

*pat* 'back, behind': hardly, with G., < Skt. *prsthā*-.

*pet* m. 'feather', hardly, with G., < Skt. *pāttra*- as a real Tor. word,  
if *pūc* (Morg.) < *putrā*-.

*sī* 'sun', G. cf. Skt. *sūrya*-. Rather < *sūriya*-.

*sabā* 'prepare', G. cf. Skt. *sambhārayati*. Or < Skt. *sampādayati*,  
as Sgh. *sapayannu* 'to make'.

*śīs* f. 'breath' (Biddulph); for *śīs*? This < \**śuṣi*-.

*tambā* 'copper', loanword from Hindi *tambā*?

ŚRĪ-KRṢṢĀVATĀRA-LĪLĀ, COMPOSED IN KĀSHMĪRĪ BY DĪNA-NĀTHA.

Edited and translated by G. A. GRIERSON. Bibliotheca Indica,  
No. 247. 6½ × 10, pp. xii, 251. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of  
Bengal, 1928.

THE KĀSHMĪRĪ RĪMAYANA. Edited by G. A. GRIERSON. Bibliotheca  
Indica, No. 253. 6½ × 10, pp. i, 139. Calcutta: Asiatic Society  
of Bengal, 1930.

To Sir George Grierson we owe more than to any other our  
knowledge of the Kāshmīrī language. We have here two of the texts

which he indexed for his *Kāśhmīrī Dictionary*.<sup>1</sup> The first of these is a poem in the modern language, with comparatively few archaisms, containing a life of Kṛṣṇa based upon the tenth *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The poet is somewhat circumscribed in his choice of forms by the fact that every first and third line of his four-lined stanzas (the fourth line being the same throughout the poem) must end in *-as ta*, preceded usually by a short syllable. This has led to the peculiar use of the dative infinitive in *-anas* (with, as Sir George points out, some form of the verb *lag-* understood) as representing any form of a finite tense, past, present, or future. The translation on the page opposite the text makes the reading of an otherwise rather difficult text easy and pleasant.

The second is the *Śrīrāmāvatāracarita* and the *Lavakuṣayuddhacarita* of Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa, who lived probably at the end of the eighteenth century A.D. The text is based upon fragments of the epic collected by MM. Mnkunda Rāma Śāstrī, under the direction of Sir George, at the end of the last century. It agrees fairly closely with an edition also pieced together from scattered fragments and published in Persian script in 1910.<sup>2</sup> The language in the course of the handing down of the poem has doubtless been modernized, and according to the editor it is now 'a specimen of the purest Kāśhmīrī as spoken by the Paṇḍits in Śrīnagar'. The introduction contains an excursus on the metre, and a full summary of the poem, which will prove of value to any one investigating the history of the Rāma legend.

GURKHAS: HANDBOOK FOR THE INDIAN ARMY. By C. J. MORRIS.

6½ × 9½, pp. iii, 178. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933.  
8s. 9d.

This book replaces the former handbook originally compiled by Lient.-Col. E. Vansittart and revised by Major B. V. Nicolay in 1915. Although following the general plan of the earlier one and here and there, where there was no reason for change, reproducing sections as they stood, it is for all practical purposes an entirely new work. In addition to his very much fuller and more accurate information, the author is to be congratulated on having adopted a more scientific system of transliteration for Nepali names and words and on having replaced the jejune style of his predecessors with a lucid and readable

<sup>1</sup> The last part of this monumental work was published in 1932.

<sup>2</sup> Sir George has given a concordance of the two texts in the introduction to his *Kāśhmīrī Dictionary*.

prose. Captain Morris, who is among those who best know the Gurkhas and their customs, has not only travelled more extensively in Nepal probably than any other living European, but he is also a trained anthropologist. This is what gives his book a much wider scientific value than might attach to a simple military handbook. Two new features are specially valuable: an appendix giving a full table of relationships by descent and marriage, and an exhaustive bibliography of the books and articles that have been written on Nepal. This book, which should be in the hands of every officer whose duties bring him into contact with Gurkhas, will also be an indispensable instrument for all interested in Nepal and its people, until Captain Morris writes the larger work which we may now hope for.

The Government of India were fortunate in their choice of author. The same cannot be said of their choice of printer. The type is bad, broken, and worn, to such an extent that many letters are illegible or altogether missing; the alignment is disgraceful; the binding and sewing of that peculiarly Indian kind which does not permit of the book remaining open. There are good printers and good binders to be found in India. It is not to the credit of a great Government that a publication of this value should be not only not among the best that India can produce in this respect, but definitely among the worst.

ŚRĪMADBHAGAVADGĪTĀ. Translated into Nepali by KEDARNĀTH UPĀDHYĀYA.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 245. Benares: Hitaishi Co. Sahr. 1987 VI.

RĀMĀYAṆASUNDARAKĀṆḌA OF RAGHUNĀTH UPĀDHYĀYA. Edited by DINNĀTH ŚARMĀ.  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 70. Benares: Hitaishi Co., 1932. Annas 5.

RĀMAŚĀH KO JĪVAN-CARITRA. By SŪRYYA VIKRAM GĒWĀLĪ.  $5 \times 7$ , pp. 48. Darjeeling: Nepālī Sāhitya Sammelan, 1933. Annas 4.

The existing literature of Nepali is not large, but there is a steady increase in the number of texts available. The first of these mentioned above is a well-made verse translation of the Gītā. It will be welcome not only to Nepali speakers who wish to read the Gītā in their own language, but also to students for whom the appended English translation by Lalit Prasād Varmā will make it additionally useful. The Sanskrit and Nepali texts are printed together. Raghunāth was a Nepali poet who flourished before the celebrated Bhānubhakta. A cheap edition of his *Rāmāyaṇasundarakāṇḍa* is welcome. The

Nepālī Sāhitya Sammelan of Darjeeling continues its good work, and we owe this *Life of Rāmaśāh* to its energetic secretary, Mr. S. V. Gēwālī, who based it upon a MS. *Varṇāvalī* that came into his hands. Rāmaśāh was the fourth king of the Gurkha dynasty and is said to have reigned from 1606 to 1633; one of his successors, Prithivī Nārāyaṇa Śāh (1742-1774), brought the valley of Nepal under Gurkha rule.

BENGALI GRAMMAR OF MANOEL DA ASSUMPÇÃO. Edited and translated by S. K. CHATTERJI and P. SEN. 6½ × 8½, pp. 260. Calcutta University Press, 1931. 9s.

Sir George Grierson in *LSI.*, V, i, p. 23, mentions the *Vocabulario em Idioma Bengalla e Portuguez* of Assumpção as the first Bengali grammar and dictionary known to us. It was published at Lisbon in 1743, and was a considerable work of 577 pages. Professor S. K. Chatterji utilized it in his *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* in considering the earlier pronunciation of Bengali. Bengali scholars will therefore welcome the present reprint of the grammar portion of the work, and selections from the vocabulary, provided as it is with an excellent introduction and a Bengali translation of the Portuguese, by Professor Chatterji himself in collaboration with Mr. P. Sen. It is a scholarly piece of work which deserves recognition.

A BRIEF PHONETIC SKETCH OF THE NOAKHALI DIALECT OF SOUTH-EASTERN BENGALI. By GOPAL HALDAR. 6½ × 9½, pp. 40. Calcutta University Press, 1929.

This is the second of the series of Calcutta University Phonetic Studies inspired and edited by Professor S. K. Chatterji. No greater service can be given to the cause of Indo-Aryan Linguistics than such studies of otherwise unrecorded dialects, or even if recorded, then unprovided with adequate phonetic data. In this excellent study before us there are a few points, where the writer has deserted the purely descriptive method for the historical or explanatory, and where his explanation might perhaps be questioned. P. 8 [boḍḍa] 'big' is perhaps an example of emphatic consonant lengthening rather than the result of *baṛa* + enclitic *ā*. The retention of the aspirate in [porha] 'to read' is due probably to learned influence. P. 9, I would suggest that the insertion of [g] in [buirga] 'old woman' may be a morphological rather than phonetic procedure, namely a MI. -kk-



suffix. P. 12, § 22, for 'alveolar' read 'velar'? P. 18, [tʃunni] < *corni* should be given as an example of regressive, not progressive, assimilation. It is to be hoped that the author will continue his dialect studies.

VARNA-RATNĀKARA OF JYOTIRĪŚVARA-KAŚHĪKARĀCĀRYA. By S. K. CHATTERJI. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Congress. 6 × 9½, pp. 69. Allahabad: The Indian Press, Ltd., 1928.

In this reprint Professor Chatterji gives an exceedingly interesting account of the oldest known work in Maithilī, which belongs to the first half of the fourteenth century. The unique palm-leaf MS. itself dates from A.D. 1507. What changes were made by copyists in the preceding two centuries we cannot say: they were probably considerable; but even the later date is fairly old for a document of a modern I.A. language. Professor Chatterji stresses its importance not only as a linguistic document, but also as giving a picture of social conditions at the beginning of the fourteenth century. A transcript of the MS. was made with a view to publication by the University of Calcutta, but the publication has been delayed. It is earnestly to be hoped that a complete edition will be made, even from the single MS., if no other copy of the work is to be found. In his notes on the language Professor Chatterji makes many interesting observations. It is well known (*Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 36 f.) that in Bihārī dialects both Skt. -*l*- and MI. -*ḍ*- > *r*. In VR. -*l*- has already become -*r*-, but -*ḍ*- appears as -*l*-. Professor Chatterji inclines to think that this was due to confusion in spellings with *r* and *l*. But his discarded suggestion is probably correct, namely that this *l* (< *ḍ*) represents *ḷ*, which later became *r*. In this case we may perhaps assume a passage from *ḷ* to *r* without an intermediary *l*, since in the neighbouring language of Nepālī original Skt. -*l*- remains -*l*- and is thus distinguished from *r* < MI. -*ḍ*-. P. 46 *lewārī* is from *naipālī* (*Nep. Dict.*, p. 353 a 42) rather than *navamālikā*, which accounts neither for *e* nor for -*r*- (since -*ll*- > -*l*-). P. 60, in noting the forms *achi*, *acha*, *cha* 'is' beside *karaī* 'does', it might be added that the verb 'to be' only shows a change which later affected all verbs. The existence of the three forms side by side, which Professor Chatterji finds inexplicable, is probably due to varying emphasis, and is strictly comparable to the English [ɪz] and [z] which exist side by side in the language. He remarks that 'the first personal form was a strong one apparently', but unfortunately gives no

example. The first person of the present tense seems to be 3rd sing. passive construed with the pronoun, when expressed, in the instrumental, middle Maithili *-iya*, modern *-i* < *-iyati*. This is parallel with the similar development of 1st plural in Gujarati, where *ame karīe* < Pkt. *amhehiṃ karaiaī*. P. 63, whatever the explanation of the type *karaī acha* 'he is doing' (and it is by no means out of the question that *karaī* is here the old present), it is the regular type of Gujarati, *kareche*. P. 65, it is not perhaps strictly accurate to say that the passive suffix *-i-* is from Skt. *-yá-* through MI. *-ia-*. It is rather from MI. *-īa-*, which rests upon Skt. *-īya-* of the type *dīyāte, nīyāte*. P. 64, in explaining *calaiti* (> modern *calait*) as derived from *\*calanti* < Māgadhī Pkt. *calante*, the difficulty is not raised of the mod. Maithili *kāri* 'black', in which epenthesis has not occurred, nor of the nom. sg. of *-a* stems of the type *cānda* (< Māg. Pkt. *cande*), in which *e* > *a* (through *i* ?) also without epenthesis. It appears necessary to assume that (1) *calaiti* and *kāri* rest upon enlarged *-aka-* stems, Pkt. *calantae, kālae*, and that in the longer type of word such as the present participle *-ae* > *ī* earlier than in the shorter type like *kālae*: this *ī* then affected the previous vowel, a development no longer in operation at the time when *kārae* had become *kāri*; (2) *-i* < *-e* after a consonant (type *cande*) became *-a* before the tendency towards epenthesis manifested itself. An ancient text of this sort obviously raises questions of great linguistic interest, and we owe Professor Chatterji our thanks for having brought the existence of this MS. once more to notice.

LES CHANTS MYSTIQUES DE KĀṆHA ET DE SARAHĀ. Édités et traduits par M. SHAHIDULLAH. 6½ × 9½. pp. xii, 234. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1928. Frs. 60.

These texts are of equal importance both for the history of later Buddhism in India and for the linguistic history of the eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages. Mr. Shahidullah places Kāṇha in the eighth century and Sarahā in the eleventh. As both have written in both Apabhraṃśa and Bengali, if the author is right, the Cāryās of Kāṇha are the oldest document of any Modern Indo-Aryan language. One must, however, suspect that the language has been considerably modernized in the course of tradition; but the author has established his text with careful consideration of the metre and with reference to the Tibetan versions, which he prints here. The Bengali *caryāṣ* are given

in an appendix, and their language is not studied. It is to be hoped that Mr. Shahidullah will return to them. He shows that the Apabhramśa is not identical with that of Western India; but that is not to say that it is based exactly on the spoken language which developed into the Eastern vernaculars. The author thinks, rightly, that it is an adaptation of a common literary language, used by the Jains on the one side, by the Buddhists on the other. The whole work is careful and thorough and informed with a just linguistic theory, as might be expected from one who was a pupil of Jules Bloch. There are many interesting questions raised in Mr. Shahidullah's section on the language. Here is one. On p. 37 it is stated that consonant groups are sometimes treated like original single consonants, i.e., if plosives, they disappear. But this statement needs further definition. An examination of the material collected by Pischel shows that this is only a frequent development when the group is preceded by a long vowel, and then most common in Ardhamāgadhī. The examples of such shortening of the consonant group after a short vowel are confined to the numeral *adha-* (< *aṣṭa-*) in compounds, and of several compounds ending in *-saḍha-*, the exact relationship of which to *-sṛṣṭa-* appears doubtful. Of the forms quoted here by Mr. Shahidullah *ūha* < *ūrdhva-* and *dīha* < *dirgha-* fall under the apparently regular AMg. change; *uesa* < *upadeśa-* has obviously been included by mistake, since there is no question of a consonant-group; *suha-* is from *śubha-* rather than *śuddhā-*; *uatti* and *uajjai* (*ubajjai*) are not from *utpatti-* and *utpadyate*, but from *upapatti-* and *upapadyate* which survive both in Pali and Prakrit in the sense of 'origin, originate'. The only word left is *ūala* 'lotus' beside Skt. *utpala-*, of which in any case the origin is unknown.

VELI KRISANA RUKMIṆĪ RĪ RĀṬHAUṢARĀJA PRITHĪRĀJA RĪ KAHĪ.

Translated by JAGMĀL SĪMḤ. Revised and edited by RĀM SĪMḤ and SŪRYAKARAṆ PĀRĪK. 6 × 9, pp. 914. Allahabad, 1931.

The Hindustānī Academy is responsible for publishing this fine edition of the *Ḍiṅgal* poem. The work is written in Hindi, and consists of a good introduction, including a short sketch of the grammar of the language in which the poem is composed; the poem itself with a Hindi translation; *apparatus criticus* based on five MSS., the oldest of which is dated Samvat. 1673; vocabulary with references and Hindi equivalents; two appendixes containing a Rajasthānī commentary of Samvat. 1673, and a Sanskrit one of Samvat. 1683.

A SANTAL DICTIONARY. By P. O. BODDING. Vol. I, Parts 1-3, A-CH. 7 × 10½, pp. xvi, 652. Oslo: Dybwad, 1929-1932. 58s. 6d.

The important part played by the Mundā languages in the linguistic history of India has now been recognized, and Przyłski in his study of Mundā loanwords in Sanskrit has demonstrated the probability of early contact between the Mundā and the Aryan languages. The need for recording these interesting languages before they finally disappear from the Indian scene has not been so fully recognized. Fortunately, however, the Government of Bihar and Orissa, within whose boundaries the large mass of Mundā speakers is to be found to-day, has awakened to a realization of its responsibility in the matter, and the more than half-completed publication at the charges of Government of the great *Encyclopædia Mundarica* of Father Hoffmann and other Jesuit missionaries bears happy witness to that awakening. Before that publication the closely related Santali, owing to the work of Skrefsrud and Campbell, was the best known of the Mundā dialects. That work is now to be crowned by the great dictionary of Mr. Boddington, whose name as a Santali scholar is already known from his *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, parts i and ii. This dictionary, which so far in 652 pages has proceeded only to *ch* in the Roman alphabet, bids fair, with its exact and detailed definitions and its great wealth of illustration, to be one of the most complete of any modern Indian language. The author has given brief indications as to the origin of the vocabulary, denoting those words which are found in other Mundā languages (though it is to be regretted that he does not quote the actual forms), and giving, in the case of loan-words from Indo-Aryan, the Hindi or Bengali original (though it must be understood that the borrowing does not necessarily take place from the literary form of these languages). The latter show how thoroughly impregnated present-day Santali is with Indo-Aryan elements. To some words used by races other than Santals, but living in the same country, he applies the term Desi. Further research will probably identify these (as the author suggests) as Indo-Aryan words, e.g. *āiṭhā* given as Desi *āiṭhō* certainly depends upon some form represented by Oṛiyā *āiṭhā*, Bengali *ēto* 'leavings of a meal' (which is perhaps < Skt. *\*āmṣṣṭa-*, cf. *āmṣṣati* 'touches, tastes' MBh., Pa. *āmaṭṭha-*, or < *\*ācaṣṭa-* in Sindhi *āṭho*, Guj. *ēṭhū*).

Recent study of modern Indian languages owes much to Norwegian institutions. The Institut for sammenlignende Kulturforskning

supported the two missions of Professor Morgenstierne in the North-west and is printing the results of Colonel Lorimer's researches into Burushaski; the *Santal Dictionary* is a publication of the Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo.

R. L. TURNER.

MUNDARTEN DER ZĀZĀ, HAUPTSÄCHLICH AUS SIWEREK UND KOR,  
Bearbeitet von KARL HADANK. Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen,  
abt. III (Nordwestiranisch), Band IV. 1932.

To Oskar Mann we owe the collection of the material here edited by Dr. Hadank. It represents the first full account of the Zāzā dialects. The main part is occupied with the dialects of Siwerek and Kor, but contributions from the villages of Bijāq, Čabakhčur and Kijhi are also included. The editor has introduced the texts with an historical sketch of importance. Then each dialect is treated separately and with great care, so that we have for the Siwerek and Kor a brief account of the sounds, followed by a full morphology, syntax, glossary, and texts. The Bijāq material consists of glossary only. Considerably more is again offered of the Čabakhčur and Kijhi. A sketch-map enables the reader to understand the relative positions of the villages. The editor's task has been by no means easy. It has been excellently accomplished as regards the editing of the material. From this book it is possible to get a clear idea of what the Zāzā people speak. That the vowels are so distinctly divided into long and short we may find hard to believe. Certainly in other dialects in Persia one finds the distinction rather hard to seize. One matter in the treatment, which seems a little disappointing in a book otherwise so important, is the introduction of etymological comparisons which display a rather lawless freedom. It is hard, for example, to see why on p. 20, Kōsā Zāzā *zūrī* "Lüge" is compared with West Kurdish *deraū* "Betrug", and in the Siwerek Glossary, p. 173, *zūr* "Lüge" is given with the remark: Dagegen Pers. دروغ. Two words are known as distinct as early as Old Persian *zura* and *drauga*. A more exact study of the phonology would have suggested to compare Kor *pēlāk* "purse", p. 295, rather with NPers. *pēla*, *pēl* "purse" پیل rather than with NPers. پول. On p. 33 Kor *vīnī* "loss" and *zinā* "sin" seem to be connected, and also with *gundā*, cf. on p. 305. Yet *zinā* recalls at once Arabic *zinā* زنا "fornication", while Siwerek *bī-vīnī*, p. 171, suggests that a different

explanation is necessary for *vinī*. It is also hard to see a reason for comparing Greek *ισοπία* with *astānik*, pp. 31 and 148. Nor does it seem necessary to connect *māt*, p. 54, "he showed" (the present is *āz mōzlinānnān* on p. 126) with NPers. *nāmūd*. These and other etymological connections raise grave doubts. It may also be noted that the colloquial Isfahānī has *fārdmān* for the written Pers. *farāvān*. Hence the Zāzā *ferīmān*, quoted on p. 29, and the Parācī are not isolated.

H. W. B.

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BRAHMAN, EINE SPRACHWISSENSCHAFTLICH · EXEGETISCH · RELIGIONS · GESCHICHTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNG. VON JARL CHARPENTIER. I, II. pp. iv + 138. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1932. Programme 8.

In the increasing complexity of Indo-Iranian studies it is of great service to have occasionally a summary of earlier treatments of any particular problem. The articles become easily inaccessible or accessible only with difficulty. New studies may appear reproducing unawares older discussions. In the present work the author has most fortunately thought fit to prefix a careful examination and criticism of all the earlier studies accessible to him of the word *brahman* before offering the justification of his own views. In the course of the study he has had occasion to touch frequently upon the Iranian side of the problem, the side particularly interesting to the reviewer. The full value of the work cannot indeed be gauged till the third part of historical character (Vorwort IV) is published. Professor Charpentier's view of *brahman* is in accord with that of Haug and Hillebrandt among earlier scholars. This view (p. 58) sees in *brāhman* the identical word (both etymologically and semantically) which we have in the Avestan *barəsman*—"bundle of twigs". Here might be added in justification of the postulated form *\*barzman-*, the word attested in Aramaic *brzmn* that is *\*brzma-dāna-* "holder of *brzmn*" (the vowel of the first syllable being uncertain: either *barzman-* or *brazman-* can be read) as recognized by Andreas in *Lidzbarski Ephemeris*, iii, 222. This form has the expected *z* (which may be the Aramaic notation of *z* or *ž*). For the vowel of the first syllable the earliest evidence is the Arm. *barsmoun-k'*, gen. pl. *barsman-ç* in Eznik fifth century; see Hübsch. Arm. Gram., 119.

Almost fifty pages (10-58) are devoted to criticism of the views on *brāhman* expressed by J. Hertel in *IF.*, 41, 206 fol. and later

publications. With the result of the criticism one cannot but agree, while regretting that so much space should be given to the matter.

The Avestan problems discussed incidentally provide suggestions of interest. On *fšānghya-* (p. 47) and *spānta-* (p. 46), I have proposed new solutions in this *Bulletin*, above, p. 275 ff.

The author has then passed to an examination of the texts to test the meaning of *brāhman-*. The original meaning expressed by "Pflanzen-, Grasbüschel, Opferstreu", p. 85, cannot be strictly proved in any certain passage, although this meaning seems best to explain Rg. III, 8, 2 (p. 76). It is claimed definitely for *brāhman-* in *brahma-cārin* on p. 79. The secondary meaning "Zauberritus", is shown to be the commonest meaning, which best suits also the use of *brāhman-* in association with *kar-* (p. 122). The translation "Hymnus", the equivalent of *mantra-* and *sūkta-*, is rejected as the original meaning (p. 5, fol. and p. 72), but accepted as a later meaning on p. 127.

From p. 124 the subsequent development of meaning is briefly sketched in three directions. (1) One line of change resulted in "heiliger Text". This may have evolved somewhat as follows. The earliest rites, of magic potency, were doubtless accompanied by songs. A great ritual of the offering was developed so that the *brāhman-* rites lost their dominant position. Hence *brāhman-* could express simply "Zauberritus". The songs became more important in the more complex rites. Hence the song as part of the Zauberritus could be called *brāhman-*. (2) The evolution to the cosmogonic *brāhman-* is less clear. Possibly, as Haug and Hillebrandt thought, it derives from the idea of a "Triebkraft der ganzen Natur" (p. 133). But since a word for "magic" might also be used for "magician", possibly a meaning "Zauberwesen" for *brāhman-* existed beside *brāhman-* "Zauber" being then easily identified or brought into contact with primitive cosmogonic deities. (3) As a designation of the "Brāhman class", *brāhman-* appears beside *kṣattri-* and *viś-*, either as a collective noun or perhaps from the meaning "Zauberkraft" as possessed by the Brāhman.

The book is instructive and of great interest, and has repaid several careful perusals.

H. W. B.

DAS ALPHABET VON RAS SCHAMRA. Seine Entzifferung und seine Gestalt mit drei Anhängen. Von HANS BAUER. Max Niemeyer, Halle/Salle, 1932.





This short book is of general interest, in view of the existence of other still unknown scripts, for the illustration of the method—essentially combinatory—by which the Ras Shamra tablets were read in the space of a year. The progress of this decipherment is shown by a series of documents in Anhang I. Once assumed as a working hypothesis that the language was Semitic ("Old Canaanite"), since the words were separated by strokes, a study of the prefixes and suffixes supplied the clue. It was soon possible to recognize Semitic words.

Included in this book the author has treated of the representation of Semitic š and ś (fallen together in Ras Shamra) and p (preserved as in Arabic), as also of the presence of ḥ beside h, as in Arabic.

Anhang III offers a discussion of the position of the language within the Semitic group, and a further contribution to the problem of the divine name *Mut* (*Mōt*). H. W. B.

EIN BRUCHSTÜCK DER ĀFRĪNAGHĀN Ī GĀHĀNBĀR. Mit 10 Tafeln. HEINRICH JUNKER. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächs. Akad. der Wiss. zu Leipzig. Band 84. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1932.

The author has published in this book a short text in Middle Persian remarkable for its alphabet. A specimen had already been published in *Caucasica*, fasc. 2.87, tafel 13. The text shows the attempt of a Pārsī scholar to produce an unambiguous script out of the Zoroastrian Pablavī alphabet by the use of diacritical marks and the employment of conjunct consonants of the older orthography with the phonetic value of his own time (e.g. -'k as equivalent to -ā). The result is a curiosity. So far, it seems that only the two short passages here published have been preserved in this script. The interesting orthography has been carefully annotated, and to the text is added the translation with important notes.

One observation may be of interest. On p. 35, n. 1, the Pahl.  "solid" is discussed. It is read *tēr*. One would perhaps prefer a different explanation. If we think of IndBd.  = GrBd. 86.16  *purr*, or of GrBd. 86.6 (TD.2 and Paris MS.)  beside (DH)



319 *Kür*, name of the Caucasian river, and other cases of 3 for 1, whether as scribal mistakes, or as examples of (old cursive ?) joined to the left, 320 could represent \**tūr* and hence correspond exactly to Av. *tūri-* (cf. Gr. *τῆρος*) which it glosses. Av. *tāyūri-* appears to be a vṛddhi form to *tūri-*, as if \**tāuri-*, \**tāvuri-* > \**tāyuri-* (cf. *zāzayānam*, where there is no graphic reason for *y* in place of *v*).

It is of great interest to have this document in an excellent facsimile edition.

H. W. B.

DAS WELTBILD DER IRANIER. VON O. G. VON WESENDONK. Geschichte der Philosophie in Einzeldarstellungen. Band Ia. München : Ernst Reinhardt, 1933.

It is a task still beyond realization to give a comprehensive account of Iranian origins. Too much still remains undecided for lack of conclusive evidence ; especially in the earliest period inference has to play the most important part. Undeterred by the difficulties, which he fully admits, the author has essayed the undertaking. He has ordered the course of events as he himself had come to see them as a result of a wide reading of the large and still accumulating literature. One misses, however, the master hand of one fully immersed in the subject. As one reads, the impression gained is of opinions adopted from the most varied sources. At times this more external acquaintance with the subject matter appears disconcertingly, as when the Pahlavi fragments of the Psalter are placed under the sources for the Arsacid period (p. 34) as *das bedeutsamste Schriftstück in Pahlavik*, although they have long been quoted for Pārsik forms of words.

If allowance be made for such deficiencies, the book presents a mass of speculations and facts, for which the bibliography offers some control. It is of service in bringing together the scattered researches of recent years. In reading it is necessary to keep in mind that many of the statements would or could be contested. It is interesting that the author has had the courage to expound his own views, based on his firm conviction (p. 10), even if he does not always convince.

H. W. B.

LÉGENDES SUR LES NARTES, suivies de cinq notes mythologiques, par GEORGES DUMÉZIL. Paris, 1930.

The author of this study of the Nart legends has had two aims in view in writing, one to make this cycle of Caucasian tales of the

Narts better known, and the other to explain part of the mythology of these tales which bear in their social and mythical traits clear traces of considerable antiquity. He has here again called attention to the fixed characters of the persons, which form accordingly a definite scheme, permitting indeed many minor variations, but on the whole presenting the same development. The larger part of the book is taken up with translations of the tales themselves, usually in the form of a résumé, which suffices for the purposes of comparison. The many variants are carefully noted. They form a curious mirror of barbaric life in the mountain or the plain, true in the main to the motifs of the tales, but varying with the different peoples (Ossetes, Tatars, Čecens) who have preserved them. We have here a most useful comparative collection. The second part is represented by five notes. In Note I the resemblance of the manners of the Scyths of Herodotos, the Alans of Ammianus Marcellinus, and the Narts of the tales is brought out largely on the basis of earlier work, but with additional material. This resemblance is striking, but one wonders whether it may not rather belong to the mode of life among nomads than to any particular inheritance. Note II discusses the all too little known story of the Alan princess Sat'nik and the legends of Satana of the Nart stories. Beyond the resemblance of name a likeness of incidents in the lives of both is evident. The conclusion is therefore likely that we have here two variations of an older legend. The frequent connections of the hero Batradz with the sky and storm and of Sozryko with the sun are urged as proofs of origin in storm myths and solar myths. Satisfactory proof of such views is naturally hard to obtain. In Note V the examination of the influence of Persian religion and of Russian tales leads to the conclusion that they have been less interested in the development of the Nart legends than has sometimes been claimed. The tales are certainly of great interest, not least for the reason that they have been preserved by the descendants of the Alans in an Iranian language.

H. W. B.

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CAUCASICA. Begründet von ADOLF DERR. Herausgegeben von GERHARD DEETERS. Fasciculi 8 (1931), 9 (1931), 10 (1932). Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major.

Three fasciculi (6.1 and 2, and 7) have been reviewed in *BSOS*. VI. The present three parts are of equal importance and interest. Fasc. 8 contains a detailed study by N. Trubetzkoy of the consonant system

of the East Caucasian languages. Rutulish, Kikrinish, Tabassaranish, Aghulish, Kubačinish, Lakkish, Darginish, Avarish, Andish, Arčinish, Tsaxurish, Čečcnish, Batsish, and Udish, as far as available information allows. With this application of exact phonetics the difficulties of the study are considerably lightened.

An article of the late Professor Markwart is included on the identity of the Hyrcani in Josephus (*Judean War*, vii, 245 Ὑρκανοί) and Johannes Lydos (Ὑρκανή). The conclusion here attained is that, not Iberians, a view expressed by Markwart in *Eranšader*, p. 155, but the Hyrcanians of the East Caspian region, the later Gurgān, are intended.

J. Friedrich has continued the valuable study of Urartean grammar. In this fasciculus he has dealt with the gen. and dat. sing. and plur. of the nominal inflexion, the relative adjective formed by the suffixes, -*hini* and -(i)*ni*, the 3rd sing. pron. (incidentally showing that *me-i* is probably "and"), the imperative 2nd sing., and an explanation of *suluštibi* "he fell down", hence an intransitive verb with *i*-stem, beside the usual *a*-stems, and an explanation of *buraštubi* "I enslaved".

There is also an article of less importance on vocalic change, in languages outside the Indo-European group, in so far as it appears to be due to accentual shift, by H. Schnorr von Carlsfeld. The examples are of varying value.

#### *Fasciculus 9*

E. Forrer has gathered together in an article entitled "Hajasa-Azzi" all the historical and geographical information in the material so far available on the land Hajasa, which he had previously identified with Azzi.

The study of the Lydian language is continued in this part by W. Brandenstein from the earlier articles in *WZKM.*, 36 and 38. The nominal form is here treated, in eleven sections, including pronominal and nominal inflexion, nominal prefixes, compounds, and the use of cases. A brief and cautious account of possible connections of Lydian with other languages leads to no certain results.

K. Bouda has contributed a treatment of the subject and object cases employed with the Avarish verb.

The second part of *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Volkskunde des georgischen Stammes der Gurier*, by R. Bleichsteiner, of which the first part was published in fasc. 7, continues and completes the translation of the texts, and is concluded with a glossary with important comparisons.

A sketch of Basque syntax is given by E. Lewy, and G. Deeters has briefly discussed the Čerkes grammar of Jakovlev and Aščamar, with special reference to the analysis of the Čerkes sentence.

*Fasciculus 10*

In a paper, "Die Sigynnen," Markwart discussed the origin and localization of this little-known people, concluding that the statement of Herodotos who puts them to the North of Thrace is correct. Later writers confused them with the inhabitants of Sigynnos, probably Zigana, a city to the south of Trebizond. During the course of the proof many related problems of topography are touched upon.

K. Bouda has contributed two articles. The first contains Avar texts translated from an adapted form of the Arabic alphabet with translation. The second brings parallels to the expressions of two Basque words, *ahorpegi* "face", and *urratu* "Zerreissen" as used of day-break.

The journal is throughout of the same high quality and makes available material otherwise very hard to obtain.

H. W. B.

ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRAN. Herausgegeben von ERNST HERZFELD. Band III. Berlin, 1930-1931. 21s.

These Mitteilungen, of which the first two volumes were noticed in BSOS., VI, continue to offer matter of great interest. In vol. iii, Heft 1 has two essays, Dareios Soter and Spendarmat-Demeter. Of these two studies it must be admitted that there is much with which it is impossible to feel in agreement. It is true that one of the leading ideas, that the Achaemenid kings were Zoroastrians, is based by Professor Herzfeld on studies published earlier in these Mitteilungen, but although this is perhaps possible, it cannot be considered proved. A second cause for disquiet is the adoption of the unsatisfactory theories of Hertel, though it is true that the author does not himself translate according to those etymologies. There is here a bold sweep of exposition which omits at times to supply necessary foundation. So the passage GrBd., 92.14 fol. (quoted p. 3), must be treated with GrBd., 171.6 (in any case *aḍaβyamma* does not represent the reading either of DH. or TD2). That there is reason to doubt such an explanation (p. 1, n. 2) of *fraša-* as from *fra-zšāy-*, has been suggested in BSOS., VI, 595 fol., in connection with *frāšm* (for this word, to the passage there adduced, can be added Dd. 1.12; 36.104).

In the essay Spēdarmat-Demeter, the life of the nomad is sketched instructively. The explanation of *armaitiś* as a vṛddhi form of *\*rmati-* is suggestive, although one might rather propose *\*ā-rmati-*, if it may be assumed that the word was first applied to the earth.

It may be suggested that in the problem of Avestan *yaoršti-* mentioned p. 15, note, Sogd. *ywč-* "to teach", and *yrys-* "to learn", with the participles *ywut-* and *ywst-*, beside the Munjī *yuxs-* "to learn" may be useful. From this one would get a meaning more in accord with the Pahlavi translation.

Pp. 26-8 treat of an elephant, cut in black stone, ascribed to Sasanian times, in its relations with the sculptures of Tāq i Bustān, with four excellent plates.

In Heft 2 is published a new edition of the *Charte de fondation* of the palace at Susa. It corresponds to the importance of the text that so soon after its first publication by P. Scheil, 1929, it should have been studied twice in the *JAOS.* by R. Kent, in the *WZKM.* by W. Brandenstein, as also by König, to which are to be added the interpretations of Benveniste, *BSL.*, 1930, and of Weissbach, all of whom have contributed largely to the understanding of the text. Further fragments found subsequently have but just been published, by P. Scheil (1933), which are important in deciding some of the problems still unsolved. In the rich commentary which Professor Herzfeld has given to the text, there is much of great interest for history, geography, and language. On p. 54 there is a further discussion on *kan-*. It is urged that in *kan-* is contained a word originally referring to earthworks. To this the Ossetic words to which attention was called in *BSOS.*, VI, 593, and the derivatives of *ni-kan-* are additional support.

The treatment of the word *aršniš* will probably not prove acceptable (it is not adopted by Kent). To justify a transcription *āršnīš*, it is not sufficient to compare Pahl. *asp bālāy* (gloss to Avestan *ārštyō*, *baraza*) without also mentioning the phrase *nēzak bālāy* (three times in Pahl. Riv. Dd., cap. 48, § 98). The Akkadian version *ammātu* surely makes "cubit" the only satisfactory rendering.

The proposal on p. 76 to read *arīk* as *āhrika-* "belonging to Ahriman" is probably the best interpretation of the word so far offered. On p. 81 we learn of a Persepolis inscription with the words *mayūra kāsakaina*, of which *mayūra* "nail" appears for the first time.

The whole of the text of the Chart is given in the three versions

in cuneiform with the proposed reconstructions of the broken passages.

Heft 3 is devoted to problems of the Old Persian script and orthographic rules and their relation to the presumed existence of verses in the inscriptions. A great part of the new views here urged is based upon a large use of the Elamite version. An attempt is made to prove that this Elamite version in its transcription of Old Persian words and names offers a nearer representation of the actual Old Persian pronunciation of the time of Darius. The facts seem not to bear out this theory to the extent presumed. An examination of the case of *h*, for example, speaks against it. So the word Old Pers. *visadahunu-* (the corresponding word *dih* in Mod. Pers. has a still audible *h*) is represented by Elam. (in Weissbach's transcription) *mi-iš-ša-da-a-hu-iš* with *h*, but Old Pers. *dahyanvā*, B., i, 26, is in Elam. *da-a-ja-u-iš ha-ti-ma*. In B., i, 1, *sunkuk da-a-u-[i]s-be-na* translates *xšāyaθiya dah[yūnām]*. Hence without *h*. The month name Old Pers. *θūravāhara-* (which almost certainly contains a word cognate with NPers. *bahār* "spring") appears in Elam. as *tu-ir-ma-ir*. Initially, Elam. has sometimes *h-*, sometimes an initial vowel, where Old Pers. has initial vowel, as in *ariy*, Elam. *har-ri-ja-ma*, but Old Pers. *hagmatāna-* is in Elam. *ag-ma-da-na*. It is impossible to use Elamite for the pronunciation here. This is equally the case for *auramazdā*, *vahau[ka]*, *vahyazdāta*. That *vahu-*, *vahyah-* were ever pronounced by Persians or Medians without *h* is hard to believe. Even now the *h* is audible in NPers. *bih*. The Aramaic Papyrus has *vhamis*, where Old Pers. has *vamisa-*. Foreign transcriptions such as the Greek (for example, *ωχος*) or Elamite do not render Persian with exactitude. This is without doubt also true of the nasal in the Elam. and Akkad. transcriptions of Old Pers. *ēissatazma-*. Similarly the nasal in Elam. *da-ad-tu-man-ja* need not indicate a nasal in the Old Pers. form, any more than in the Akkad. *za'-tu'-a*. Further, the discussion of Old Pers. *\*vīvan*, p. 89, cannot be considered satisfactory. A derivative of *\*virahvant-* must surely still have an indication of the *hv* in Old Pers. Nor does it seem altogether acceptable to use Elam. *kam-bar-ma* to prove the reading *Gaubarva*, p. 112, for Old Pers., when on p. 117 Elam. *tar-ma* is claimed as a loanword from Old Pers. *duruva-*. There are other points of this kind. It is doubtful if much certainty can be found in this treatment. But it raises important and difficult problems which will, it is hoped, one day be solved.

H. W. B.

NEUE ORIGINALQUELLEN DES MANICHÄISMUS AUS AEGYPTEN. Vortrag  
... von Prof. Dr. CARL SCHMIDT. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer,  
1933. RM. 0.60.

In this lecture Professor Carl Schmidt has given a succinct account of his discovery of the Coptic Manichean texts, and of their contents. The same matters have been dealt with, sometimes in the same words, but with far greater detail and with the actual texts, quoted here only in translation, with full commentary by Professor Schmidt and Dr. Polotsky in *SbPAW.*, 1933. To this latter book the reader must turn for the rich mass of new information. The present lecture, however, is of interest to a wider circle. At the end of the lecture the author has indicated his views of Mani's position in regard to the other founders of religions. He recognizes in Mani the last of the Gnostics, to whom Hellenistic philosophy, independently of Gnosticism, was unknown. It is the oriental spirit which is revealed in the Coptic texts. This is in agreement with the views of Professor Schaeder in his review of the fuller treatise of Schmidt and Polotsky (*Gnomon*, 9, 1933). It is, however, too early yet to know to what extent the Coptic texts themselves will reveal developments of dogma.

H. W. B.

SAKA STUDIES. By STEN KONOW. Oslo Etnografiske Museum Bulletin  
5. pp. vi + 2 + 198. Oslo, 1932. 25s.

Professor Konow has offered a feast in these *Saka Studies*. Here we find a careful treatment of Saka phonology and morphology, based on all the published material. Some material, indeed, remains unpublished, which will later certainly bring much enlightening information. With what is known, however, a firm foundation has here been laid.

A few points may be noted:—

Mid. Iran. *gōšt* "flesh" is probably *gō-št-* "consisting of *gō* (that is, *gau-*, hence flesh of the ox)". It therefore agrees excellently with Saka *gūšta-*, with older *st* not *št*.

*ālsīndi* "they sing" attests *ark-* in Iranian. It was earlier known only in Arm. *erg* "song" and Sansk. *ark-* "to sing".

*pūr-* "to write" would more satisfactorily be explained from \**pištra-* to *pais-*. It is impossible to connect it with Mid. Iran. Pahl. *dipāvar*, which occurs as *divira* in the Kharoṣṭhī documents.

Besides the examples of *nd* > *n* on p. 29, there are the interesting

cases *pabana*, *van-*, *van-*. Hence *khanaa* "smile" is clearly from *xand-*, and *ggañānaa* "smelling" from *gand-*. In Saka the treatment of *-nd-* and *-nt-* differs.

*vāna-* "hall", pp. 35 and 192, is probably *\*vāhana-*, cf. *āna* "sitting" from *\*āhāna-* and *hvara* "sister" for the *-h-*. The Arm. word to compare is *van-* (not *vahan*, p. 192).

*śāndā* "earth" corresponds to Avestan *spānta-*, a view held now also by Professor Konow.

*hauta* "knowledge", *hautta*, 3rd sing. inj. "know", *hostā* "he knew", provide the explanation of Arm. *hauat* "proof, faith", and Arm. *hauasti* "sure", both from *\*ha-vat-*.

*thalic-* in *nāhalic-*, *nukhalic-*, *pruhalic-*, *hamthalic-*, *hamthrrisāmata*, *thargga*, suggests rather Avestan *θarata-* "pressed together" and its cognates.

*anaulsa* "free from desire" is perhaps to be compared with Oss. *varzun* "to love", then *-g-š-* > *s*. To this may belong also Turfan Mid. Iran. *'vržng* *\*āvaržūy* and Pahl. *āržūk*, NPers. *āržū* "desire".

*būcūśśā*, 2nd sing. "you adorn", suggests the *\*čauk-* of the Arm. loanword *pačoič* "adornment" from *\*pati-čauč-*. The Saka form would then be "inchoative", as *nyhīśś-*.

*brrašta-* is like Old Pers. *frašta-*, *frasta-*, rather than *\*pršta-* (p. 58).

*ājum-* "to lead" looks like Pahl. *yumb-*, NPers. *žumb-* "to move".

*kuṣṣa* "palace" offers a means of explaining Av. *kaožda-*.

*staura* agrees exactly with Pahl. *staβr*, NPers. *istabr* "firm".

*vahindā* "he sinks" is probably *\*ava-hr-n-ati* to Sogd. *γr-* "to go", that is, *har-*, Skt. *sar-*. The form will be like *yīndā* "he makes" *\*krnati*.

*vahīys-* "descend" is *\*ava-haiz-*. Cf. Turfan Mid. Iran. S. *viḥēz* "moving from", Pahl. *viḥēz* "movement" (frequently).

*vanda* beside *vānda* shows that *a* and *ā* may at times interchange, hence *uysnāta* "elevated" is perhaps *\*uz-nata-* to *nam-*, cf. Skt. *unnata-*.

There remains a large number of unexplained words. But the work so far accomplished is already great. The present studies represent an important advance on earlier treatment.

H. W. B.



## CHRISTOMATHIE DE L'ARMÉNIEN MODERNE AVEC VOCABULAIRE.

Publiés par FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale des Langues orientales vivantes. pp. 393. Paris: Geuthner, 1932. 100 francs.

This is a useful book to serve as an introduction to the study of the two principal modern Armenian dialects. It contains 204 pages of texts in prose and verse, of which ten pages are in the reformed alphabet of Erivan as a specimen of the new orthography. The rules of this orthography are set forth by M. David-Beg. The vocabulary will probably suffice for the learner. It is excellently printed.

H. W. B.

RELIGIONE DEI YEZIDI. Testi religiosi dei Yezidi. Traduzione, introduzione, e note di GIUSEPPE FURLANI. Testi e Documenti per la Storia delle Religioni divulgati a cura di Raffaels Pettazzoni. Vol. III. pp. x + 124. Bologna, 1930. L. 12.

Professor Furlani has offered in this book a brief account of what is known of the beliefs, the sect, and the cult of the Yezidis, and has added translations of the two sacred books, the memorial of 1873, prayers, and catechism. New facts about the actual conditions of the Yezidis are not to be expected but in this book and in his further contribution, "Sui Yezidi" in the *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 1932, the author has suggested interesting conclusions. He has shown that the origin of the name Melek Tāūs is to be found in Muslim legends of the temptation of Eve by the peacock. As to Sheikh 'Adī and 'Adī ibn Musāfir, it is now necessary to consider the views of M. Gnidi (*RSO.*, 1932), who gives grounds for tracing the Yezidī sect back to propaganda of exaggerated veneration (عظمة) for the Omayyads. This makes a connection of the present-day Yezidis with Yazid the Omayyad, as suggested by tradition, quite possible. Doubts suggested as to the authenticity of the two sacred books, the *Kitāb al-jilwah* and the *maṣḥaf i raš*, are discussed at length and shown to be unfounded. It is an interesting and useful book.

H. W. BAILEY.

STUDIEN ZU EINER OSTTÜRKISCHEN LAUTLEHRE. Von GUNNAR JARRING. pp. xv + 156 + 53, pls. 1. Leipzig: Lund, 1933. 16s.

The Turkish language at various periods and in its various dialects has been recorded in a number of different scripts, of which very few

have been well suited and none adequate to the reproduction of the delicate vowel system which is the chief characteristic of this and kindred language groups. The main scripts used by the Turks themselves have been the Runic of the early inscriptions and some manuscripts; the Estrangelo, employed both for inscriptions and for books; the Uighur alphabet derived from the Aramaic, through Soghdian the Latin alphabet used by the Christian Comanes; the Arabic, the Hebrew, the Armenian, and the Greek—not to mention the more recent adaptation of the Russian alphabet for Central Asian dialects and the new Latin script made compulsory in the new Turkish Republic. Of all these alphabets the least adapted to represent Turkish sounds was the one which has in the past been the most extensively employed, namely the Arabic, which, like the other Semitic alphabets, contains only *three* characters representing vowels—namely, *a*, *i(y)*, and *u(w)*, which are also employed as consonants. The most scientific of the older scripts was the Runic, which is natural as it was invented by the Turks themselves.

During the past thirty years much attention has been paid to the study of Old Turkish, thanks mainly to the decipherment of the Orkhon inscriptions by Vilhelm Thomsen; the discovery of a large number of documents in Central Asia of Buddhist, Christian, and Manichæan contents; and finally of the most fortunate recovery of the *Divân-i-Luġhat-i-Türk* of Maḥmūd al-Kāshghari.

In addition to all these newly-discovered documents, Turkish scholars have at their disposal the vast mass of materials collected by Radloff and others for the study of all the principal dialects. Of these none is more valuable than the living language of Chinese Turkestan, which represents the nearest approach to the old Uighur. This branch is divided into the northern dialect, which is spoken from Aqsu to Hami, and the southern dialect, spoken from Kashghar to Cherchen. There is further a dialect called by Radloff the Taranchi, spoken in the Ili valley. By far the best known of these is the dialect of Kashghar, of which R. B. Shaw published a grammar and a dictionary in the 'seventies.

Apart from the general linguistic researches of Berczin, Katanov, Kúnos, Hartmann, Vambéry, Bang, and others, the first really important contribution to the phonetics of Kashghari was made by G. Raquette, who in 1909 published his contribution to the existing knowledge of the Eastern Turkestan dialect,<sup>1</sup> and in 1912-14 his

<sup>1</sup> *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne*, xxvi, 5. Helsingfors, 1909.

Eastern Turki Grammar.<sup>1</sup> Raquette's works, which now include an admirable English-Turki dictionary, deal mainly with the literary language, although he occasionally gives the popular equivalents in parenthesis.

Dr. Gunnar Jarring has now produced the first attempt to formulate a comprehensive study of the phonetics (*Lautlehre*) of Eastern Turkish, and has given us a work of outstanding excellence. Whereas Raquette adopted the Lepsius system, Jarring has taken the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, although he seems to have a preference for "Landsmålsalfabet". Like Raquette he uses fifteen vowels. His transcriptions are all based on the pronunciation used in Kaslıghar; the examples, however, are all exclusively derived from the written language and no account is taken of purely colloquial forms. One of the main characteristics of all Eastern Turkish dialects is the omission of the letter *r* before another consonant, resulting usually in a lengthening of the preceding vowel, thus: *be:gen* *bergen*, and *kö:mesem* *körmesem*. *l* also disappears at the end of the demonstratives *bul* (bu), *şol* (šo), and *əl* (e); but if they are followed by a grammatical ending the lengthening disappears, e.g. *bulæ nā* for *bul-læ r-nā*, *şonñ* for *şollærñ*, and *əlænñ* for *ällærñ*.

Jarring calls attention to the interesting fact that Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī (writing in A.D. 1066) notes that biliteral verbs can in the preterite become trilateral; thus *bardī* becomes *bārdī*, and *turdī* becomes *tūrdī*, though he does not note the disappearance of the *r*. Jarring denies that there is a tendency to lengthen the preceding vowels in an exaggerated manner by way of compensating for the lost *r*, as maintained by Hartmann and Kúnos; but I think such lengthening does occur not only in such cases, but also before *y*. I have myself heard *ne:ge kettesy* for *ne(yer)ge ketñ*.

In connection with the examples Jarring gives of the change from *i* to the diphthong *ej*, as in *kejmek* for *kimek* (to dress), and *kejn* for *kien* (after), I would note the opposite tendency which occurs, for example, in *qāin* (in-law), which is sometimes pronounced and even written *qāñ*.

Jarring notes a number of important changes which take place in the consonants, such as *b > p*, e.g. *χup*, Persian *χub*; *d > t*, which always occurs at the end of a word, e.g. *namrat* *namura:d*;

$k > \check{c}$  (which only occurs in *čirmek* "to enter" and *čim* "who?");  $t > \check{c}$  (only in *čirik* for *tirik* "living");  $t > \acute{s}t$ , as in *ist* for *it* "a dog";  $k > \acute{s}k$ , as in *iški* for *iki* "two". He does not, however, note in his list the change  $\acute{s} > \check{c}$ , although examples occur in his texts of *uš* for *uś* "three". I have also heard this change in the expression *iś-kuš* for *iś-kūj* "business".

As an appendix to his *Lautlehre*, Jarring has given a small number of extracts in prose and verse text, transcription and translation. Among the prose extracts are two stories from Rabghūzī's *Qīṣaṣ ul-anbiyā*,<sup>1</sup> which go to show how little the language of Kashghar has changed since the days of the Qarakhanids.

What is still required is a grammar of the spoken Turki. With the help of Raquette's grammar and dictionary and Jarring's *Lautlehre*, we can know how this language is written and how the written language is read; we still await a description of the colloquial in which many verbal forms occur which have never yet received the attention of scholars, and when the colloquial grammar comes to be written, there will be much more to be said regarding the phonetics of Eastern Turki. In the meanwhile, Dr. Jarring has provided us with a very clear and scholarly analysis of the sounds which are employed by Kāshgharis of to-day when reciting the literary language.

The literary language for example, does not admit such common contractions and modifications as *iki* for *ikān*, *meki* for *\*mu-ikān* (and inversion of *ikān-mu*), *kelandur* for *kelādürmu*.

E. D. R.

#### SUFIKSY IMIENNE I CZASOWNIKOWE W JEZKYU ZACHODNIOKARAIMSKIM.

Przeczynek do morfologii języków tureckich. (Les suffixes nominaux et verbaux dans la langue des Karaims occidentaux. Contribution à la morphologie des langues turques. Avec résumé français.) Par ANANJASZ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI. Prace Komisji orientalistycznej Nr. 15 (Mémoires de la Commission orientaliste No. 15). 9½ × 6½. pp. vi + 195. Kraków, 1932.

This is an elaboration of the author's thesis for doctorate, which he submitted four years ago to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Cracow. It is an extensive study of all suffixes that are found in the Western Karaim dialects as spoken in Troki, Lutsk, and Halicz.

<sup>1</sup> The oldest and most important MS. of this work is in the British Museum (No. 638, see *Rieu Cat. Turk. MSS.*, p. 269b).

These dialects are of great importance in the historical study of Turkish, since they are closely related to the Kipchak language of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries as recorded in Arabic, and the language of the "Codex Cumanicus", a Latin-Persian-Turkish vocabulary, of the thirteenth to fourteenth century.

The words in Turkish, be they nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, or postpositions, are mostly composed of stems and various suffixes, whilst the number of pure stems is comparatively small. A thorough study of suffixes like the present work should therefore enable us to determine the possible stem of a given Turkish word. In practice, however, a fair amount of difficulty and uncertainty confronts us in many cases.

The author divides the Turkish suffixes into four categories: (1) suffixes which serve to form nouns from nominal stems, (2) suffixes which form nouns from verbal stems, (3) suffixes which form verbs from verbal stems, and (4) suffixes which form verbs from nominal stems. Following this classification he has shown us that an "artery" (*kāḡmatšix*) is but an offshoot of the "guts" (*kāḡma*), a "rainbow" (*iaia*) is something that "shines" (*iaḡ-*), one "stutters" (Kir. *tutuk-*) when one is "caught" (*tut-*) while speaking, and when it "thunders" (*kōkia-*) there is a "noise" (Tel. *kü*).<sup>1</sup> Many such interesting examples of derivation may be quoted from the volume, where we also find several instances of doubtful etymology. Is he quite certain that, e.g. the word *axtša* "money" is built on *ax* "white", and not on the word corresponding to Uig. *ayī* "treasure, riches" as Professor Ramstedt believes? <sup>2</sup> Can we rule out the possibility that it has been derived from *ax-* "to flow", on the ground that *-tša* is not a deverbal suffix? Have not the words *issi* "warm" and *issiñ-* "to get warm" (*išši* and *iššiñ-* according to Professor T. Kowalski) sprung from *\*is* < *\*isi* (cf. Chag. *isiγ*, Uig. *izik* "warm")? <sup>3</sup> If so, the suffix *-si* of *issi* would probably differ from that of *issiñ-*.

In the present study, Dr. Zajaczkowski has availed himself of all the works on the Karaim dialects published by Professor T. Kowalski and other Turkish scholars. There are, however, some words that escaped his attention. Take e.g. the word *antša* "as much", which occurs in Kuman in the form *antšagina* "as much". There can be no doubt that these words are derived from *an-*, a variant of *ol* "that", as in *anda* "there", *antix* "that", etc. But how are we to classify

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 25, 106, 3, 141.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 112.

the suffix *-tsa*? Is it a diminutive suffix, as in *ñatsa* "some", or is it identical with what is called "aequativus" by the author? Or, again, has it anything to do with the suffix *-tsu* in Uig. *antšulayu* "thus",<sup>1</sup> which corresponds to Mongol *egintšilen* "thus"? If it is connected with this *-tsu*, why is it not found in the Karaim *atei* (< *\*ataiu*) "thus"? Further, is the word *eñsa* "nape" indivisible? If it includes the suffix *-sa* ~ *-sä* (cf. Kaz. *ıysä*, Kir. *epsä*, Chuv. *anä* "nape"), then the stem *eñ* cannot be of verbal origin, since, following Dr. Zajączkowski's classification, this suffix is used with nominal stems.

In the fifth chapter, which is devoted to a study on the phonetic changes in Turkish stems and suffixes, various phenomena characteristic of the Karaim dialects are briefly discussed. The most striking are: the palatalization of vowels due to an immediately preceding or following *ǰ* or *tš*, the labialization of vowels under the influence of *b*, *p*, *v*, and *m*, and the changes from *ɣ* and *g* to *ǰ* and *v*.

We are in entire agreement with the author in his belief that "ce n'est que lorsqu'on aura étudié tous les monuments connus de la littérature turque ainsi que les dialectes contemporains, qu'on pourra atteindre le but le plus important de la tureologie: l'élaboration d'une grammaire comparée des langues turques". And for this very reason the book under review is a long-needed contribution to Turkish linguistics.

S. Y.

DIE KAISERLICHEN ERLASSE DES SHOKU-NIHONGI IN TEXT UND ÜBERSETZUNG MIT ERLÄUTERUNGEN. I. Einleitung und Semmyō 1-29. Von HERBERT ZACHERT. Sonderdruck aus Asia Major. Vol. VIII, fasc. 1-2. 9½ × 6½. pp. 128. Leipzig, 1932.

The Semmyō, or the Imperial Edicts contained in the Shoku-Nihongi (A.D. 797), have a twofold significance. Besides providing us with historical data they form one of the few valuable specimens extant of the earliest Japanese prose work. The Edicts were partly translated by Mr. G. B. Sansom into readable English, and were published in 1924 in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Second Series, vol. i).

Finding this rendering somewhat too free and insufficient, Dr. Zachert has undertaken to give a complete translation of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. Is'haki, "Denominale Verbbildungen in den Türkssprachen," *Orientalia*, vol. ii, fasc. 1, 1933, p. 78.

Edicts, with a transliteration of the original text, in the work under review. When brought to a completion the present translation, which is more faithful to the original than is Mr. Sansom's attempt, will undoubtedly furnish the foreign student of the early history of Japan with much useful material.

The linguistic value of the original work is seriously impaired by the translator's inadequate treatment of the text. The transliteration, in which I have found no fewer than a hundred misprints and omissions, is inconsistent, and hence artificial; he has neither followed modern pronunciation throughout nor endeavoured to present the text as it was probably read in the eighth century.

Apart from the problem of transliteration the following points may be noted:—

p. 24, ll. 8-9: "Die Goldminen von Tsushima werden erschlossen" should read "Das rohe Gold aus Tsushima wird gereinigt".

p. 24, l. 12: "Goldgewinnung in Mutsu" should be "Reinigung des Goldes aus Mutsu".

p. 26, l. 27: "in Korea" should read "nördlich von Korea".

p. 28, last line: "Kisshin" should be "Kishin".

p. 29, ll. 7-8: "Abt des Tempels Yakushiji in Shimotsuke" should be "Oberaufseher der Bauten des Tempels Yakushiji in Shimotsuke".

p. 36, n. 16: "mo steht hier" should read "nagura mo steht hier".

p. 38, ll. 1-2: *tarimahite* (多利麻比旦), which Motowori altered into *tachimahite*, has been interpreted by Mr. S. Matsuoka as meaning "enfeebled" (*Kogo Daijiten*, pp. 829-830).

p. 43, l. 10: "Vernehmet insgesamt die erlauchten Worte, die solches besagen. So künde ich." should be inserted after "in aller Ehrfurcht".

p. 47, n. 5: "kashikomi" is the Ren-yō-kei of the verb *kashikomu*.

p. 49, l. 16: "(庸 Jō)" should read "(庸 Yō) dieses Jahres"; l. 17, "(調 Cho)" should be "(調 Chō) des betreffenden Kreises".

p. 55: The last line of the translation should be followed by something like "Dem Kinai der Hauptstadt erlassen Wir gänzlich die Kopfsteuer".

p. 59, n. 8: The -mi in *sukunami* is not a substantival suffix, but is a descriptive gerundial suffix (see my article in *BSOS.*, vol. vi, part 3, p. 655).

p. 64, n. 10: Both *kokida* and *kokoda* mean "so viel wie das, so viele wie diese", not "zahlreich, wichtig".

p. 73, n. 4: "Ein (Befehls-) Übermittler (*ten*)" should read "Ein Begleitender (-Lehrer) (*fu*)", since the word quoted here is 傳, not 傳.

p. 73, n. 5: "Shinki (715)" should be "Reiki (716)"; "22" should be "24".

p. 99, n. 4: *kuna* seems to be the second half of the compound *katakuna* as Motowori suggests. It is therefore not composed of *-ku* and *na* as Dr. Zachert wrongly interpreted Motowori's commentary. Such a form as *kataku na* is altogether inadmissible in the Japanese language of the eighth century. If the word *kuna* has the same meaning as *katakuna* "stupid, dull" (cf. Semmyō No. 35), then it must mean "dull" here also. This interpretation seems to fit in well with the fact that Komaro was called *noroshi* (乃呂志) "dull".

p. 119, n. 1: "(734)" seems a mistake for "(762)".

p. 120, n. 11: 稍 here means "allmählich", not "ziemlich".

It is to be hoped that Dr. Zachert, in his future publications on ancient Japanese, will adopt a method similar to that employed in Professor J. L. Pierson's *Man-yō-shū*. This will enable the reader to appreciate the exact linguistic significance of the original text.

S. YOSHITAKE.

IL-KOTBA MQADDSA. Maqlubin mill-lhudi n mfissrin bil Malti minn DUN P. P. SAYDON. It-tieni ktieb (1930), It-tielet ktieb (1930), Ir-raba' ktieb (1931), Il-hames ktieb (1931), Is-sitt ktieb (1931, completing the Hexateuch); Ktieb l-imhallin u Ktieb Rut (1932). Six thin vols. in 8vo. Malta: Empire Press.

Four years ago we noticed the beginning of the work of Bible translation undertaken by Professor Saydon of Malta University. Since then he has proceeded apace and has now overtaken his friends and competitors, P. P. Grima and A. M. Galea (whose work had started with Judges), and has now covered the Books of Samuel which have, however, not yet been published though we have had an opportunity of seeing the proofs. Hence we have now the advantage of being able to compare the two variant translations, one on the Kāf-K, Qāf-Q system of spelling, and the other on the Kāf-U, Qāf-K system. Both systems have their following in Malta, and both translations are full of interest in their differing renderings, though, speaking roughly, it may be said that Saydon's besides being rather more stately in its prose is also more Semitic in its construction, for instance in the relative position of verb and noun. Galea: *il Mulej . . . rieghed*; Saydon: *rieghed il Mulej* "the Lord thundered". Apart from the



letters *k* and *q*, and also the use of the *w*, both writers, as indeed most Maltese, agree in the use of the other letters. Dotted *ċ* stands for *ch* as in "child", *ġ* is hard as in "girl", dotted *ġ* is soft as in "Jim", *j* stands for *y*, *x* for *ś*. The emphatics, both in speech and writing, were long ages ago reduced to *d*, as in *dalma* "darkness", *drarwa* "custom", *dawwar dahru* "he turned his back". In the eighteenth century M. A. Vassalli had distinguished in his Lexicon between the *ghain* and the 'ain and between the *ħ* and the *h*, but though this distinction was maintained by Falzon even in the second edition of his dictionary, for the past eighty years no Maltese writer has observed it, nor does it exist in the spoken tongue; *ħ* and *h* are now universally rendered by *h*, and both *ghain* and 'ain by *gh*. For instance, *u xegħel għadbu* "and his wrath flared up".

In the matter of the vowels the very frequent combination *ie*, usually standing for Arabic *ā*, is considered as a digraph; with this exception two vowels can never meet in the same word or in words in juxtaposition. Various devices are adopted to secure the observance of this rule, for instance the changing of a vowel into its related consonant *w* or *j*: *W uliedek* "and thy children"; *marā bla whied* "a woman without children".

In some few words the *ghain* has become a *h*; *ħasil* "washing", *mahfra* "forgiveness". The 'ain at the end of a word often drops away: The common word *issa* "now, forthwith" is really *is-siegha*. The verb in the sentence *smajt kleimkom* "I have heard your words" is really *samagħ*. Geo. Percy Badger, the noted Arabist, who owed his knowledge of Arabic to his having passed his boyhood in Malta, in the days when he was a printer in the employ of the Malta branch of the C.M.S., published a little magazine which he called *Smaitch* (it would now be spelt *Smajix*: "Hast thou heard?"). Very rarely the *ġ* as in "Jim" becomes *ċ* as in "chin": *wieċ l-art* "the face of the earth". Arabic *f* has become *b* in one word: *bezgħu* "they feared"; in another, Arabic *š* has become *s*: *siġar* "trees". In one word of constant occurrence there is a metathesis of *fs* for *sf*: *f'nofs il-baħar* "in the midst of the sea". In some half-dozen words the article has coalesced with the noun, for instance in *ilma* "water", giving in the plural *l'ilmijiet* "the waters"; in *Lhud* "Jews", and in *lsiera* "slaves" (Arabic *asāra*); also in the word *lemin* "right hand", *lemintek* "thy right hand", and in *lura* "back, backwards". Vowels are sometimes dropped, sometimes inserted: *isem* "a name", *ismu* "his name", *star* "a veil", *l'istar* "the veil".

In the matter of the verbs, Maltese is very fond of the second form of the verb, where Arabic uses the fourth: *daññalhom* "he made them enter"; *jiena mvebbislu qalbu* "I will harden (lit. 'dry') his heart"; *rikkibhom fuq ħmar* "he made them ride on an ass". In one verb the eighth Arabic form of the verb *ħayyar* is used as a first-form verb: *min ħatar il-Mulej* "whom the Lord hath chosen". In the Maltese verb *sataġġi*, a tenth-form verb (*istataġġa*) has been similarly reduced: *ma selgħux* "they were not able". There are in Maltese a few mimimated verbs derived from participles of lost verbs; *maġdar* "to contemn" is one instance; *u maġdruħ* "and they despised him". Prepositions *b'* and *fi* combine with the following article: *bl-egħgubijiet* "with wonders"; *fit-triq* "on the way"; *fid-deheb, fil-fidda u fl-inħas* "in gold, in silver, and in copper". In the case of the preposition *minn*, the final liquids coalesce with the article: *mill-inwieħel* "of the flocks"; *huma u deħlin mill-bieb* "as they were entering the gate"; *barra mit-ifał* "exclusive of the children". The same thing occasionally happens with the preposition *magħ* "with": *min hu mal-Mulej* "he who is with the Lord".

There are several composite words in use: *minngħajr* "without"; *kullħadd* "everybody"; *minħabba* "because" (lit. "for love of"); *minħabba d-dubbien* "because of the flies"; *fošt* "in the midst of", contracted from *f'wast*. Many words have somewhat altered their meaning: *ħazin* means "bad" not "sad"; *rqiel ħziena* "evil men"; *l-aħbar ħazina* "bad tidings". In a few cases a same word differently spelt is specialized to denote different things. Thus the same Arabic and Hebraic word which denotes "hand" and "authority" is in Maltese written *id* when it means "hand" and *jedd* when it stands for "authority": *id il-Mulej* "the hand of the Lord", *jedd is-saltna* "the authority of kingship".

But what must above all strike the casual reader who has a nodding acquaintance with Arabic is the overwhelming predominance on every page of the digraph *ie* standing for the Arabic *ā*. The resemblance with the Arabic of Old Granada, phonetically rendered by Pedro de Alcalá, is too striking to be merely casual though the connection has never been satisfactorily explained. *Lbies* "garments", *rummien* "pomegranates", *frieħ* "a bed", *rmied* "ashes", *kbiex* "rams", *ħrief* "lambs", *kilwiet* "kidneys", *wiegeħ* "he answered"; *il-kittien* "the flax", *l'imwieġ* "the waves", *il-klieb* "the dogs", *fuq il-bhejjem* "on the beasts", *miel u biesu* "he bowed and kissed him", *raġel wieħed* "a single man", *linbidel f'raġel ieħor* "thou shalt be changed

into another man", *ktiebek li ktibt* "the book thou hast written", *kwiekeb tas-senu* "the stars of heaven", *lwieħ tax-xhieda* "the tables of the Testimony", *kliem in-nies* "the words of the people", *qabel ma ġie* "before he came", *mija thietta u tletin sena* "a hundred three and thirty years", *Jien inkun miegħek* "I shall be with thee", *tiekol miegħi l-lum* "thou shalt eat with me to-day", *quddiem il-mirkeb* "before the chariot", *bieb l-ġharix* "the door of the tent", *xiber twila u xiber wiesgħa* "its length a span and its breadth a span", *gliegel tad-deheb* "bells of gold", *zeuġ shiesel* "two chains", *taħt iz-zeuġ friegħi* "beneath the two branches", *zeuġ irġiel* "two men", *rġiel u nisa . . . u ħmir* "men, women . . . and asses", *bi driegħ mimdud* "with an outstretched arm", *xogħol in-nissieg* "the work of the weaver", *lubien safi* "pure incense", *deħriet is-sliem* "sacrifices of peace", *qatt ma kien* "there never was". In the text there are a few (very few) words of Latin or Romance origin. It is worth noticing how these words were assimilated by the old Maltese to the extent of being provided with broken plurals on the approved Maltese measures: *tónka* "a tunic", plur. *tonok*; *bastun* "a stave" or "carrier's pole", plur. *bsaten*.

Each of the volumes has the imprimatur of the Malta Church-Authority. The text is conveniently split up into sections under sub-titles; there are copious footnotes explanatory of the text, and there are a few sketch-maps and plans.

C. L. DESSOULAVY.

GEOGRAPHY OF CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY. Translated and edited by E. L. STEVENSON, Ph.D., etc. Folio. pp. xvi + 167, pls. 29. New York: New York Public Library, 1932.

The very unsatisfactory state of the various Greek and Latin MSS. of Ptolemy's Geography, and the backwardness of critical research into these manuscripts and their tradition, are no doubt to blame for the absence of any complete translation of the work hitherto into a modern language. For this reason, if for nothing else, Professor Stevenson's English translation is welcome as a pioneer achievement, although, by the same token, it has been made possible only by a certain boldness of handling. This is frankly admitted by the translator, who—while claiming that his version has been based upon critical study of the best texts and editions—adds: "The intention has been to give that reading which, in the translator's best

judgment, is a faithful representation of what Ptolemy intended to set down in his great work." No one who has even a slight acquaintance with the discrepancies of the MSS. in place-names and in determinations of longitude and latitude can help wondering how many knots have had to be cut in the process, even with the best judgment and most acute analysis.

In view of this, and of the further fact that no indications are given in the text itself either of the MS. followed or of variant readings, it is a little difficult to gather the precise object of the translation. Evidently it may serve a useful purpose in enabling those who have no access to the original texts to examine for themselves Ptolemy's methods and to gain some conception of his work. For critical scholastic work, on the other hand, these are serious drawbacks. The danger is that it may be used as an authoritative source for details, and that not only in regard to such obvious traps as names and figures. For the translation also tends to steer a middle course, often taking the by-pass of paraphrase or desperately shooting the rapids, when those difficulties arise as to the exact reading or significance of the text, with which every translator, however competent—indeed, in proportion to his competence—is only too familiar in his own field. The point may be illustrated by comparing the second sentence of bk. i, ch. 2, as given in the translation, with Professor Fischer's elucidation of the same sentence in the Introduction.

So much it has been necessary to say by way of warning, but none is better aware than the present reviewer that such negative criticism is a poor return for the labour which Professor Stevenson has put into his translation. In Oriental studies particularly it will be of the greatest service to those who need ready access to a Ptolemaic text, backed by the considered judgment of one who has long worked on his material, either for their historical work or in connection with the many problems of medieval Arabic geography. In this way it may even serve a valuable purpose in furthering the study of the Arabic materials, which are of such importance for the critical reconstitution of the original Ptolemaic text itself.

The maps call for little comment. They are taken from the so-called Codex Ebernianus prepared by Nicolaus Germanus in 1482 and now in the New York Public Library. Though of interest as the basis of the maps contained in the early printed editions of Ptolemy, they have no claim to represent the Ptolemaic originals but, as Professor Fischer, the editor of the Codex Urbinas, shows in a valuable introduction to

the translation (in which he restates his arguments for the existence of a genuine Ptolemaic atlas), have been "revised in the spirit of Ptolemy" by Nicolaus himself.

H. A. R. G.

SARACENIC HERALDRY: A SURVEY. By L. A. MAYER, Ph.D.  
pp. xvi + 302, pls. 71. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. 84s.

The book, which Dr. Mayer has produced as a result of his ten years' study of a subject, about which much has been written but little known, even surpasses the expectations of his friends and colleagues. His acknowledgments and the list of collections examined show that he has drawn on all available sources of expert information, but the merit of organizing the material and the thoroughness and precision with which the inscriptions have been verified and the results set down are entirely his own.

For the average student who is not a collector, the most interesting part of the work is the introduction (pp. 3-43), in which all the evidence relating to the use of blazons in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods is concisely examined. Space forbids a detailed statement of Dr. Mayer's conclusions, but though some of them controvert views hitherto held, he may be said to have proved his case pretty thoroughly (always admitting that new evidence may upset the best of arguments). Difficulties still remain, of course. We are told that the blazon was the prerogative of military rank, but the "armorial roll" itself seems to contain some contradictory examples. Apart from the doubtful case of al-'Ainī (pp. 149-150), we find blazons attributed to a certain Sidi Muḥammad (p. 157) and a *khwājā* Muḥammad b. al-Khiḍr (p. 266).<sup>1</sup> The emblem on the shrine of Shaikh Ilyās dated 671 at Gaza (p. 124) sets a problem connected with the "non-professional" blazons. The *tamgha* which it displays can obviously not be the personal emblem of the Shaikh, since it appears also on a column in the cemetery of Gaza, dated 694, over a member of a totally different family (p. 53). The latter being of Turkmen and amirial descent, the *tamgha* may probably be regarded as his *family* blazon, but how then does it come to be connected with the Shaikh? Is it possible that it was through marriage with a daughter of the house?

In regard to several other symbols of the non-professional group,

<sup>1</sup> There is a clerk of this name in Ibn Hajar's *Durar*, iii, 432, and another with the laqab Shams ad-Dīn in the *Manhal* (Wiet's index, no. 2121).

Dr. Mayer has some instructive suggestions to make. The heraldic form of the fleur-de-lis he holds to be of Saracenic origin (pp. 23-4), and the so-called crescent is probably a horse-shoe (p. 25). In the pair of hollow horn-shaped objects, which appear in composite blazons of the fifteenth century, he sees—with much hesitation—the *sarāwīl al-futūwa* or "trousers of nobility" (p. 21). The reviewer would not presume to question this identification on grounds of artistic representation, but rather on the ground of historical appropriateness. A pair of breeches may well have been borne as an emblem by an amīr like Taqī ad-Dīn during the Caliphate of the romantic an-Nāṣir, who attempted to transform the *futūwa* into an order of chivalry, or even in the thirteenth century, during the revival of the order in the time of Baibars. But by the fifteenth century the *futūwa* had fallen from its high estate,<sup>1</sup> and it is indispensable for the proof of Dr. Mayer's supposition to produce evidence that al-Ashraf Qā'it-Bāy (in the blazons of whose *mamlūks* these objects are exclusively found) revived—like his earlier namesake, al-Ashraf Khalīl—the *futūwa* as an aristocratic order. If the "breeches" identification is set aside, I would suggest that the objects in question are tusks, and more precisely elephant tusks.<sup>2</sup>

Much of the uncertainty which besets the subject of Mamluk heraldry is due to the lack of a definite technical vocabulary, which in turn is doubtless to be put down to the absence of any organization corresponding to the European Heraldic Colleges. Even the word *rank* can hardly be listed as an exclusive technical term, as may be seen from the passage from adh-Dhiḥabī, quoted on p. 144: *wa-kāna rankuhu fī ayyāmi inratihī hākadhā* [figure showing a cup on the lower part of a shield] *wafī ayyāmi malkihī 'rāyātī 'ṣṣufra*. Dr. Mayer translates correctly enough, "While amir he carried this coat of arms, while king yellow banners," but his subsequent interpretation of the passage as implying merely a change of colours, seems to me to force the text much too far. Is it not simply that *rank* is employed in two senses, in the first for the blazon or device, in the second for the royal colours, as in such phrases as *rank al-khūlāfa* "the black banners and robes of the Caliphate"? *Shi'ār*, in turn, means not only "device", but is also used for colours or banners, as in the common phrase *nādā*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. now Taeschner in *ZDMG.*, 87, 39-40; "Die Futuwwa scheint damals aus den höfischen Kreisen hinabgeglitten zu sein in niedere Volksschichten."

<sup>2</sup> Note the reference to tilting at elephants contained in a verse of the *zajal* elegy on Qā'it-Bāy quoted by Ibn Iyās, ii, 300, 1-2.

*bi-shi'uri fulān* "to proclaim the colours (or banners) of" for "to proclaim allegiance to".

The "armorial roll", which takes up the main part of the book, is compiled with a precision which it would be difficult to overpraise. Attributions of objects to known persons are made only when no possible dubiety exists, and even when the identity of two persons of the same name seems scarcely doubtful (e.g. *Jānbalāt*, pp. 127 and 129), Dr. Mayer cautiously lists them separately. The biographical references alone represent an immense amount of laborious research, and though other references are doubtless to be found,<sup>1</sup> little would have been gained by extending the list; it is of much more importance that a number of wrong attributions have now been corrected. The inscriptions themselves present several features of interest in language and style which must be passed over here.<sup>2</sup> The attached translations clear up practically all the difficulties, if occasionally loose in phrase (*al-faqīr ilā'llāh* translated "yearning for God" instead of "who stands in need of God"; *bisifārati* (p. 101), "with the help of" instead of "through the agency of", etc.). For the phrase *عين مقدمين الالف* in several inscriptions of the fifteenth century (pp. 103, 138, 153), van Berchem's rendering, "Commander designate of a thousand," is retained, but it must be admitted that Goldziher's reserves (in *C.I.A., Egypte*, i, 545, n. 4) as to the validity of this translation still hold good. Van Berchem's principle of always translating the personal honorifics in the form "— ad-Dīn" has also been adopted, but the inscriptions appear to show three stages: (1) Up to the end of the seventh century, when they are uniformly given in full; (2) during the first half of the eighth century, when the *nisba* forms were coming into use,<sup>3</sup> the inscriptions frequently give both, e.g. *as-Saifi Saif ad-Dīn* (pp. 67, 96, 221), *al-Jamālī Jamāl ad-Dīn* (p. 72), *ash-Shamsī Shams ad-Dīn* (p. 213), once even *as-Saifi an-Nāṣirī Nāṣir ad-Dīn* (p. 159); (3) beginning in the eighth century *nisba* forms alone are found, with rare exceptions. Is there any good reason why these distinctions should not be retained?

<sup>1</sup> For *Tashtamur al-Badrī add Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, i, 85-6, where the name is written and vocalized *Tuṣṭu*.

<sup>2</sup> In Jaqmaq's inscription on the Mosque at Damascus (p. 133) occurs the odd phrase *waḡhafara lahu walihwālidaihi wali'ahbābihi*. Should not the last word be *wali'ajdādihī*?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *al-Jamālī* in *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, i, 80.

Lastly, a word of praise is due to the excellence of the index and of the plates, and to the general production, tempered only by some regret at the primitive and googly design that adorns the jacket.

H. A. R. G.

*Revue des Études Islamiques.* Publiée sous la direction de L. Massignon.

Tome V (Année 1931). 4 cahiers, pp. 538 + 39. Tome VI (Année 1932), 4 cahiers, pp. 561. Paris: Geuthner. Subscription price 100 francs per annum.

On p. A. 171 of vol. v, Professor Massignon, apropos of a biographical work on A. le Chatelier, gives a definition of his objects and methods of study which may well serve as the motto of the R.E.I.—“*de considérer l'Islam, non plus de dehors, comme un assaillant, mais du dedans, afin d'en apercevoir axialement la structure vitale et les organes solidaires.*” The real originality of this conception, and the predominating sociological trend of its articles, together with their width of range, continue to distinguish the *Revue* from all other journals devoted to Islamic studies (which is not, however, to say that similar articles are not to be found in them also from time to time); and to make it an indispensable consultant for all students of the modern Islamic world. Nevertheless, Professor Massignon is no narrow doctrinaire who strangles the life out of his subject by cramping limitations of time, place, or substrate; he finds room for M. Sauvaget's survey and catalogue of the medieval monuments still existing at Aleppo (1931, 59–124), as well as for Mme Kratchkovskaia's study of the inscriptions of the famous ruined mosque at Veramîn (1931, 25–58, from the photographs and sketches of M. Morosov), and for Professor Gottheil's notes on the modern illustrated copy of the Qur'ân which roused so much interest at the Leiden Congress (1931, 21–4).

The remaining contributions fall into well-defined categories. Questions of legal usage and theory, though the most limited in range, occupy the widest space. Apart from an analysis by L. Mercier (1931, 125–137) of the decree of 1931 reorganizing the Shari'a courts in Egypt—in which he brings out the importance of this legislative action which, while preserving the principles of the canon law, defines the jurisdiction of each class of tribunal and limits the competence of the single *qāḍī*—the legal articles deal exclusively with North-West Africa. R. Vigier criticizes the decree of 19th May, 1931, regulating the divorce



and successorial rights of Kabyle women (1931, 1-19); R. Gromand gives a preliminary account of a peculiar Berber custom in Figuig, called *Bezra*, or confiscation of property by the local Jamā'a to the use of the community (1931, 277-312); L. Milliot publishes his lectures on the *qānūns* of the Kabyle villages, which constitute an important attempt to elucidate their social function and relations, with an interesting lecture on the Kabyle colonies in Paris tacked on (1932, 127-174); and the indefatigable Paul Marty contributes the first part of an exhaustive study of the organization, jurisdiction, etc., of the Sharī'a courts in Morocco, as modified by the legislative decrees of the Protectorate (1931, 341-538).

The articles which may be generally classified as relating to the religion of Islam cover, in contrast, a very wide range indeed. M. Marty, in a detailed and careful piece of work, continues (from vol. iv) his investigations into the actual position and influence of Islam in the Niger colony (1931, 139-240). Almost at the opposite extreme are the brief but interesting notes of A. Bonamy on the Muslim populations of Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria (1932, 81-90). An exceptionally brilliant study is contributed by H. Laoust on the ideas and ideals underlying the reformist Salafiya movement in Egypt (1932, 175-225), and provides a valuable supplement to Dr. C. C. Adams's book reviewed elsewhere in this number. One whole issue (1932, cah. iv) is devoted almost entirely to the theological background. W. Ivanow resumes a curious Persian work, the *Ummu'l-Kitāb*, apparently a relic of an early dualistic sect which deified 'Alī, and was subsequently absorbed by the Ismā'īlīs (1932, 419-482), and Paul Kraus gives some supplements and corrections to the Ismā'īlī bibliography recently published by Ivanow (483-490). Another medieval relic, a long-suppressed chapter of Armenian anti-Muslim polemic, rather primitive and violent, is summarized by F. Macler (491-522). To this Professor Massignon subjoins a brief but, as always, penetrating analysis of al-Ghazālī's refutation of the Christian doctrine of the divinity of Christ, from an unpublished MS. of *ar-radd al-jamīl*, together with other materials which lead to the unexpected conclusion that al-Ghazālī's philosophical polemic links on to the Ismā'īlī apologetic (523-536).

Education forms the subject of two articles, one in which L. Bercher gives a revised translation of the new statutes of al-Azhar issued in 1930 (1931, 241-275), the other a study by Ajjan al-Hadid of the educational system of 'Irāq, in the light of the recent report of an

American Educational Inquiry Commission (1932, 231-267). The author, for the soundest of reasons, rejects the Commission's plea for decentralization: "L'organisation scolaire sera centralisée ou ne sera pas." "Pure" sociology is represented also by two articles: a collection of photographs of wedding costumes of brides in the cities of North-West Africa with explanatory notes by [Mdlle ?] J. Jouin (1931, 313-339), and a study of the social structure of the Shammar of Najd and the relations between nomads and settlers, in which A. Montagne utilizes to good effect the experience and insight acquired in his Moroccan researches (1932, 61-79). In the field of economic sociology, J. Gaulmier writes on the trade-unionist movement at Hamāh, emphasizing the leadership of the intelligentsia and their political rather than industrial aims, as contrasted with the old and now almost extinct guilds (1932, 95-126). Of particular interest to English students is a long article by the Punjabi Rahmat 'Ali, analysing the Hindu-Muslim problem in India from a Marxist standpoint (1932, 270-414). After a somewhat one-sided review of the economic development of India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he finds that economic, rather than political or religious questions are at the bottom of the conflict, the new Muslim bourgeoisie fearing its elimination by the old-established Hindu and Parsi bourgeoisie.

In addition to these articles, J. G. Lemoine contributes a preliminary study of the systems of finger calculation used in Asia and Europe, distinguishing three notations, and hints at some of the wider implications of this study (1932, 1-58), and brief notes are given on the visit of Egyptian theatrical companies to Tunis (1932, 537-544) and on recent political and literary activities in Afghanistan (1932, 545-561). Lastly, Professor Massignon continues his series of *Abstracta Islamica* (1931, cah. iii, separately paginated A. 141-179), of the importance of which enough has been said in the reviews of earlier years to make further remark unnecessary.

H. A. R. G.

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ISLAM AND MODERNISM IN EGYPT. By C. C. ADAMS, Ph.D.  
pp. ix + 283. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 7s. 6d.

The sub-title of Dr. Adams's book, "A Study of the Modern Reform Movement inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh", supplies the necessary corrective to the rather excessive width of the subject implied in the title, since he has limited himself to an exhaustive study of one important section of the modernist movement. After

a short chapter on Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī, 159 pages are given to the biography and an analysis of the doctrines of Muḥammad ‘Abduh, followed by three chapters on the activities of his followers (especially the journal *al-Manār*) and his influence on the younger Egyptian modernists. Though it is by no means the first time that Muḥ. ‘Abduh has claimed the attention of European scholars, all previous writers have studied him in the abstract from his writings; this solid and well-documented monograph is the first which presents him in the round, in his own historical and political setting, and which brings out his work as a practical reformer. Speaking for himself, the present reviewer is inclined to doubt whether his work as a thinker, an assimilator of the new knowledge of the West and a theological scholar, has anything but a temporary significance, that is to say as a stimulant, more important in its effects than in itself. Professor Horten’s criticism, summarized in pp. 105–7, certainly makes an impossible demand; Islam (and Europe too) has still far to go before any such synthesis as he envisages can be practicable or acceptable. Dr. Adams is fully justified in rejecting his view as “too scholastic and detached” and in insisting that Muḥ. ‘Abduh’s thought and his practical activities go hand in hand. But, of course, such an analysis of his teachings as this book gives us has a definite value as representing a phase in the development of Muslim thought, which is the more deserving of attention as it is by no means confined to Egypt.

It would be difficult to improve upon the compact and thorough survey of Muḥ. ‘Abduh’s life which Dr. Adams has written, though there will always be room for differences of estimate. During the second period of his career, for instance, Muḥ. ‘Abduh’s ideas seem to have been even more completely dominated by Jamāl ad-Dīn than he would allow. In *al-‘Urwa al-Wuḥqā*, at least, though the pen is ‘Abduh’s the voice is Jamāl ad-Dīn’s, and this is borne out by the numerous references which the articles contained to Afghaniṣtān. (Incidentally, this fact, and more especially the impression of hostility left on his mind by the British operations in Afghaniṣtān in 1839–1842, confirms the truth of Jamāl ad-Dīn’s Afghan origin.) Or was Jamāl ad-Dīn using him merely as a tool to propagate his militant pan-Islamic views? It can hardly be questioned, on the other hand, that in later life (partly, no doubt, as Dr. Adams says, as a result of his European experiences) he broke decisively with Jamāl ad-Dīn’s methods, though remaining none the less genuinely attached to the political aspirations of Islām.

The last two chapters provide so useful a survey of the modernist movements and literature of Egypt, that one has no heart to quarrel with Dr. Adams over his rather too generous extension of the limits of the "Manār Party". Among the post-war writers he singles out Muṣṭafā and 'Alī 'Abd ar-Rāziq, Ṭahā Ḥusain, and Maṣṣūr Fahmī for special notice, though with some doubts as to the propriety of bringing Ṭahā Ḥusain within the sphere of influence of Muḥammad 'Abduh, but these doubts can surely now be set at rest in view of the reminiscences which he has recently published (*Fi's-Saif*, Cairo: Maṭb. al-Hilāl, 1933, pp. 44-7). Of the still younger offshoots of the Ṣalafiya movement, to whom M. Henri Laoust has recently devoted a brilliant article in the *Revue des Études Islamiques* (1932, 175-224), Dr. Adams gives no account in the present volume, but every reader will hope that in due course this, in the reviewer's opinion the most valuable work on Egypt that has appeared of recent years, will be followed by others of the same thoroughness and sureness of judgment.

H. A. R. G.

SHAWKĪ: MAJNUN LAYLA. Translated by A. J. ARBERRY. pp. 61. Cairo, 1931. London Agents: Luzac. 5s.

The poetical dramas of Aḥmad Shawqī, which rank as one of the most successful efforts made as yet to acclimatize the dramatic form in modern Arabic literature, well deserve to be more widely known, and Mr. Arberry has rendered a very good service in translating one of the best of them into English. His blank verse not unfairly represents the style and language of the original, given the difference between the structure of poetry in the two languages; for Shawqī's virtuosity in the handling of rhyme and metre obviously had to go by the board, except in the occasional songs. A careful reading has disclosed very few errors in the rendering; as the most serious, in that they effect the portrayal of character or incident, may be mentioned: p. 28: "He's a man who is no friend of the just" (the original being "Ibn 'Awf is not dealing fairly in that for which he strives"); p. 46: "My misery was no less great than thine" ("An oath [I swear], though not obliged to take an oath to thee"); p. 51: "What fate thus slays the chaste and faithful?" ("Whose weapons when he slays are forged of naught but chastity and loyalty to plighted troth"). Misprints probably account for one or two phrases that are unintelligible (p. 22: "Drive plenty down the canyons, Drive the near moon"; p. 49:

a stage direction, "Layla (behind her head)"). But in a task of this kind, the most important, and most difficult, thing is to capture the spirit of the original, and in this Mr. Arberry can be said to have succeeded to a remarkable degree. The only general criticism which may be offered is that for the non-specialist reader a fuller introduction to the theme and some notes are really indispensable.

H. A. R. G.

ABU NUWAS IN LIFE AND IN LEGEND. By W. H. INGRAMS. pp. xi + 95. Mauritius, 1933. London Agents: Luzac. 3s. 6d.

The third and longest chapter of this little book contains a valuable collection of new material for students of comparative folk-lore and the migration of stories. Among the Swahili of Zanzibar Abū Nuwās has fallen heir to a great variety of stories of a totally different type from those with which he is associated in Arabic legend. It seems possible to distribute these stories generally under three heads: (1) the "Juhā" cycle of Arabic and the Turkish *qaragüz* (Mr. Ingrams is almost certainly wrong in deriving *Kargoss* from the Persian *Khargūsh* "hare"); (2) stories found over a very wide range, some of them also in the *Arabian Nights*, but associated with quite different persons; (3) the indigenous African rabbit cycle, in which "Kibunwasi" most surprisingly takes the place of Brer Rabbit. The first and second chapters serve to bring out the contrast between the poet Abū Nuwās of Baghdād and of Arabic legend and this Africanized figure, a contrast which, in spite of the scaling down of Caliph and poet to fit the social environment of a Swahili village, must be admitted to be entirely in favour of the Africans.

H. A. R. G.

JOSEPH BEN MEIR ZABARA: THE BOOK OF DELIGHT. Translated by MOSES HADAS. pp. xi + 203. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. \$3.25.

The *Book of Delight* is a lesser member of that great and intricately interrelated family of collections of moral tales within a frame story which ministered to the pleasure of the literate classes, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian alike, in the Middle Ages. The author was a Spanish Jew and a physician, and was presumably well acquainted with Latin (he belonged to Barcelona) and Arabic as well as Hebrew. The loose *maqāma* form of the work shows its Oriental affinities; the provenance

of or the parallels to the fifteen stories which it contains form the subject of an interesting though, on the whole, inconclusive introduction by Merriam Sherwood. Like most medieval works of its kind, its importance to-day lies mainly in the evidence which it may afford for the study of the contact of civilizations in Spain. In addition to this it contains a good deal of medical lore, of the well-known Graeco-Arabian type, and the translation of a medical poem by Zabara, entitled "The Seats of the Soul", is also appended to the volume. From both points of view it is a useful addition to the series of "Records of Civilization".

H. A. R. G.

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IBN 'IDHĀRĪ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ. AL-BAYĀN AL-MUGHRIB. Edited by E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL. T.I.: Texte et Indices. pp. 368. Paris: Geuthner, 1930. 200 fcs.

The discovery of the third volume of Ibn 'Idhārī's history in a private library at Fez is one of the major finds which have rewarded M. Lévi-Provençal's diligent search for "lost" works on the history of Spain and the Maghrib. The period which it covers is that of the decline of the 'Āmirid dictatorship and the rise of the minor dynasties in Spain in the first half of the fifth/eleventh century, and, as in the previous volumes published by Dozy, it is composed mainly of extracts from Ibn Ḥayyān and other earlier authorities. Some of the material is consequently available already in citations by other compilers, but the book offers on the whole a mass of new detail on the troubled history of the time. The MS. appears to present, apart from some lacunæ, a reasonably good text, and the more obvious errors have been carefully corrected by the editor. The minor errors of impression will presumably be corrected in the second volume containing the introduction, etc., which is promised in a brief foreword.

In the meantime, M. Lévi-Provençal has appended to the revised issue of Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (Leiden, 1932) a translation of two lengthy extracts from this volume, one on the government of al-Muẓaffar Ibn Abī 'Āmir (pp. 3-37 of the text; Dozy, vol. iii, pp. 185-214), the other consisting of fragments from an anonymous history of the minor dynasties (pp. 289-316; Dozy, vol. iii, pp. 215-235). To judge from some differences of rendering, the translation was made before the texts were edited for publication, and in a few passages it reads into the text more than the Arabic

expressions justify. This opportunity may be taken, however, to note one or two points of dating: p. 187, ll. 27-8, read "23 Sha'ban (27 June)", especially as the following words confirm that the day was a Thursday; p. 191, l. 5, after "mardi" insert "8 Shawwāl (10 August) and he entered Cordova on Tuesday (5 Dhu'l-Qa'da, etc.)"; p. 203, l. 26, the text has "Thursday, the penultimate day (i.e. 29th) of Ramaḍān", but Thursday, 3rd June, was the 24th or 25th Ramaḍān, and Thursday, 10th June, the 1st or 2nd Shawwāl; p. 217, l. 5, the month must be Jumādā 1, i.e. Thursday, 23rd December; p. 220, l. 24, read "thirteen" for "thirty" (same error in the text); p. 226, ll. 32-3, read "9 Ṣafar (6 June)" as on p. 227, l. 4.

H. A. R. GIBB.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ISLAMIC RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY, 1933.

No. 1. AN ABBREVIATED VERSION OF THE DĪWĀN OF KHĀKĪ KHORĀSĀNĪ Persian text, edited with an Introduction by W. IVANOW. 5s.

No. 2. TWO EARLY ISMĀ'ĪLĪ TREATISES: Haft-bābi Bāba Sayyidnā and Maṭlūbu'l-mu'minīn by Ṭūsī. Persian text, with an introductory note by W. IVANOW. 3s. 6d.

No. 3. TRUE MEANING OF RELIGION (RISĀLA DAR ḤAQĪQATI DĪN). By SHIHĀBU'D-DĪN SHAH AL-ḤUSAYNĪ. Persian text and an English translation by W. IVANOW. 4s.

This series of short texts provides materials for the study of Ismailism, and particularly of the Eastern or Nizārī branch represented in India by the Khojas, a sect which owes spiritual allegiance to H.H. the Agha Khan. The texts are published in a legible, if not very elegant Indian Nasta'liq, and consist of copies of works preserved in India, the original manuscripts from which the copies were made being themselves, in most cases, of recent date. The contents have no particular value as literature, but they have considerable interest as manifestations of the religious ideas of the sects which produced them, for although the doctrines of the Ismā'īlīs have long been known from outside sources, the spirit in which they were described has, as may be conceived, generally been hostile. The present texts themselves are so carefully guarded in their phraseology that it would be difficult to distinguish them from works normally recognized as being of Shī'ite origin and there is much in them which coincides with what is already familiar in works inspired by Sufism. There is sufficient in them,

nevertheless, that is characteristic enough to make them valuable, even though the earliest—those attributed in number 2 to “Sayyid-nā” and Nasirū’d Dīn Tūsī—are of doubtful authorship and date. The work attributed to Sayyidnā Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ concludes with a section on the date of composition and purports to give it according to five different eras, but the only definite year given is not that in the Hijri era but in the Jalālī (Malik-shāhī) era—a suspicious circumstance, particularly as the year which is given (121) corresponds to A.D. 1199 or A.D. 1200, whereas Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ is said to have died in A.D. 1124. The editor perceives the difficulty, but suggests that A.D. 1200 is a not improbable date for the composition of the work, judging from internal evidence.

The introductions are concise and to the point and the translations correct. In the introduction to the *Dīwān* of Khāki Khurāsānī the editor has, however, given his author undeserved credit for a logical enumeration of thirty-three “professions”, and has, therefore, not seen that in line 775 the scheme is interrupted by a number of pairs, “Slave and master, lord and subjects (the curious form رعايات is given), thief and watchman (and also diviner).” The recognition of this fact would have obviated the misunderstanding which led to the translation given on p. 12, viz. “Servant, eunuch, *mīr* = executioner?, farmer, etc.”

It may be presumed that these three little volumes are the precursors of others, and it is to be hoped that amongst them will be included some of the older works extant in which the special flavour of Ismailism is more markedly obvious. Both the editor and the Islamic Research Association encourage the hope by their admirable beginning.

R. LEVY.

THE MACDONALD PRESENTATION VOLUME. A Tribute to D. B. Macdonald. pp. 487. Princetown University Press, 1933. 34s. net.

Twenty-seven pupils have joined to present to their master this volume of essays on his seventieth birthday as a mark of esteem and affection. Professor Macdonald lectured on the Bible in a school of missions and wrote books about Islam; these varied interests are represented in this volume. A short review cannot notice them all.

A tombstone from Egypt dated A.H. 127 testifies to the orthodoxy of the deceased and perhaps to the virulence of theological quarrels. The declaration that the Garden and the Fire are facts looks like a



protest against the ideas connected with the name of Jahm ; but what is the heresy attacked by the words, " The resurrection is a fact " ?

In the essay on Balaam it is refreshing to find a good word for the redactor, the final editor of the story as it is familiar to us. In critical works on the Bible one is accustomed to find a few odd verses cut out from the rest and called tags by the redactor. It is new to hear that this shadowy figure had a mind of his own and a purpose in selecting and combining the old stories. It is a pleasant thought that he kept the ass, not because he had any use for it, but because it had become an essential part of the tale and the audience would have kicked if it had been left out. A mistake of the writer, who has turned Buchanan Gray into Canon Gray, prompts the suggestion that the name Balaam may also be a contraction.

Dr. Adams adds some details to the portrait he has drawn of Muhammad 'Abduh (in *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*) by telling in full the story of the " Transvaal fatwa " and the opposition it roused among the *unco guid*. In this decision Muhammad 'Abduh permitted the Muslims of the Cape to eat meat slaughtered by Christians, though the conditions imposed by Muslim law were not fulfilled.

A careful essay on the Khawārij excludes Syria from any part in the mental growth of Islam. This is an exaggeration, for though Khārijite and Shī'ite ideas took no root there doctrines more purely theological did. The execution of Ma'bad for heresy in A.H. 80 may have happened in Damascus ; Marwān II was under the influence of Ja'd b. Dirham, indeed he was called al-Ja'di ; a tradition, quoted by Vlieger, refers to *kadaris* in Syria ; and 'Abdullah b. 'Umar was perturbed because friends there were not sound in the faith. Against the Government the Khawārij would always fight under any flag and with any allies, Christians, and landless men of all sorts. It is argued that, though they were first interested in practical matters, yet they evolved a theology of their own and did not merely borrow one from the Mu'tazilites.

One can only refer to the articles on David the Reubenite, Yunus Emre the Turkish poet, and the School for Pages in the palace at Constantinople.

Dr. Titus claims that though Muhammad did not use the phrase, " the kingdom of God," yet he had the idea and Mughal emperors sought investiture from the caliph. An Indian scholar said : " Only one Indian sovereign asked for recognition by the caliph ; and he was mad."

In a translation of the chapters about Jesus Christ from Ya'qūbī's history occur the words, "A place called al-Jumjunah, the skull, which is in Hebrew 'the sign of the head' *aiḥa källa*." These two words are not Hebrew or Aramaic; *imā* might be Arabic, but *källa* is a riddle. It seems better with Houtsma to assume some corruption of the text, perhaps *khukhul* for *juljul*, an attempt to reproduce the name familiar in English as Golgotha.

From the *Poliphili Hyppocrotomachia*, published in 1499, is reproduced a picture with three inscriptions each in four languages. The comment speaks of three languages only and does not notice that two of the Arabic phrases are misplaced.

A. S. T.

THE JEWISH FOUNDATION OF ISLAM. By C. C. TORREY. pp. 164. New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1933. \$1.50.

*Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum* by Tor Andrae, which Professor Torrey had not seen when he wrote these lectures, is the best criticism and refutation of his theories.

Professor Torrey assumes that a strong Jewish community lived in Mecca. A plausible assumption, for Jews were settled in many places on the west side of Arabia. True, they were for the most part farmers and craftsmen rather than traders, but some were merchants and there was room for craftsmen in the great trading centre. But the historians make Mecca a second Aberdeen, so we are forced to conclude that the early Muslims knew of Muḥammad's debt to the Jews and hid it by obliterating all signs of their presence in Mecca.

The Professor argues that Muḥammad had one teacher in chief. Why does he not do his work thoroughly and make Khadija a Jewess? She had brains and character and would have known enough of her religion to meet her husband's needs.

The Professor's arguments can be turned against himself. Many Christians lived in Arabia and travelled freely about the country. Muḥammad was a genius and not a slavish follower of his instructor. Knowing what he wanted, he took it. So he neglected the New Testament and took from the Old the Prophets, who were made to illustrate his own position. Some of the details, for which a Jewish origin is claimed, might have come from Christian sources. Thus Mar Ballai makes Joseph's brothers say that his mother stole before him.

On the vexed question of the race of Arabian Jews, we may refer to the note in Ibn Sa'd: "a Jewess, paternal aunt of one of the

Anṣār," which shows that the Jewish tribes sometimes intermarried with the Arabs.

Objection may fairly be taken to the method of quotation. On p. 25 we read: "Margoliouth will have it that Muḥammad had small respect for the Israelites of Mecca and Medina." Professor Margoliouth says nothing about Jews in Mecca!

On the other hand, the analysis of the tales in the Qur'ān is suggestive. That Muḥammad spoke with one eye on his audience, whetting their curiosity with hints of more to come, and the other on the "people of the book", lest he should be accused of plagiarism, may explain why parts of the Qur'ān read like notes for a longer work.

A. S. T.

THE SHĪ'ITE RELIGION. By DWIGHT M. DONALDSON. pp. 393. London: Luzac and Co., 1933. 15s.

This volume does its best to annoy the reader. The boards are not flat, misprints are many, especially in the bibliography, the spelling of names is not uniform, transliteration is not consistent and is often wrong even on the author's own system. Medina for Media (p. 275) is bad and *ghul'at* for *ghulāt* is horrid.

The book consists of history, descriptions of holy towns and other sacred places, accounts of theologians, and lastly theology. This last is limited to the doctrine of the imams and is treated fully, mostly by translation from Shī'ite authorities. The theology is more human than the Sunni doctrine. The imams as guides and mediators for their people are men and not puppets in the hands of God. They are held to be sinless. Apologists had to explain away the fact that they confessed to sins, and said that these so-called sins were very minor, attention to business or domestic affairs.

As an illustration, have you not observed how most servants, if they happen to be occupied in such personal things when their master appears, instinctively ask to be forgiven as though they had done wrong?

Another reason is this:—

Remembering that the knowledge of God is not something that can be fully attained, and that the prophets and the apostles and the imams are always making progress in their perfections, and advancing higher and nearer to God, consequently, every hour, in fact every minute, they are in varying degrees of fellowship with God and of knowledge of His truth. A previous degree of attainment may be recognized as lower, and the worship that was in that place at that

point may afterwards be considered inferior, so that they may think of themselves as having at that time been deficient, and for this reason they may ask to be pardoned. Or perhaps it refers to something like this, as when the Apostle said, "I ask pardon every day seventy times."

Practically nothing is said about theology, in the narrow sense, and it is assumed that the Mu'tazila derived their ideas from the Shī'a. This part of the book, the doctrine of the imam, is good. Nothing is said about the legal peculiarities of the Shī'a. Any account of the Shī'a must begin in general Muslim history. It seems that Dr. Donaldson could not bring himself to write Shi'ite history unadulterated so he allowed himself a few criticisms at the beginning. As the story advances the criticisms grow fewer. The account of the election of Abū Bakr is inadequate. Two versions are given, but no attempt is made to decide how far either is true and no mention is made of the rivalry between the Aus and Khazraj nor of the irruption of the Aslam tribe. The election is surprising; it is a clear case of the "herd instinct"; at a critical moment one man acts firmly and the crowd follows. What is the evidence which proves that Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa were pupils of the imam Ja'far? The *Encyclopædia of Islam* is not the only modern to discredit the plot to kill the three tyrants, 'Alī, Mu'āwīa, and 'Amr. The use of al-Suyūti as a first-class authority for the early period makes a bad impression. The 'Khāriji factions of the 'Alids' is a strange amalgam.

The chapters on Medina and Samarra are dragged in, though the latter is an excuse for a good photograph. The chapter on theologians gives several names which are not in Brockelmann. The historical part of the book is weak; the miracles grow monotonous; but some of the anecdotes are ingenious.

A. S. T.

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS IN MUSLIM RELIGIOUS ART. By Sir THOMAS W. ARNOLD. pp. 17, pls. 19. Oxford University Press, 1932. 6s.

Sir Thomas Arnold chose this subject when he was asked to deliver the Schweich lectures. The lectures as spoken were a commentary on a hundred pictures; as printed with only twenty plates, the reader feels as if he had been put off with a lecture on cookery instead of the dinner to which he had been invited. However, some of the pictures cited can be seen in *Painting in Islam*.

Arabic literature is full of echoes of the Bible : Christian, and even Byzantine, builders were employed by caliphs in the holy cities themselves, so it is natural that the same influence was felt in art and Christian artists used by Muslims. Lack of material makes it hard to write about the earlier periods. The *Tawḥ al-Ḥamāma* tells us that baths in Spain were adorned with pictures ; researches at Samarra have shown that Christian pictures appeared in the palace and that an artist of both sacred and secular subjects was in minor orders ; and as late as the seventeenth century the house of a Christian in Aleppo was decorated with pictures of religious subjects. The facts confirm expectations. While Muslim pictures of Biblical subjects are fairly common, perhaps the adaptation of Christian conventions to Muslim material is more interesting. The illustration to a bit of rascality in al-Ḥarīri is modelled on a picture of the child Jesus in the temple with the doctors. A preacher extols the beauty of charity, a boy chooses this moment to beg from the hearers, and then goes off with the preacher, his father, to carouse on the proceeds. A picture of the birth of Jesus is adapted to the birth of Muḥammad. 'Abd ul-Muṭṭalib sits in the place of Joseph and some women take the place of the shepherds. Curious in the history of art, if not of religion, is the fondness of some Mughal emperors and of eighteenth century Persia for Christian pictures, and of Indian artists for the work of Dürer.

With plate i, parallel types of Christian and Muslim pictures, the reader is left to guess which is which. In note 5 on p. 8 the reference is wrong.

A. S. T.

CATALOGUE : BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE MANUSCRITS PAUL SBATH. Vol. I. pp. 204. Vol. II, pp. 252. 1928. 8s. each.

MUKHTAṢAR FĪ 'ILM IL-NAFS. Bar Hebraeus. Edited by PAUL SBATH pp. 65. 1928. 2s.

AL-RAWḌAT AL-ṬIBBIYAT. 'Ubaidullah b. Jibrāil b. Bukhtīshu', Edited by PAUL SBATH. pp. 73. 1927. 2s.

VINGT TRAITÉS D'AUTEURS ARABES CHRÉTIENS. Edited by PAUL SBATH. pp. 206. 1929. 5s. [All published by H. Friedrich and Co., Cairo.]

ORIENTALIA. Vol. I, fasc. 1. Rome : Sumptibus Pontificii Institutii Biblici, 1932.

This number of *Orientalia* contains articles on ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia and South Arabian inscriptions as well as a detailed

study of the psychology of Bar Hebraeus, of which an abridged Arabic version has been published by Father Paul Sbath. This is not the only bond between the journal and the library.

Father Paul Sbath has collected about eleven hundred manuscripts, mostly Arabic. The catalogue is a careful piece of work with four indexes, of Christian names, Christian copyists, non-Christian (mostly Muslim) names, and Muslim copyists. There is also a list of manuscripts classified according to subjects. Some names have been omitted from the indexes. Most of the books are religious and Christian, but a good number are medical. Many are only curiosities, being translations of modern Roman Catholic works. Classical Arabic literature is almost entirely absent. There are a few mistakes in transposing dates from one system to another. The following are some of the most interesting books.

No. 2. Thirty chapters from the medical encyclopædia by 'Isā b. Yahyā, the teacher of Avicenna. Thirteenth century.

No. 25 (1). The story of Ahikar. Twelfth century. Father Sbath says that this book was composed in Arabic.

No. 66 (1). A history of religions and philosophy. Dated 709/1309. To judge from a very short quotation this must be closely connected with Shahrastāni.

No. 265. The Maḳāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī. A note states that this manuscript has been compared with the original and that those who lectured on it drew their authority from the author through his son. Dated 583/1187.

No. 750. al-Risālat al-Kāfiyat, or al-Hārūniyat by 'Isā b. Ḥakam. Professor Browne says that no work of this man is known. His book was dedicated to Hārūn al-Rashīd, hence its second name. It is a modern copy of an old manuscript destroyed in the war.

No. 777. The version of the Gospels by Hibatullah b 'Assāl. This book contains the introduction with Matthew and Mark. Modern.

No. 815. Simples. Part of the Canon of Avicenna with notes taken from an autograph. Eleventh century.

No. 1001. A collection of tracts by Yahyā b. 'Adī and Abu Rāḥita Ḥabīb b. Khadama. Eleventh century.

No. 1008 (1). Paul the apostle; introduction and commentary. A hitherto unknown work by Abū Ishāḳ b. 'Assāl. Dated 710/1310.

No. 1011. A Christian apologetic against Jews and Muslims. Dated 701/1301.

The Arabic version of Bar Hebraeus's book on the soul seems to

be a translation of extracts from the Syriac, to judge by Professor Furlani's careful analysis of the latter. It is more theological than psychological, dealing with the nature of the soul, its immortality, and condemning transmigration. Here Avicenna's argument that it would lead to a man's having two souls is used. The author avoids the noun "spirit" though not the adjective. A few words are given to the activities of the soul, wonder, laughter, crying, shame, fear, and modesty. Lying dreams are treated at length. They have four causes :

(1) Figures seen during wakefulness remain on the tablet of memory and appear during sleep in the associated sense.

(2) When thought has been directed to an object, this is engraved on the representative faculty ; so, when the external senses are at rest, some form is imprinted on the representative faculty in the power near to the senses, i.e. the associated sense.

(3) When the imaginative faculty fails and heat prevails, the man sees fires, when cold prevails, he sees rivers and snow, and if there is fullness, he feels weights laid on him.

(4) They are the work of devils.

The twenty treatises are all theological. One by Hunain b. Ishāk on how to test the truth of a religion sounds the most promising. He says that a false religion is accepted for six reasons :—

(1) Compulsion.

(2) As an escape from poverty and in hope of well-being.

(3) Through preferring honour to disgrace.

(4) When an eloquent advocate persuades his hearers that the worse is the better.

(5) When the advocate trades on the ignorance of his hearers.

(6) Ties of blood ; a man will not desert his friends.

The true religion is accepted for four reasons :—

(1) Miracles.

(2) When the externals of what a man is called on to accept are a proof of the truth of what is hidden from him.

(3) Proof that compels acceptance.

(4) When the end agrees with the beginning ; what comes later cannot be doubted when the earlier is true.

None of the first six reasons apply to Christianity.

Another writer attacks the Muslim position that there can be no likeness between the Creator and the creature. He argues that God and the sun both exist ; they differ because God is the cause of His own existence and the sun is not the cause of its existence ; but the

existence is the same in both cases. Two of the pamphlets seem to be extracts or summaries from the system of theology by Abū Ishāq b. 'Assāl, or they may be by other members of the family. An article in *Orientalia* deals thoroughly with this family and its writings. Galen is quoted as saying that among the Christians are many good persons who display the highest virtue constantly, not only men but women also.

*Al-Rawḍat al-Ṭibbiyyat* consists of fifty definitions or descriptions, ranging from five lines to five pages, of ideas in logic, psychology, and medicine. The style is easy and the facts reliable, though the author was not a great philosopher. His account of the Platonic theory of sight is practically a translation of Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum*, 4, 13. He exaggerates a little in saying that Plato taught that a man had three souls, a rational connected with thought, an animal connected with anger, and a vegetal with desire.

The author quotes a few lines from his father's book, *al-Kāfi* :—

Love often arises at the sight of lovely bodies when desire awakes and the longing to be united with them grows. This union is one of the chief causes which weaken and emaciate the body and bring it to mortal illness. This habit has its seat in reason; it unites all fatal ills, anxiety, sorrow, and degradation. The worst of this habit is that it makes the rational the servant of the animal soul. It makes a base slave master of a noble lord. One effect is to cause many diseases. It is the worst habit for it incites to pleasure and brings punishment on one addicted to it. It degrades and blinds the soul for it blinds thought till it brings man down from that rank which he shares with the angels to the rank of a pig; because desire of gluttony and impudence overcome the rational soul and make it a servant. Just as if a great king were degraded under a base slave.

These books are well printed and mistakes are rare. The editor has corrected the grammar of his texts but records the manuscript readings in the notes, though one can never tell whether the offences against grammar are due to the author or to a careless copyist. At times one questions the improvements. All the books have indexes, but some names have been left out.

A. S. T.

IBN AL-'ARĪF, MAḤSIN AL-MAJĀLIS. Texte arabe, traduction, et commentaire par MIGUEL ASIN PALACIOS. pp. 106. Paris: Geuthner, 1933. 60 francs.

Professor Asin Palacios claims that this pamphlet on the mystic life is important because in it for the first time a clear distinction



is made between the novice and the adept. Earlier mystics had said as much, but this booklet makes the division fundamental. It was written not as a guide to the aspirant, but as a reminder to the gnostic who had attained to the intuitive knowledge of God. A paragraph is given to each station of the mystic life, anxiety, fear, abstinence, patience, etc.; but these are for the common herd. Hope and desire are among the weakest stations, for the adept is above them. In love the van of the profane catch up the stragglers of the elect, who need only knowledge and love.

The book is not a treatise on the higher life, but a collection of notes, some profound and some verbal conceits. The lesson is driven home by an anecdote and a scrap of poetry. The arrangement is bad, the text is concise to obscurity, and the meaning given to some common words is uncertain.

The editor has added a life of Ibn al-'Arif, those passages in al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyat in which he is mentioned, and notes, dealing mostly with technical terms or with persons. The editor had two MSS. of the book; he has printed one with all its obvious errors (the vowels are mostly wrong) and some of his own, and has put the variants of the second in the notes. The translation of the prose is good, though the Professor would be the last to claim that he has solved all the puzzles in the text; that of the verse is not so good. He has paid no attention to metre and has printed verses which do not scan. The text is not metrical though the variant is in p. 83 penult., p. 87, l. 9, and p. 90, l. 3. In p. 78, l. 1, it is the variant which is translated, without any indication of the fact. In the two lines on p. 80 the cæsura is in the wrong place. The verses, p. 91, l. 2*b*, and p. 92, l. 1*a*, 2*b* will not scan. In places there are mistakes. *Dhunūb* is "sins" not "voiles". "Un amour si ardent qu'il rende malade le cœur sain" should be "a lover sick with a sound heart" or "sick at heart, healthy" (38/81). "Le supplice qu'à vous autres donne la mort" should be "the torture with which you are content" (40/83). Nothing in the text corresponds to "et il n'est pas une seule d'entre elles qui ne soit pas un bienfait de Lui" (49/90). "Tu m'as fait aimer mes ennemis" should be "I loved my enemies" or "Thou lovedst" (50/91).

A. S. T.

KHABĀYĀ 'L-ZAWĀYĀ. History of Saidanaya. (Documents relating to the patriarchate of Antioch.) By ḤABĪB ZAYYĀT. pp. 12 + 296. Imprimerie de Saint Paul, Harissa (Lebanon), 1932. Agents: Luzac and Co. 10s.

This book is one of a series of monographs on Syria published by the review *al-Masarrat*. Saidanaya, a small town less than a day's journey north of Damascus, was formerly a great place of pilgrimage. A picture of the Virgin was the attraction. Nothing is known of the early history of the place. The people were Melchites, accepting the decisions of the council of Chalcedon, though they welcomed pilgrims of all sects and apparently let them have their own altars in the church of the Virgin. It was not till the seventeenth century that they were admitted into communion with Rome. Legend has been busy and given the town a church for every day in the year and made Luke the painter of the picture. This came to the church miraculously (part of the tale is borrowed from Jonah), when stolen it turned into flesh and was brought back by the astonished thief, it cured a Muslim king of blindness, and worked many other wonders. It sweated a healing oil and the vessel into which this dripped was always full however much was taken away by pilgrims. The picture disappeared, apparently in the sixteenth century. The convent with the church was situated above the town and for long contained both monks and nuns. The eighteenth century removed this scandal.

The author is a painstaking and lucky searcher and has ransacked libraries and literatures. Pilgrims from Europe, obscure Arabic poets, as well as church records have provided him with material. The illustrations are poor, there is no plan of the church, and at times the arguments are not convincing. It is possible that some of the tribe of Kalh settled in Saidanaya, but it is not proved. Sometimes the book is wordy and succumbs to the lure of rhymed prose. Still it is thorough. There are lists of bishops of the town, of superiors and mother-superiors of the convent, and descriptions of all the religious buildings. There is something for all tastes. A chapter on the wine for which the place was famous, church quarrels with rich ecclesiastical curses, modern Arabic prose and verse to delight the philologist, letters from and to cardinals, and legends. It may be noted that a sultan provided post horses for the envoys of Christian kings to visit Jerusalem and Saidanaya. An old woman related that she remembered in her childhood the burning of nearly all the Syriae

manuscripts in the convent lest Syrians (? Jacobites) should make them a pretext for seizing the church. It took more than four days to burn them.

Enough has been said to show that this is a book of varied interest. The rendering of European names is capricious.

A. S. TRITTON.

ON ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIAN TRACKS. By Sir AUREL STEIN. pp. xxiv + 342. London: Macmillan and Co., 1933. 31s. 6d.

Sir A. Stein's first journey dates back to 1900, and 1933 found him still exploring one of the remote and little known borderlands of Persia. Even making abstraction of his earlier works of erudition, his minor articles, and the voluminous *annexes* of his later works, we can estimate at several thousands of pages the actual records drawn up by him on his travels—

*Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, 1903, 8°, 503 pp.

*Ancient Khotan*, 2 vols., 1907, 4°, 621 pp.

*Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 2 vols., 1912, 8°, 546 + 517 pp.

*Serindia*, 5 vols., 1921, 4°, 1,580 pp.

*Innermost Asia*, 4 vols., 1928, 4°, 1,159 pp.

Most of these books are out of print, the cost of the larger works is prohibitive to an average student, and could the latter even procure them he would need be a perfect master of his hours and days to read through this mass of information.

Moreover, Sir A. Stein's peregrinations were never in a straight line: he constantly returned to his favourite sites to weave round them his complicated cobweb of march routes. So the appreciation of numerous passages necessitates constant references to the earlier works of the writer.

Who but the author himself could give an adequate picture of the general results of his travels so as to represent in due perspective the more important, and the less important, facts and to join the thread wherever it was interrupted by the accidents of seasons and campaigns?

The present volume, with its twenty-one well-ordered chapters, 147 illustrations, and a convenient general map is a responsible and handy epitome of the author's life work.

As stated in the Preface, it is based on the lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston, "in a condensed form suited for a wider public." The lectures, calculated chiefly on the auditive capacities of the

listeners, must unavoidably be less saturated than the matter which the reader of a book can profitably digest, and this is perhaps the only remark as to the general character of the book which might have been perhaps a more technical vade-mecum through the sea of materials collected by the author. In the historical chapter some more dates and a table of Chinese dynasties would be appreciated by the readers. Some systematic summary of the work done by Sir A. Stein's predecessors and contemporaries would also form a desirable background. But, as it stands, the book is an excellent introduction to the geography and archæology of the regions surrounding the Takla-makan Desert.

It is a pity that the author who sometimes uses *q* to denote guttural *k* (see fig. 142, *Qala-i qa'qa*) does not mark it in Turkish names, where the hard series of words is so distinct from the soft one.

V. M.

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A. CHRONICLE OF THE EARLY ŠAFAWIS: BEING THE AḤSAN-U'T-TĀWĀRIKH OF ḤASAN-I RŪMLŪ. Vol. I: Persian text. Edited by C. N. SEDDON. Gackwad's Oriental Series, vol. lvii. pp. 510 (Persian) + 36. Baroda, 1931.

No scientific history of Persia is possible until we possess reliable editions of the principal sources with necessary notes and indexes, and it is paradoxical enough that the more recent epochs of Persian history remain perhaps the least known to us. In this respect the text edited by Mr. Seddon fills one of the important lacunæ.<sup>1</sup> It contains all that remains of Ḥasan Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tawārikh*. On p. 460 the author mentions his previous *mujalladāt*, and on p. 141 quotes from his vols. vi and vii of which the latter seems to have contained the events towards A.D. 1258. We do not know whether all the intermediary volumes were really completed by the author. In the present volume, which, as we may presume, was the only one to possess a permanent value, the author gives the history of the early Šafavids: Ismā'īl I (pp. 1-184), Tahmāsp (pp. 184-176), Ismā'īl II (pp. 476-496), and the beginning of Muḥammad Khudā-banda (pp. 496-505). The contemporary evidence begins with the year 948 (A.D. 1541), from which date on, says the author (p. 301), he followed Shāh Tahmāsp's camp on all the expeditions. Ḥasan Rūmlū adds hardly anything to our knowledge of the most important epoch of Shāh Ismā'īl, as expounded

<sup>1</sup> See a very detailed bibliography of the Šafavid histories by P. Horn, in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii, 586-8.

in Khwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* and in the curious anonymous history described by Sir Denison Ross in *JRAS.*, 1896, pp. 249-340.<sup>1</sup> For Shāh Tahmāsp we had to rely until now chiefly on his own incomplete *Memoirs* down to A.H. 969,<sup>2</sup> on the second part of the *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. by Veliaminov-Zernov, and on the clear epitome of the reign in the introduction to the *ʿĀlam-ārā*. Now that Ḥasan Rūmlū's work lies before us the general impression is that it will only partially improve (and hardly at all deepen!) our understanding of Shāh Tahmāsp's times. The bulk of the book seems to have been written towards 980/1572. Under the events of the year 958 the author says (p. 356) that a sorcerer arrested at the time "is still in life at the present date of 980". Unless this note was added at a later date we should think that the events were actually recorded after a considerable lapse of time, when it was difficult to remember the details. Under some years (cf. 978/1572) are given only records of events exterior to Persia, culled from Indian and Ottoman histories (Idrīs?). In his Preface Mr. Seddon candidly admits that as a historian Ḥasan Rūmlū "is unsatisfactory because he omits so much that might be interesting and usually fails to explain the real causes of the expeditions which he describes". Ḥasan Rūmlū stands certainly far below Shāh ʿAbbās I's historian Iskandar-munshī whose *ʿĀlam-ārā* is a real mine of multifarious information and who has a clear vision of facts and of geographical realities. Ḥasan Rūmlū must have been much less intimate at the court and his characteristics of Shāh Tahmāsp (written after the latter's death, pp. 488-9) are rather "bitter-sweet". From them we learn that in the words of a satirist the favorites of the reign were "scribes, painters, Qazvinīs, and donkeys", that the shāh for fourteen years did not pay his troops, and that "among the peasants of Ādharbāijān war was perpetually going on"; cf. also p. 455. Somewhat unexpected, too, is the inclusion in the book of a long letter of ʿUbaid khān (pp. 226-232) passing strong censure on the politico-religious tenets of the Ṣafavids.

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Ferveridge, *JRAS.*, 1902, p. 170, suggested as its author Khwāja ʿAbdullāh Murvārīd, who is known as the author of a *Tārīkh-i Shāhī*. The *Ahsan al-tawārīkh* records his death and works under 922/1516. However, Murvārīd's association with Ismāʿīl seems to be of a later date while the anonymous history breathes the intimacy of a faithful adept.

<sup>2</sup> It was edited by P. Horn in *ZDMG.*, 44, pp. 563-640, and translated by him in 1891. In an important review Zhukovsky, *Zapiski*, vi, 377-383, suggests that the *Memoirs* are only a record of the Shāh's conversations with the Turkish ambassadors in 969/1561. Phillott re-edited the *Memoirs* in *Bibl. Indica*, No. 1319, 1912. Both editions are full of mistakes.

The concluding part of the book, written probably in 985/1577 and speaking of the events which were fresh before the author's eyes, are rather disappointing. The story of the murder of Şulţān Ḥaydar mīrzā by the unruly pretorians is scrappy and partial, and to understand the events and even to disclose the identity of the chief personages we have to recur to Iskandar-mīmshī's clear and reasoned statement.<sup>1</sup>

The advantage of the book is that it is disposed in the form of annals and that in the paragraphs concluding each year (necrologies, etc.) many interesting minor facts are recorded.

Ḥasan Rūmlū's style is not very difficult, but he often indulges in unnecessary embellishments, similes, metaphors, and *ad hoc* verses. As an example p. 451 may be quoted where the accusative is separated from its verb by six lines of intercalated phrases. As Mr. Seddon proposes to publish a translation of the text we hope he will leave out the unnecessary lucubrations obscuring the sense, but instead will give a very detailed index of subjects and names.

Thanks to Mr. Seddon we now possess quite a readable edition of the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* based upon the collation of three MSS. in England and the readings communicated from Tehran of three more MSS. found in Persia. There are chances that some important variants will be found in the MSS. existing in Leningrad. The editor's notes (separate pages, 1-32) show the extent of his historical readings, which certainly stood him in good stead during the preparation of the *A.T.* for the press. The more doubtful element in the notes are the remarks on the Turkish names and expressions which abound in the text, and more than anything else confirm the role of the Turcoman tribes under the early Şafavids. Some of the words belong to the common administrative Turkish stock, probably introduced by the Uyghurs in Mongol service, whereas some others are purely Turcoman (southern group of Turkish languages) and cannot be expected to be found in our dictionaries of Chaghatay Turkish (belonging to the eastern group). Here are some remarks on the notes with references to the pages of the text :—

5, *Allāh-vermish* (= Persian *Khudādād*)—a rather strange use of the southern *past* participle of the verb *vermək*, usually *Allāh-verdi*; 9, *soñ* in the sense of German "kaput"; 20, *gördü* "(squat) trunk", nothing to do with *güdäji*; 27, *qutas* anglice "yak"; derivation of

<sup>1</sup> *Ālam-ārū*, pp. 136-141. I hear from Dr. W. Hinz (Berlin) that he has prepared a paper on the reign of Ismā'il II.

*tughughji* (or *toghughji* ?) from *tugh* looks doubtful; 31, if the spelling *rāf* is right the word must mean "nutmeg"; Vullers gives *rāf* as equivalent of *bazbār*, in its turn explained as جوز بوا. The text may oppose the warrior's armour to the nutmeg carried by a dervish, cf. Minorsky, *Notes sur les Ahl-i Haqq*, 1921-2, p. 106. Mr. Seddon, who gives "mace, such as carried by dervishes" seems to have been misled by Steingass's dictionary which gives: "mace, envelope of the nutmeg" meaning evidently by "mace" the outer layer of the nutmeg! 40, *Kökāl/köñül* "heart, breast", *kökältash* "breast companion", "foster-brother"; 42, the ("Uyghur" ?) form *ughulī* (no lengths in Turkish!) is impossible; read *oghli* "his son"; 43, the safe reading is *qoyun-ölümü* "sheep's death", and so the name is explained in Evliyā Chelebi's travels, but a number of crossings on the Atrak river are called Yaghli-olum, Duzli-olum, etc., which suggests for *\*olum* (not found in the dictionaries) some meaning like "ford, ferry", etc.; on p. 35 دوقوزالم stands perhaps also for "nine fords" (?); 46, [bā] *namad-kā-yi alāchuq* "with the felts of their felt tents"; 48, on the Özbek, see *Shaibānī-khān* in *Enc. of Islam*; 53, the name must be *Kābāk*, similar to that of several of the Mongol khāns; 78, *Tavachi*, Deny, who has specially studied the word, *Journ. As.*, juillet, 1932, pp. 132-3, translates it by "nuntius, messenger, recruiting officer"; 94, explanation of *alādāna* highly improbable; *dāna* both in Persian and Turkish "seed, grain"; *alā-būta* in Turkish "weeds" [*alā* "spotted, variegated", *būta* "low-growing plants"]; therefore *alā-dāna* is perhaps "seed of the weeds, seed of mischief", with a pun on the name of 'Alā; 94, *qaytūl*, probably from the root *qait-* "to return", "place to which one returns"; 123, *Atlandī-beg* is one of the many curious Turkish names, from *atlandī* "he mounted"; 123, *Taghatay* looks all right; 124, the alternative for *yasavul* can only be *jasavul*, not *chasavul*; 126, *yasag* and *yasa* are the same word but see p. 163<sub>12</sub> for the differentiation of their meanings: *yusu* "Chingiz khan's law", *yasag* usually "interdiction, tribute", but p. 163 the sense is not quite clear: did the two amīrs quarrel over the booty? 130, *kāskān*, better *keskän* کسکن, Pavet de Courteille, p. 486, "espèce de casse-tête," in Russian кустень; 140, *chapan* is a sort of overcloak, not necessarily tattered, those clad in "chapans" = common people; 145, explanation is absolutely impossible; *Mikhal-oghlu* was chiefly known as a raider (*aqīnchā*) and the word (cf. p. 146<sub>13</sub>) certainly refers to that speciality; 156,

on *chelebi* see *Enc. of Islam*; 159, the meaning of *krwka* must be " cuirass ", " big drum " being out of the question. The word for the latter must be *\*kürargū* or *küvürgū*, see p. 211, and as regards the pronunciation, cf. *Zafar-nāma*, i, 722, ii, 434; 170, *qadaghan* " interdiction ", here in a strange use, perhaps " in strong isolation "; 191, *sāksūn* exactly means in Turkish " eighty "; -*jik* diminutive suffix; 197, explanation absolutely impossible; how could soldiers be clad in bath-towels? The word is most probably *\*alchīn*, which I met somewhere in the sense of " cuirass " (cf. *yalchīn* " smooth, polished "); 211, pronounce: *borghu* > *boru*; 233, on *chashmayi khurshād* see Büchner's article in *Acta Orientalia*, ii, 208; 249, *yalghuz-aghach* is excellent: " solitary tree "; 255, read: *chūshnū-gīr*; 299, *qaysi* anglice " apricot "; 316, 320, the well-known shī'a Turcoman tribe: *Chāpni*; 319, if the *Sanglākh* is right, the business of the *chaghdavul* was also reconnoitering *ṭalāya-dārī*; 321<sub>g</sub>, I understand the sentence as meaning " when the fire of conceitedness of Alqāsh, which had gone high on account of the wind of his pride, came down, he (Alqāsh) was defeated "; 320<sub>12</sub>, perhaps: *Qīrīm-shamkhāl*. Alqāsh went to the khan of Crimea's; from Azov he sailed for Theodosia in Crimea; 334, *akhtarmaq* in Āzarbaijān Turkish " to search for ", in Ottoman Turkish *aqtarma* " changing trains ". In Persian historical texts the meaning seems to be " prisoners to be exchanged "; 335, see *Enc. of Islam*, under *Shūhistān*; 347, *qulluqchī*; 388, *safīd muhra* = *Ssk. śankha*; 431, *Lishtanīshū* still extant; 438, *Tālaqān*, district on the upper course of the *Shāhrūd*; 475, I do not see the possibility of transformation of قویین چی into قوجین " the elders ". Perhaps *\*qoyīnchī* (*qoyunchī*); 478, غنجايال the word is probably Mongol; 479, as the verses describe the effect of musical instruments one would suggest *būq* " horn ", but what to do with مشک بار? 483, why not leave *Shushtar*? *Shūshtar* was known in the old times for its brocades; 495, instead of *maghz-i fīl* the *Ālam-ara*, p. 157 gives فیلونا, a drug composed of opium and cannabis indica; 505, why not " the heroes with all their equipment become dust (clay) ? "

The following are some emendations of the text :—

9<sub>6</sub>, tanka *\*tanga*; 14<sub>10</sub>, add *rā* after H. Khān 'Alīkhānī; 16<sub>19</sub>, add *bā* *lashkar*; 17<sub>10</sub>, *zīd khwāud* *\*zad-ra-khwāud*; 84<sub>17</sub>, *shāh-savārān* *\*shāhsavār*; 115<sub>15</sub>, the rhyme requires *mīlāḥ* " pretty one ", and the first word must have the sense of " caress ", etc.; 115<sub>16</sub>,



ta'aththur \**ta'thūr*; 118<sub>20</sub>, dar zāhir \**az zāhir*; 141, pur-ghamām \**bī-ghamām*; 143, majma'-i firuz \**maǧmar-i f.*; bīd \**abyaḍ*; 175<sub>20</sub>, a'zam-i umarā \**a'āzim-i u.*; 177<sub>12</sub>, mntana'im \**muntaqim*; 212<sub>8</sub>, maqarr \**maǧarr*; 216<sub>24</sub>, astarān \**ushturān*; 226<sub>17</sub>, fisad-va-zamān \**fisād-i z.*; 229<sub>4</sub>, 'āqilī \**ghāfilī*; 256<sub>6</sub>, intiṣāb \**intiṣāf*; 267<sub>8</sub>, muqābil shudan \**az muqābil*; 276<sub>10</sub> (and in several other places), tufang \**tufak (metri causa)*; 279<sub>2</sub>, 'iddat-i ahli sunnat \**ghulāt-i ahl-i s.*; 286<sub>18</sub>, Shīrvān \**Shīrvān (metri causa)*; 289<sub>10</sub>, amthāl-i khūbān-i Biyār \**imsāl khūbān-i pār*; 299<sub>14</sub>, 'ālam mutā' \**mutā'*; 340<sub>13</sub>, marghīb \**marǧūm*; 372, 'aqab-i Dīv-jāma \**aqaba-yi D.*; sukkān \**sagān*; 379, mustahqar \**mustaṣḥar* (the editor ought not to respect the obvious slip in his MS.; cf. 444 ult. *mustaṣḥar*); 385, manqabat gūy \**gū'i*; 407, mykdt \**makīdat*; 445, khashīdand \**chashīdand*; 448, dwjy \**fuwǧī*; 465<sub>21</sub>, Zirih chand \**zirih chand*; 472 ult., āvard-gāh \**ordūgāh*; 490<sub>17</sub>, al-mushkilāt \**mushkilāt*.

Many words appear in the text with unnecessary *tashdīds* (6 and 13, lalla \**lala*; 7<sub>6</sub>, murdiyy; 355, twlyyt \**tauliyat*; 379, inna-Yyājūj!

The corrections suggested in the proper names, etc., are as follows: 15, Rustam c. Maqsūd b. Ḥusain \**b. Ḥasan* (i.e. Uzun Ḥasan); 71, Alchī \**Ījī* (?); 73, Shahriyān \**Shahrabān*; 84, Ṭabas-i minā \**Ṭ-i Masīnān*; 114, Aṭrbā \**Oṭrār* (?); 141, Sulṭān Namad Khandān \**Muḥammad Khandān* (famous calligraphist); 142, M.hāl.oghli \**Mikhāl* (Michael)-oghli; 151, Adrafa \**Adhrama*; 151<sub>9</sub>, Ācha \**Qarāja*, *ut supra* 151<sub>3</sub>; 171<sub>5</sub>. The dates are wrong, for after the 16th of Jamādī II follows the 13th of the same month. Very probably instead of *shānzdahum* must be read *yānzdahum*, but the days of the week, according to Wüstenfeld's Tables, are both wrong; 172, dar ḥawālī [-yi Ḥalab?]; 180, K.rchī \**Gurǧī*; 300, R'nāshī certainly \**Mar'ashī* (cf. p. 278); 316, Zkm-va-Gyrm \**Zagam-va-Gīrīm*, i.e. Dzegam and Gremi? 317, Ywlāg now *Yevlakh*; 323, Alūs Krd \**Alāshkard*; 345, T. lvār, according to the description the river meant is *Sīrvān* and not *Talvār* (the latter being a southern tributary of the Qizil-Uzān, north of Hamadān); 351, Lavāsān seems to be the author's misspelling for *Lavāsāb* < Luarsab, which is the Georgian form of the Iranian *Luhrāsp*! 352, Ardānūh \**Ardānūj*; 355, Barāt-Āli (cf. 380, Barāt-Āli): the usual Turco-Persian form occurring in the '*Ālam-ārā* is *Barāt-ili* "the tribe of Barat", for Georgian *Sa-barati-ano* "the fief of the Barati family"; 362, Qngrā \**Qungrat*; 373, Kwr \**Gavar*; 376, Arāyiq \**Arāliq*; 386, Jarandāb \**Charandūb* (also well known as the name of a ward of Tabriz); 386, Y.qa \**Yusqa* (?), cf. the village

of Beshyuskha still existing in the Turcoman Steppe; 401, Sūrī \*Sūram, as in the variant quoted; 422, Wālī Bakr \*Wālī-yi Diyār-Bakr; 438, Hazār-Kham \*Hazār-cham; 448, Qulūmūla, in Russian \*Kolonna; 451, In the report on the famous battle of Lepanto (1571) the name of the King of Spain قلی واری stands probably for ری فلیب وآن جوانان (the last name recognized by Mr. Seddon) and is without any doubt possible Don Juan (cf. 452, وآن جوان \*Wālī-yi Diyār-Bakr); 453, آقه Russian Oka (pronounced usually Aka); 454, in the account of the *Aurora borealis* the Byzantine emperor An.s, contemporary of Kōbād (488-531) must be Anastase (491-518); 455, the well-known cemetery in Tabriz is not K.ch.l, but \*Gajil; 459 and 483, Dān S.b.stān, and 483 va ān Sab.stān, undoubtedly Don Sebastian of Portugal (1557-1578) (this is another proof for p. 451); 460, several names of Turkish towns could be improved 'Alāniya \*'Alā'īya, etc.; 461, Sulṭān Salīm I, read II; 476, Qaracha-daghiyān \*Qaraja-d.; 476 nlt. اشل اقلسی, certainly "Master of the Threshold" (اشيك or ایشیک *eshik*), and not "Master of the donkeys" (*ashak*)! 480, Parcham \*Sarcham (W. of Zanjān).

V. M.

SHĀH 'ABBĀS I, SA VIE, SON HISTOIRE. By L. L. BELLAN. vii + 297 pp. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1932. 80 francs.

The author, who for a number of years stayed in Tehrān and Tabriz as French consul, devoted his leisure to the preparation of this book, which possesses the real advantage of being based on first-hand sources. The list of his authorities (p. 293) could certainly be much extended, and the sources are used in a rather uneven way, but very happily the basis of the book is formed by a résumé of the fundamental 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi written by the official historian of the reign, Iskandar-munshī. This chronicle as lithographed in Tehrān contains some 750-odd pages in folio with neither index nor table of contents. It is true that the narrative is arranged in order of years, and the marginal notes are helpful, but the mass of facts it contains is overwhelming. Any work which sets out to render them handier is welcome, and a mere comparison of M. Bellan's table of contents with any of the existing histories of Persia will show to what an extent the systematic use of the 'Ālam-ārā has enriched our knowledge of the facts.

The book, which belongs to the series of "Les grandes figures de l'Orient", appeals to the general reader and has a tendency to be "literary" in style. For a student the chief regret about the form of the book is its total lack of references to the sources and the absence of any index. The obvious *bona fides* of the work does not diminish our desire to know the authorities for statements made in the text.

The author records principally the political events of the reign of Shāh-'Abbās, and does not even attempt to portray his hero's character with its curious blend of unconscious bloodthirstiness, joviality, and love of novelty, pageantry, and carousal. Such matters as the administration of the kingdom (cf. pp. 170, 210, 251) and the reorganization of the army (pp. 111, 181) are treated only *en passant*, but in the Introduction (pp. i-vii) M. Bellan makes some happy hints on the foundation of the Safavid power created by the pretorian Turcoman tribes welded together by a religious discipline of an extremist shī'a creed; see the article "Shāh-sevan" in the *Enc. of Islam*.

M. Bellan uses the ordinary French transcription of names which tries to imitate the actual Persian pronunciation (*Esmā'īl*, *modjahed*, etc.), and even applies it to Turkish names and words (*Torkemān*, etc.). This system sometimes leads him astray (p. vi, *tayyūl* for Turkish *tiyul*, or in Persian pronunciation *toyūl*; p. 2, *Tchahal-sotūn* instead of *Tchehel-sotūn*, etc.).

There are many mistakes and misreadings in proper names, of which we shall quote only the principal ones using the author's transcription (reference is given to pages): 6, Parnāk, Persian \**Pornāk* (Turkish: *Pörnäk* ?); 17, Samnān \**Semnān*; 21, Kūr Qur-Khoms *Kūr Qorkhomas* "the blind Q." (or, rather, in Kurdish: *Kūr-i Q.* "son of Q."); 23, 36, Aslams \**Asilmas*; 37, 119, 131, Tchakanī *Tchiganī*; 45, Chostē-Nechā \**Lishta Nechā*; 51, Alichkar \**Alī Chakkar*; 55, Mostandjīl \**Mandjīl*; 59, Korilī \**Giraylī*; 51, Senevrī, but 71 Solvīzī (same person, probably \**Salvarzī* ?); 71, Djangala \**Tchangula*; 74, Arabgarlu \**Arabgirlu*; 125, etc., Tchaghūr-é-Sa'd \**Tchukhūr-é-Sa'd* "plain, depression of Sa'd"; 131, Aymanlu \**Imanlu* (*iman* "wild goat"); 136, 139, Alidjaq \**Alindjaq*; 137, Tchūras \**Tchors*; 147, 276, etc., Zanīl \**Zaynal*; 153, Gurg-tchayi \**Kūrāk-tchayi*; 158, Bargchāt \**Barguchāt*; 162, Esmā-khan \**Usmī-khan*; 169, Iv-oghlu \**Er-oghlu*; 175, Faridūn \**Fareydan* (locality); 178, bavartchi \**bavurtchi*; 180, Sanqar \**Songor*; 183, Tarkūr-o-Markūr \**Targavar-o-Margavar*; 184, Domdom \**Dimdīm*; 187, Uchanī \**Uchnī*; 205, Aq-lang probably \**Aq-olang*; 226, Qārīnaq

(cf. 121, Qārin-yārāq) *Qārīn-yarūq*; 233, Qarkh-bolagh \**Qirkh-bulagh* ("40 springs"); 243, Pir Gedi; either the transcription or the interpretation is wrong; in Ottoman Turkish "cat" would be *kedī* and "cuckold" *gidi*! 257, Qarfārī \**Farghārī*; 277, 'Abdol-'Aqqār \**Abdol-Ghaffār*; 275, Sahrān \**Sohrān*; 277, Gorūs \**Garrūs*. In Georgian names: 151, dīdēmāl must stand for *dedapali* "queen"; 155, Tūmānis \**Dmanis*; 215, Tayānat \**Tionethi*; 216, Gūrī \**Gori*; 225, Bachhatchnq is the Turkish name for *Imerethi*; 273, Alqīt \**Algeti*.

On p. 242 the names of Russian ambassadors to Persia are mentioned as "Kinas Ivan Votorinsky et Ivan Ivanovitch". The embassy sent at a very memorable moment of Russian history by the founder of the Romanov dynasty Mikhail Feodorovich (credentials signed on 23rd May, 1618 = 1027 H.) was composed of the Prince (*kniaz*) Mikhail Petrovich Bariatinsky and the nobleman Ivan Ivanovich Chicherin.

The conversion of Muslim dates does not look very accurate. Shāh 'Abbās was born on the 1st of Ramaḍān 988 (27th January, 1571, not 5th February); he died on the 24th of Jamādī I, 1038 (19th January, 1629, not 21st January); Šafī mirza was proclaimed king on the 23rd of Jamādī II, 1038 (17th February, not 16th!).

V. M.

SIR ANTHONY SHERLEY AND HIS PERSIAN ADVENTURE, INCLUDING SOME CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVES RELATING THERETO. Edited by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. pp. xxxviii + 293. London: Routledge ("Broadway Travellers"), 1933. 12s. 6d.

The book consists of an Introduction (pp. i-xxxviii) giving a detailed survey of the sources, a biography of Sir Anthony Sherley (pp. 1-87), an annex (pp. 91-249), reproducing three different records of Sir Anthony's journey to Persia in 1598-9 by the members of his party (Parry, A. Pinçon, and Manwaring), as well as some other documents relating to that journey, and finally a very good Index (pp. 251-293).

There was no lack of writers who were interested in the adventures of "the Three Brothers", but the last book on them was written in 1848, and the matter certainly required a reconsideration in the light of the materials found since then. Each page of the prefatory chapters bears witness to the editor's long familiarity with the subject. The texts already known have been collated with the originals, numerous

facts and details have for the first time found a satisfactory explanation, and many a new trait has been added from the recently discovered sources.

The story of the three Sherley brothers has been very popular even outside England, but few people have had the occasion of getting to the bottom of their notoriety, and it is no small merit in Sir Denison to have courageously summed up the impression which one cannot fail to gather from his hero's fascinating but unedifying career (pp. 86-7). Sir Anthony possessed all the pluck, daring, and enterprise which in adventurous times lead people to accomplish great deeds, but there was in him some essential lack of constancy and perseverance. Jumping from one enterprise to another, quarrelling with too many people, and easily abandoning his protectors, he finished up by preparing a betrayal of his own brother in whose house he was staying (p. 80).

Persia, as a geographical entity, occupies a rather unimportant place in Sir Anthony's life. He left Baghdād for Persia on 4th November, 1598, and by June, 1599, was leaving the Shāh's kingdom on his northward journey. His further diplomatic association with Persian interests finished about May, 1601, and out of this time he actually lost some six months in Russia.

Sir Anthony's decision to go and offer his sword to Shāh 'Ahhās came as a flash when he met a Persian merchant in Venice, but it is not clear whether he had time to secure for himself some unofficial mandates for the plans he developed on the spot. His chief idea was to bring about a rapprochement between Persia and the European Powers who were equally interested in the weakening of the Ottoman Empire. Here he was on the path already trodden by the Popes at the time of the Mongols, and by the Republic of Venice at the time of Uzun Ḥasan. Indeed, the Emperor Rudolph, after the passage of Sir Anthony and his colleague, speedily sent his own embassy to Persia, but owing to the remoteness of the two lands nothing tangible resulted from the idea, and in 1606 Rudolph concluded a peace with Turkey. On the other hand, Sir Anthony's own country was from the beginning indisposed to upset with regard to Turkey the policy of peace on which British trade through Aleppo depended.

Much less light is shed by the documents on the subsidiary plan of striking a blow at Portugal, by diverting the spice trade of the Indies (pp. 41, 240, 246) to the route passing through Persia and Russia, and more directly by inciting the "King of Lahore" (i.e. the Emperor

Akbar) to make war upon the Portuguese. In both respects Sir Anthony's suggestions were in the line of English politics; the transit trade through Russia was the object of British endeavours since the times of A. Jenkinson down to those of J. Hanway; with regard to Portugal only some twenty years later the combined Anglo-Persian forces destroyed the chief emporium of the Portuguese trade, Hormuz. But even here Sir Anthony had more than one string to his bow, for Gouvea in his *Relation* (1611) praises him for his plan of diverting the silk trade from the Baghdād-Aleppo route (in which the British were interested!) to the maritime route Hormuz-Lisbon! Cf. also p. 242, where Sir Anthony speaks of a "mighty blow to the king of Spain", while the duplicity of such a plan from the outset did not escape the attention of the French ambassador in Rome (p. 49).

The editor uses a rather non-committal expression with regard to the introduction of artillery into the Shāh's army with which the Sherleys are credited (p. 20). But here Purchas's enthusiasm over the "prevailing Persian who has learned Sherlian arts of war" must be confronted with Manwaring's decisive statement (p. 222): "Although there are some which have written now of late that the Persians had not the use of pieces until our coming into the country, this much must I write to their praise that I did never see better barrels of muskets than I did see there." Sir Anthony's interpreter Angelo, interrogated in Venice, said (p. 29): "The Shah has some cannon, having captured many pieces from the Tartars; moreover, there is no lack of masters to manufacture new ones, these masters have turned against the Turk and have come to serve the king of Persia." As regards Persian sources, it is known, for instance, that artillery was used by Shāh Tahmāsp at the siege of Ottoman towns in Armenia during the campaign of 959/1552.

The three relations of Sir Anthony's companions contains several very interesting details on Persia under Shāh 'Abbās. Particular thanks are due to Sir Denison for reprinting in his translation the little known report of Abel Pinçon whose identity he has disclosed for the first time. However, the route followed by Sir Anthony's party from Baghdād to Qazvin requires some further study.

Here are a few suggestions on the text:—

p. 72. Gouvea's words must not be understood in the sense that Rudolph's embassy was the first Christian embassy under the Šafavids. Portuguese embassies to Persia are mentioned under 958/1551, 982/1574, and 984/1576.

pp. 105 and 179. The island lying on the way from Zante (Cephallonia) to Crete, at two to three days from the latter, cannot be Mount Athos.

p. 130. The note does not seem to suit the passage.

p. 180. *Chorses* can stand only for a plural of *chaush*. There were no *qurchis* in Turkey so far as I know.

p. 174. Pinçon's narrative can refer only to the situation in Russia at the time of his visit (towards 1600). In the text the names *Boris* and *Rorik* must, without the slightest doubt, change places: "The present Emperor is called \*Boris" (i.e. Boris Godunov) and his son Feodet Borisoich (i.e. Feodor Borisovich)". It is further true that Boris was elected Tsar after the extinction of the Rürik dynasty which ended with Feodor Ivanovich. Therefore "the Emperor recently dead who was called \*Rorik Feritelli" can be no other person than the last Tsar (*Ferit* = Fedor).

As an echo of Sir Anthony's passage through Moscow a special point was included in the instructions (dated 12th September, 1600) which Boris Godunov gave to his ambassador, Prince Zasekin, sent to Persia in company with the Persian ambassador Pir-quli beg, who was returning to his master. The Muscovite envoy was to explain that: "Loving his brother, His Majesty Abbas shah, H.M. the Tsar dismissed his ambassador Isen Aley (\*Husain 'Ali) and the Englishman Don Onton (\*Don Antonio) from his country, from Moscow to the Dvina, (namely) to the anchorage of Kholmogory, and thence ordered to let them go on ships by sea. . . . H.M. the Tsar told them not to travel by Lithuania (i.e. Poland) because the king of Lithuania Zhigimont is at present at peace and in friendship with the Turk; no sooner would they be allowed to go there than Zhigimont . . . would arrest them and send them to the Turk and thereby a damage would result to Abbas shah. The Shah's ambassador Perkuly-beg (\*Pir-quli beg) has received in Moscow similar explanations," Veselovsky, *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snosheniy*, ii, 1892, p. 51. It is further interesting that in the same instructions Boris Godunov expresses his willingness to join the anti-Ottoman league, and more particularly to be united with Shāh 'Abbās and the Emperor Rudolph.

V. M.

PERSIA. By Sir ARNOLD T. WILSON. pp. xvi + 400. London : Benn (The Modern World Series), 1932. 21s.

There exists no good book on present-day Persia, nothing, that is to say, of the standard of Curzon's work. Most of the residents in Persia probably feel hampered by the discretion they owe to their respective administrations. On the other hand, the increasing rapidity of communications seems to have considerably impaired the acumen of occasional travellers, rarely acquainted with the language of the country, and standing no comparison with their famous predecessors. Sir Arnold Wilson's long connection with Persia in the various positions which, in the course of his brilliant career, he has occupied gives him exceptional opportunities for filling some of the gaps in our knowledge of the kingdom of the Shāh. The readers of his book will certainly find in it much instructive information and many incisive judgments which, even if not always incontrovertible, are interesting as reflecting strong personality of the author. And if none the less the book is open to some criticisms, it should be remembered that Sir Arnold has volunteered for a task which no one yet has ventured to undertake.

"The primary aim of the volume," it is stated in the Preface, "is to throw some light not on the history of Persia, not on the characteristics of the country as it was twenty or even ten years ago, but as it is to-day." Remembering that the country is just passing through a stage of rapid evolution, we may wonder how this pledge could be fulfilled at a lesser cost than by refreshing on the spot the recollections derived from the former state of things. The author avows that "no attempt is made in the book to deal critically with ephemeral situations, nor to portray the features of the leading figures on the political stage," but while taking notice of this restriction one feels a regret that thereby the programme is considerably narrowed.

In fact, many important sides of the life of modern Persia are too rapidly treated by the author whereas long passages are devoted to the remote epochs deliberately excluded from the plan of the book. Of the chapter on military forces (pp. 313-348) eight pages give a brief outline of the Pahlavī reforms, while twenty-seven pages are occupied with quotations beginning with Plato, Herodotus, Arrian, Xenophon, etc. Many of these texts, meant to stir the military pride of the Persians, are not even very conclusive as regards the object in view. The situation under the Šafavids was much more complicated than the quotations might suggest: even the assertion of the "pure



Persian descent " of Shah Ismā'īl (p. 32) is highly doubtful. As regards Nādir, his official history constantly opposes "the army" to the Persian (*Qizilbash*) population, and Sir Arnold himself quotes (p. 319) Hanway's testimony on the queer composition of that army.

Similarly in the chapter on literature (pp. 163-196) a very scanty account of the present-day literature occupies the first eight pages, while the rest of it treats of much older times and contains a good deal of fortuitous or questionable matter. Can one really regard as characteristic of the great Firdausi the passage "anticipating the use of armoured cars driven by oil"—which even as an interpretation of the text is not quite correct; for according to Firdausi Alexander invented only a sort of camouflaged "Flammenwerfer". The attempt to fit the epicurean pantheistic Ḥāfiz into the spirit of the Psalms (p. 182) is also unconvincing.

The introductory part of the book (pp. 1-50) contains many records of Plato, the Hittites, Benjamin of Tudela, the Mongols, etc., while in the description of Persia Khorāsān is not mentioned, and in the chapter on the Persian people nothing is said about the actual distribution of different tribes and minorities (the Turkish speaking Azarbaijān!), the unification of which is one of the most important tasks of the present regime.

The best chapters are those concerned with Agriculture, Commerce, Communications, Irrigation (the last two particularly interesting!), and other aspects of the material activity of the population. But here, too, some of the most important questions are only slightly touched upon. The author rightly thinks (p. 66) that "reform of the system of land tenure" is an essential preliminary to the maintenance of a larger population in Persia, but leaves the reader in the dark as to the characteristics of that system, on which the whole fabric of Persian society rests. Speaking of the oil industry in Persia (p. 96), he says that, "in view of his official and personal connection with the growth in Persia of this remarkable enterprise," he "hesitates to estimate its effect upon the life of the Persian nation", and quotes the opinion of "a competent and impartial Afghan traveller" which is certainly far from exhausting this important subject. The book appeared just before the most sensational crisis in the negotiations between the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. and the Persian Government broke out, but nothing in the book explains or even foreshadows the possibility of such a contest, which has now been happily brought to an end, but which had long been smouldering under the surface.

Two chapters on "Currency and Finance" and "National Accounts" have been contributed to the author by Mr. F. Hale of the Imperial Bank of Persia, and printed (pp. 252-312) "substantially as they came from his pen". These chapters, in some parts overlapping with the author's own, represent a real advance in our knowledge of Persian economics: the present-day financial situation is well explained in them and organically linked up with the immediate past.

The limited scope of the review prevents us from going into the personal commentaries and views of the author. His general tone is that of unbounded sympathy and admiration for Persia (pp. 127, 143, 168, 194, etc.), which is sometimes expressed too unconditionally. To say that Persia "has a literary heritage of a quality, variety, and extent to which no other Eastern country can lay claim" is certainly unjust towards China in the first place. That the literary standing of the leading Persian newspapers "is notably higher than that of their Turkish and Arabic contemporaries" is also hardly exact. Evidently somewhat similar feelings account for the author's protest against the international attempts to curtail the production of opium in Persia (p. 60): "The existence in Western countries of a few weak-minded drug addicts is a poor excuse for undermining by harassing legislation the sturdy individualism that is one of the most enduring assets of the Persian race." Here we would only quote the testimony of the author's collaborator, Mr. F. Hale (*From Persian Uplands*, 1900, p. 35): "Birjand has an unusual number of beggar women, young and old, and every day I am assailed by their shrill entreaties. I am told that in most cases opium, directly or indirectly, has led to their undoing." Finally, an adequate summary of the happenings of 1919-1920 would necessitate a much more complete study of all available sources; the author himself after a rapid survey of the events abruptly breaks off the paragraph.

No need to go into the occasional misprints and minor misunderstandings in the text. Such matters in a book appealing to the general reader have little importance indeed. But on p. 164 the introductory note is not supported by the quotation from the *Īrān-shāhr*.

V. M.

BIBLIOGRAFIYA VOSTOKA (Bibliography of the East), I, 1932. pp. 143. Leningrad, 1932. [In Russian; table of contents in Russian and English.]

This periodical, published by the Oriental Institute (*Institut Vostokovedeniya*, former *Musée Asiatique*) of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., has no preface to explain its programme, but its purport will be seen from the titles of its sections, as given in the English table of contents:—

(1) "Literary reviews," under which evidently come more extensive studies in some particular fields. In the present fascicle N. A. Belgorodsky (p. 5-20) analyses the first twenty-five quarterly and half-annual reports of the Persian Ministry of Finance (years 1922-9) and mentions the particular subjects and questions on which these documents throw light.

(2) "Thematic bibliography," distinguished from (1) only by the smaller size of the articles: Romanization of the Mongolian script, Almanachs of the Persian Ministry of Public Instruction (the latter by Belgorodsky).

(3) Manuscript collections and Archives: Library in Tübingen (after Weisweiler), Central archives of the Uzbek Republic in Tashkent (a valuable description of different categories of legal and economic documents by M. Izakson).

(4) Reviews of books, both in Russian and other European languages. Professor Oldenburg is rather hard on Sir A. T. Wilson's *A Bibliography of Persia*, of which he criticizes the incompleteness and the fortuitous character of some entries and omissions. Professor Oldenburg's criticisms, as a matter of fact, are directed chiefly against the title of the book which, of course, even as a bibliography, does not cover the whole field of Persian studies. But Professor Oldenburg seems to overlook the utility of the book as a very complete list of European works on geography and history of Persia—which would have better remained without the addition of casual items on literature and linguistics.

Other interesting reviews are of Kadelhach's book of Turkish rural economy (Navichev), of Khudādāda's Persian novel from peasant life (Rostopchin), of old Turkish documents from Chinese Turkestan (Professor Malov), of M. Cohen's book on Southern Ethiopian dialects (Professor Krachkovsky), etc.

(5) "Annotations on the books"—same as (4), but much shorter.

(6) Bibliography of periodicals: very useful enumeration of contents of some Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Japanese, Chinese, and especially Russo-Mongolian journals.

(7) General bibliography (pp. 132-141) gives a systematic list of Russian articles and books on each of the countries of the East, published in 1931.

(8) List of foreign periodicals received in the Leningrad libraries in 1931-2.

On the whole this bibliography, prepared by qualified scholars, is an invaluable reference book to many scattered and hardly accessible materials, both in Russian and in the Oriental languages. The general trend of the literature quoted and analysed is social and economic, but one must admit that exactly these aspects of Oriental life are less known in the West. Abstracts of Oriental documents like those by N. A. Belgorodsky, requiring much patient and ungrateful research, are particularly welcome.

V. M.

BIBLIOGRAFIYA KITAYA. A bibliography of China. By PETER E. SKACHKOV. pp. xxiii + 843. Moscow-Leningrad: The State Social and Economic Editorship, 1932.

The author, who is the head librarian of the Institute of Oriental studies at the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., further explains the title of his work as "A classified List of Books and Articles on China in the Russian language, from 1730-1930".

The importance of this capital work is best apparent from the number of its entries: 10,248 (+ 544). The material is disposed in an elaborate but convenient system under the headings: A. China: Nature and Geography, Inhabitants, Technology, Economics, History, The Powers and China, Social Structure of China, Chinese Revolution, U.S.S.R. and China, "Ideology" (philosophy, religions, law, press, literature, arts), Sinology; B. Manchuria, with practically the same subdivisions. pp. 707-843 contains the authors and subject indexes of the works quoted.

The author, who has utilized the libraries in Leningrad, Moscow, and Vladivostok has gone through 361 different series and reviews, most of which are extremely rare. Needless to say that the system of quotation, abbreviations, etc., fully reflects the author's professional qualifications.

Russian books on special subjects (to say nothing of the articles)

have always been difficult to get at. Even their existence, if printed in the province, remained often unknown. P. E. Skachkov's work has for the first time systematized and made clear the extent of Russian contributions to the knowledge of China for a period of two hundred years. His work will certainly become the handbook of students interested especially in Northern China.

V. MINORSKY.

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THE NABOBS: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE ENGLISH IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INDIA. By T. G. P. SPEAR. Oxford, 1932. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Spear's volume is an essay in the by-ways of history. He is not concerned with the rise and fall of empires, except in so far as they set the stage for his social drama. Nor does he seek to amuse instead of to instruct. He deals with all the centres of that almost fabulous period of British prosperity and expansion, and seeks to delineate the special features appropriate to each; and above all, he wishes to explain how the modern Anglo-India came into being.

To accomplish this task he has had to read widely; and although he probably would not claim to have said the last word upon his subject, he has at all events said the latest, and many of his views well merit attention. At Bombay, for example, he points out how the Parsis served as a link between the English and Indian inhabitants, providing a common meeting-place, how the social intercourse extended to the Muslim merchants of the city, but that a like freedom of society was not possible either with the Marathas or the Rajputs. He might perhaps, at all events for the earlier days, have found the Armenians playing at Madras the role of the Parsis at Bombay. In any case the whole of his chapter on social relations well deserves study and consideration. We regard it as the outstanding feature of the book. Especially notable is the contrast which emerges between Warren Hastings, with his large circle of Indian friends recognized as such not only by himself and his wife but also by his English intimates, and the English nobles who succeeded him as Governor-General—Cornwallis, informal and void of pride, but strange, ignorant, and setting up his own people as an exclusive administrative aristocracy, or Wellesley, who would not receive the agents of the Indian princes more than twice or thrice a year. The changes which such men introduced were slow and subtle in operation, but in time they broke down the bridges which the merchants of Madras and Bombay, the

politicals like Palmer or Kirkpatrick, the administrators like Duncan, Munro, and above all Warren Hastings himself, had built up and maintained. The reforms which the English noble introduced were beneficial; but they cost much in ways that at the time were never taken into consideration.

H. D.

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THE MAKING OF THE STATE. By M. RUTHNASWAMY. London, 1932.

Mr. Ruthnaswamy's work lies in the application of western thought to Indian political conditions. It constitutes a most interesting, and indeed important, contribution to the Indian political problem. The difficulty of that problem lies, and has always lain, in the fact that great oriental civilizations have tended in the first place to cast themselves into the mould not of a political but of a social organization. They have built up solid societies that have outlasted the most devastating conquests. But their states have been flimsy structures, superimposed on the society usually by a conqueror, and enduring only so long as the conqueror's might continued. The Indian problem lies in finding some other source for its political control.

To Mr. Ruthnaswamy, therefore, the state does not appear the natural and inevitable framework of ordered human life. He puts forward the view that the basis of the Indian state must be not the people but the land. He sees as at least one of the major causes which have produced political unrest in India that fragmentation of holdings imposed by the Hindu law of succession operating in the modern economic world. To him, too, religion is an indispensable guarantee of the state, and the law courts are its equally indispensable guardian. But he distrusts juries, and would deliver justice and the maintenance of the Constitution alike to the care of an independent judiciary. The judges should be specially protected from control by any political party, and indeed he views the party-system as dangerous in itself and unsuited to India. On the other hand, he is convinced that in a political sense the caste-system is ruinous, that it has hindered every development which might have generated an organic state in India, and that flexible classes form an incomparably better social foundation for the political building. So many books have been written on Indian politics merely to promote this or that line of action that a deliberate and thoughtful work such as the present is extraordinarily welcome.

H. D.

ISMAIL THE MALIGNED KHEDIVE. By PIERRE CRABITÈS. London, 1933. 12s. 6d.

L'EMPIRE ÉGYPTIEN SOUS ISMAIL ET L'INGÉRANCE ANGLO-FRANÇAISE  
By M. SABRY. Paris, 1933.

These two volumes are essentially different in character. M. Crabitès eschews references and avoids citations from original authorities, except to illustrate, in a curious and entertaining way, Ismail's relations with the Porte. His great purpose is to clear Ismail's character from the slighting estimates of Cromer and Milner. He argues strongly that the Khedive was no spendthrift because his expenditure was devoted to national purposes, and that he was no voluptuary because he could not have had time to be one. So little is certainly known of the private life of eastern rulers that the second point is not worth discussing. But M. Crabitès' arguments concerning the first are far from convincing. A ruler may be a spendthrift even if his expenditure is national and not personal; and when he borrows at 12 per cent to finance his schemes, he cannot be suitably defended by denouncing the rascality of the bankers who demanded such a high rate. Ismail had to pay high for his loans because his credit stood low. Nor was anyone deceived by the practice of making loans at a discount. It was a device employed time out of mind by the moneylender dealing with the rash and impecunious borrower. The fact still seems to be that Ismail's finance was rash enough to warrant the epithet of "spendthrift".

Ismail was a dreamer of great dreams which he lacked the power to realize. His real contribution to the development of the Egyptian monarchy was his arrangement with the Porte by which the Egyptian succession was to be regulated no longer by the old Turkish rule of the succession of the oldest male descendant, but by the western rule of primogeniture. But he desired many other most desirable reforms—the economic development of the country, the abolition of the *corvée*, the expansion of his rule to the southward, and the destruction of the slave trade. These he pressed on with the utmost energy, with little regard for what they might cost. Just as the great Muhammad Ali so hastened on the building of the great Nile barrage, that while it looked a most imposing structure the water found its way through so that the barrage was valueless, so Ismail (as Baker said) was "resolved upon the rapid accomplishment of a work that would require many years of patient and gradual labour".

M. Sabry's volume is essentially a work of research. It is well documented, and, till the author comes to questions of foreign relations, is not unfair, except perhaps to Ismail himself. But it is a series of chapters rather than an organic work; and the reader is left to gather up for himself the conclusions to be drawn from the documents cited and the relations of the different aspects of Ibrahim's policy. Unlike M. Crabitès', his thesis is not that Ismail was ruined by European rascality, but that Egypt was ruined by Ismail's folly and Europe's greed. To him the Suez Canal was a tremendous blunder; and had not other causes of difference arisen, he would have approved the English attitude to the Canal project. But British policy in and occupation of the Sudan, and the establishment of British instead of Egyptian supremacy on the equatorial lakes, appear causes of such heavy offence as robs all British policy of claims to praise. In fact, his work seems coloured by current political prepossessions. While M. Crabitès throws new and painful light on the conduct and policy of the Porte, M. Sabry illustrates Ismail's policy in Egypt and the south with much new detail. We hope both will find many readers, though we doubt if either represents the definitive judgment of Ismail's conduct and achievement or of British and French policy in Egypt.

H. D.

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BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF QUEEN ANNE. By JOHN BURNELL. Edited by S. T. SHEPPARD. London: Hakluyt Society, 1933. Bernard Quaritch.

The Hakluyt Society has not, we think, strayed into the eighteenth century in its former publications. The present volume fully merits this development. John Burnell was at best a second-rate kind of man. But he could catch and convey impressions. None of the earlier travellers give us so vivid an idea of Bombay in its infancy, begirt by powerful neighbours, and threatened by enemies in its very heart. Like Dr. Fryer, Burnell found the island desperately unhealthy. Two monsoons were "the age of a man". The hospital conveniently adjoined the cemetery, and inmates could listen at nights to the jackals quarrelling over the carcase of a late neighbour and "think what a dainty morsel" they themselves were likely to become. But besides these dismal reflections, Burnell has much to say of the work going on upon the island. Most notable was that of reclamation. In his time the island was fissured by channels through which the sea entered at high tides. But already men were at work building



dams between Sion and Dharāvī, and between Dharāvī and Māhīm, and preparing to dam the passage between Māhīm and Worli. These works were no small feats of engineering in those days of limited knowledge and appliances. But perhaps the most striking fact of all that emerges from his pages is one to which the editor's knowledge and experience add the point. Burnell dwells upon the mortality of the island. The burial ground at Mendham's Point was "a cormorant paunch, never satisfied with the daily supplies it receives, but is still gaping for more". In 1928 a new Legislative Council building was being erected at Bombay. The trenches cut for the foundations went down through layers of bones deposited in the old cemetery; so that the legislators of Bombay, in physical fact as well as in moral truth, work upon an English basis. British India was indeed hought with a multitude of lives.

Appended to Burnell's description of Bombay is a much shorter account of Bengal, with an introduction by Sir William Foster and notes by Sir Evan Cotton and Miss L. M. Anstey. But the main interest of this second part is the account of the navigation of the Hugli and the curious narrative of the writer's efforts to take military service with Mir Abū Tālib, who was charged by the Nawab with the reduction of a rebel against Jahāndār Shāh.

The editing of the volume is excellent, and it is illustrated by maps which throw into relief the topographical detail of which Burnell, especially in Bombay, supplies great plenty.

H. D.

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CEYLON UNDER BRITISH RULE. By L. A. MILLS. Oxford, 1933.

Some time ago Dr. Mills, who now teaches history in the University of Minnesota, produced a very useful account of the history of British Malaya. He now follows up that chapter in British imperial history by a study of Ceylon under British government. His new volume is warmly to be welcomed. No lengthy survey of the British regime has appeared since the volumes of Tennent, written seventy years ago and long out of date. Dr. Mills' work is based less on that of his predecessors than on his own researches; and when we remember that since his predecessor wrote, the records of the Colonial Office have become available, the importance of the volume is obvious.

The early history of British administration in the island was unfortunate. At first it fell under the control of the Madras Government, which, in 1795, had not as yet discovered a satisfactory method

of administering its Indian territories. Dr. Mills, following the Colonial Office authorities, is inclined to make the most of the Madras mismanagement. Perhaps his readers should make some allowance for the fact that the mistakes were investigated and laid bare by a commission appointed by the Madras authorities themselves. Nor had the island much to gain from the appointment of the amiable and incompetent Frederick North as Governor by the Colonial Office, while the cinnamon trade long continued to be a Government monopoly under the administration of the Crown. It does not really seem to be the case that the policy of the Colonial Office was more enlightened or better informed than the contemporary policy of the East India Company and the Board of Control; while, if the Company's civil reforms and military laxity generated the Indian Mutiny, the Ceylon Government was frequently faced with revolts of the Kandyan nobles, down to 1848, and at least until the last of these the Ceylon officials were evidently in no closer touch with the people of their districts than collectors in Bengal, and far less well-informed than collectors in a ryotwari province.

On the whole it seems likely that Ceylon would have been at least as well administered under the East India Company as it was under Colonial Office management; while at a later period it would have benefited from the large number of highly talented men who were to be found in the ranks of the Indian Civil Service. Dr. Mills's volume concludes with two chapters on the cinnamon and coffee trades and with a brief sketch of the development of the island since 1885. He adds a comprehensive and valuable bibliography.

H. DODWELL.

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THE LIFE OF A MOGUL PRINCESS, Jahānarā Begam, daughter of Shāhjahān. By ANDREA BUTENSCHÖN. With an Introduction by LAURENCE BINYON. pp. xiii + 221. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1931. 10s. 6d.

Madame Butenschön very many years ago published a translation into Swedish of the *Kāthopanīṣad*, a work upon which we do not wish to dwell here. We must admit not to have met with her name since then—at least not within the pales of Sanskrit learning or Indian studies in general.

The book now presented for review is not at all a scientific work and can only be very shortly mentioned here. It pretends to be the

essential life-story of the Begum Sāhib, the eldest daughter of Shāh Jahān and staunch upholder of Dārā Shakoh, and is written in a literary style which intends to be highly pathetic and is sometimes rather rambling. The materials are all drawn from quite well-known works dealing with the Moguls, and the contents can scarcely be said to be in any way startling. The notes contain some unnecessary mistakes which we need not correct here.

J. C.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA. By RAMAPRASAD DAS GUPTA. Books I and II, pp. 69 + 168. Calcutta : Book Company, 1930.

This work by an author otherwise unknown to the present writer apparently is meant to be continued—at least, that is the legitimate conclusion to be drawn from the headline “Books I and II”. As for this volume it contains a conspectus of Hindu criminal law giving a detailed list of the various crimes and the punishments meted out to different classes of criminals. The contents thus are much of the same nature as those dealt with in the late Professor Jolly’s well-known volume on “Recht und Sitte” in the *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*; but be it said at once, and without any reflection upon the capacity of Mr. Ramaprasad Das Gupta, the older work is still a much more successful one and cannot well be put aside because of the issue of this one. It is perhaps not quite to be wondered at that a Hindu author should compare the ancient Indian criminal laws with those prevalent in ancient and medieval Europe and find those of his native country rather to be humanitarian in comparison with those of more western nations. However, quite apart from such patriotic sentiment, it must be stated that Indian punishments could scarcely be said to be very humane—unless, of course, being trampled to death by elephants or cut up with razor-like blades affixed to their tusks, being impaled on stakes, etc., could deserve to be thus called. The author in one passage tells us that flaying alive was not an Indian punishment, while it was at times practised in the Western world. It is quite true that Hindu law does not know this indescribable brutality; but Mr. Ramaprasad Das Gupta may certainly be aware that it was much in favour with the Turks, who ruled India during part of the Middle Ages, and even Jahāngīr—in his sober intervals by no means a brutal nature—had it practised perhaps more than once. I am not prepared to maintain that it was

ever in use with the Hindu Rājās ; but instances may perhaps be quoted even from their States. However, we need not go into further details ; be it sufficient to state that the high-caste Hindus, otherwise a people of rather a mild disposition, have never been remarkably humane as far as criminal law and punishments are concerned. Patriotic feeling may dictate such statements, but they are not in accordance with historical truth.

The work, like most books composed in India, is not entirely free from small but rather flagrant mistakes. To quote only one example : "the law of Cornelia de Sicaries" (ii, p. 47) is not a particularly happy rendering of the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*.

J. C.

THE SIVĀDVAITA OF ŚRIKANTHA. By S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI.  
pp. x + 393. University of Madras, 1930.

This book, dealing with the Sivādvaīta of Śrīkaṇṭha, which is a work of authority in Southern India, seems to be a very clever and valuable piece of research. In the first chapter, bearing the title "Some General Considerations", the learned author has gone very extensively into the problems connected with Śrīkaṇṭha's life and age. Of these, it may be admitted at once, we have but scanty knowledge, if knowledge it may be called at all. We are not even aware of what caste Śrīkaṇṭha might have belonged to, though it seems tolerably clear that he was not a Śūdra, he himself being responsible for the statement that the Āgamas are accessible to all castes while the Vedas are not ; on the other hand it is by no means certain that he was a Brahmin. South Indian authorities seem to be most parsimonious in bestowing upon us information of any Śrīkaṇṭha at all, and in consequence of that we cannot be sure about either his time or the circumstances of his life.

As for the latter ones, they were probably just as uneventful as those of any Hindu philosopher and founder of a community, be it a Śaivite one or belonging to any other creed. As concerns the period, during which Śrīkaṇṭha may have taught his system of Sivādvaīta and composed his *bhāṣya* on Bādarāyaṇa's aphorisms, Mr. Suryanarayana Sastri seems to the present writer to have made out a strong case for the eleventh or early twelfth century, the age of the great Rāmāṇiṣa. With such an assumption, the fact scarcely seems to tally that he is not mentioned by Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*. Such a fact, however, most probably loses all importance when we find a quotation

from Śrīkaṇṭha's Bhāṣya in a commentary on the *Aghora Śiva Paddhati* (a work belonging to the middle of the twelfth century) and also some allusions to Śrīkaṇṭha in the works of Umāpati, who was himself a contemporary, if not a senior of Mādhava. These facts tend to making it increasingly probable that Śrīkaṇṭha was in reality a contemporary, even if a less famous one, of Rāmānuja; and thus his work seems to possess the venerable age of nearly a thousand years.

The philosophy of Śrīkaṇṭha is ably and extensively dealt with by the learned author. We cannot here enter upon any details of his exposition. It may be sufficient to quote his words (p. 76) "that in Śrīkaṇṭha's philosophy we have a system of Śaivism which, while it has many points in common with the Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja and the Śaiva Siddhānta of the Tamil country, is yet not devoid of distinctive features of its own. It seeks to reconcile two bodies of revelation and exhibit both as conformable to reason; it is theistic, yet not sectarian. Though its arguments may be paralleled elsewhere, its conclusions will be found to be its own; and throughout will be seen a spirit of compromise and eclecticism, such as is characteristic of the best Hindu philosophy". No more need be said to awake in everyone interested in Indian philosophy a vivid interest in Śrīkaṇṭha and his work.

The notes are generally full of useful information, and the author quotes several works which may be less well known to his European fellow scholars. On the Vratyas (p. 5, n.), however, some more authorities than the late MM. Hara Prasad Sastri and Professor A. Chakravarthi—whose paper in the *Jaina Gazette* is entirely without any value—might have been quoted.

J. CHARPENTIER.

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WILHELM FILCHNER. KUMBUM DSCHAMBA LING. 10 × 7½.  
pp. xvi + 555. 208 photographs + 412 inset illustrations and  
plan. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1933. RM. 68.

Tibet has monasteries more impressive and more ancient than Kumbum (*Skubum byams-pa gñā*), founded late in the sixteenth century; others surpass it in archaeological and artistic interest, and a few exceed its large population of 3,000 or 4,000 monks. But "the *Dripa* of the 100,000 *Maitreyas*", the *T'a-erh-ssu*, or "great tent" of the Mongols, in Amdo near Kansu, some 700 miles north of Lhasa, has the distinction of marking the birthplace of the founder of the yellow-hat Gelukpa sect that still dominates Tibet, Mongolia,

and Lamaist China. Tsong-kha-pa, unlike the previous great shapers of Lamaism, Padma Sambhava and Atiśa, was a Tibetan, and at Kumbum one may still see the miraculous tree (*Bild* 61), said to have sprung up from the placental blood shed at the Saint's birth, a sight which evoked the wonder of Huc. The name of the monastery is in popular belief derived from the incredibly large number of minute images on this tree. Tibetan letters or texts have also been observed on it.

Accessible from China and on the high road from Peking to Lhasa, Kumbum has been visited by many Europeans. For three months in 1844 the Lazarists, Huc and Gabet, studied there, and Madame David-Neel was also a recent inmate (p. 90 et seq., *Mystiques et Magiciens du Tibet*, Paris, 1929). Huc's and Rockhill's accounts were the best till Wilhelm Filchner's *Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet* appeared in 1926. Now, as Berthold Laufer's introduction puts it, Dr. Filchner's "Baby-Kumbum" has grown to manhood in the present *magnum opus*. It is indeed a veritable monographic colossus and the encyclopædic treatment will command the respectful admiration of the reader. Three prefaces, penned from Tibet, Chicago, and Peiping, 404 pages tightly packed with information, 1,706 scholarly notes, 208 photographs, 412 insets illustrating architectural, ritual, and other objects, a large-scale map of the whole foundation showing in detail its public buildings—over thirty in number—its innumerable *stūpas* and private dwellings, will sate the most voracious appetite. This volume shares to the full the merits and in some respects the defects of, let us say, Waddell's *Lamaism*, Karl Baedeker's *vade-mecums* for the traveller, and the encyclopædias; and it is an inexhaustible mine of well-ordered information on this Lamaistic metropolis of large parts of Tibet, Mongolia, and China.

But Kumbum is no romantic story, as is Sven Hedin's recent *Jehol*. It is a standard library volume of reference; no week-end book. Its lavish photographs are excellent, the inset drawings most instructive, and the general format admirable, though too bulky, and we appreciate the author's careful and exhaustive notes, especially the frequent equivalents in Tibetan, Mongolian, Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, and other languages. Perhaps only the index is somewhat slight. The volume deserves a separate Tibetan index with full transcription, explanation and the like of the many Tibetan words in the text. In the absence of such an index much of value in the work may escape notice.

It would be vain to attempt any criticism of the immense mass of detail provided here. For convenience one would prefer this ponderous monograph to be divided into two volumes, one containing *Kapitel* I to VIII, on the buildings themselves, and the other, *Kapitel* IX to XVIII, together with the *Anhang*, on Tsong-kha-pa, monks, festivals, dances and the ethnology of Amdo, etc. Incidentally, the *Anhang* (pp. 376-404) is an excellently written and well-illustrated description of the "Dogpa" tent-dwellers of the north-east grasslands, whose customs and mode of life closely resembles the nomads of the Chang-thang, even to the far west in Rnpshu. Tanguts and other tribes are described.

The two chapters on the religious dances contain the fullest and best illustrated treatment the subject has yet received, but it is rather to the unreformed monasteries that we must turn for the investigation of their earlier ritualistic forms; the monastic *Cham-yigs*, or dance manuals, also deserve detailed study.

All interested in Lamaism in its later development will find Dr. Filchner's *Kumbum* major indispensable for reference. After reading it, they will be as much at home in Kumbum as the Londoner is in Westminster Abbey. Some may even regret that Dr. Filchner's monograph has rendered a personal visit there superfluous. At any rate to supplement his information will be no light task for the future visitor. Fortunately there still remain plenty of other Tibetan monasteries to explore and record.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

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NATIVE ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. By HOWARD ROGERS, B.A., LL.B. pp. 372. Johannesburg: Bantu Studies. 12s. 6d.

This book is the outcome of long and laborious ploughing through years of departmental reports and memoranda, and represents the inner history of the Department of Native Affairs of the Union of South Africa, its organization, functions, and activities from the time of union (1909-1910) till the beginning of 1933. Special chapters are devoted to subjects such as: Systems of Local Government in native areas, Native land administration, Recognition of native law, Native education, Natives in urban and industrial centres, etc., while the numerous appendixes give the more statistical information.

For officials, for students of native administration, and especially

for those wishing to qualify in that subject for the University examinations, this book is most valuable, as it contains the information they require in tabloid form, neatly docketed.

For overseas visitors and the general public who have heard vague criticisms about native administration in South Africa, this book alone will be of little help, as the reader feels himself perpetually hemmed in by pages of governmental regulations, ordinances, etc. (very necessary to master if one wishes to formulate or defend a criticism in a legal manner), which give little reference to the actual context out of which they arose.

Only here and there, and mostly by reading between the lines, do we get a glimpse of the other party in the story—the natives themselves and their reaction to the various laws and proclamations. But this is to be expected. The author's task (which he has performed exceedingly well) was to provide authoritative information, in *vade mecum* form, on the activities and functions of the Department of Native Affairs, not to write a latter history of the natives of South Africa. That has already been written (*The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to 1927*, by Edgar H. Brookes), and should form an interesting companion volume to the above.

A. N. TUCKER.

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THE GRAMMAR OF TIV. By Captain R. C. ABRAHAM. pp. 8 + 213.  
Kaduna: Nigerian Political Service, 1933.

Captain Abraham has produced a grammar of Tiv (or Munshi) in which the phonetic and tonal system of the language is analysed thoroughly. As in so many West African languages, tones and grammar are closely hound up together: consequently tones play a very large part in this book.

Readers should not be put off by the appearance of the printed page, as owing to the limitations of the press at Kaduna, where the book was published, the author has had to make use of types of different sizes and kinds to indicate different tones. Reading these varied types is a little dazzling at first, but the first stage is soon passed and the interpretation of the tones becomes easy.

The phonetic introduction is not well arranged and there are one or two inaccuracies: the well-worn meaningless descriptions of the sound of *ng* as "nasal *n*" and "the letter *n* becomes nasalized before *k* and *g*" occur once more: it is really time that these were decently



buried. What Captain Abraham has recorded as a glottal stop, I find as merely a diminution of breath force between two vowels and no stop.

I have had an unusually favourable opportunity of testing the accuracy of Captain Abraham's work while in Nigeria, and if the proof of the pudding is in the eating, this mixture contains many good ingredients. I had Tiv speakers on two separate occasions and read to them words and sentences from the grammar and vocabulary with the pronunciation and tones indicated. There was no doubt whatever that the men understood perfectly, for they illustrated by action wherever this was possible the meaning of the sentences and words read, and repeated them so that I could check the written representation. In this way I tested a large number of difficult points of grammar and vocabulary with complete success. The work is a valuable contribution to the study of tone languages.

I. C. WARD.

THE PHONETIC AND TONAL STRUCTURE OF EFİK. By IDA C. WARD.  
pp. xvi + 186. 8½ × 6½. Cambridge: Heffer, 1933. 8s. 6d.

Dr. Ward's book has a dedication and an introduction but no preface. As the first of its kind in Africa it certainly needs a preface and none could be better than

*Fiat Lux.*

It is true that out of modesty this preface could not have been penned by the author but it flashes out from the text, so that really it doesn't matter that there is no such preface. At last and yet the first of its kind for the West Coast comes Dr. Ward's book on the phonetic and tonal structure of Efik. Four years' work and she is able to present the Open Sesame to the mysteries and difficulties of this tone language. So far only one person has succeeded in passing the Government Higher Standard in Efik, now the way is made easy.

No European, and many have a score and more years to their credit in these regions, has been able to speak the language as a native. The secret is not that the language was not regarded as a tone language, for Goldie gave instances of that in his magnificent dictionary with his (Ris. inf) and (Fal. inf) after certain words, and the Rev. Luke in *Pioneering in Mary Slessor's Country* (he left the Cross River valley in 1890) had an inkling that if one took care of the sounds the sense

would necessarily take care of itself for he wrote "the language of the bookless native is accent and only accent".

It was known that there were semantic tones, but it was not realized that there were also grammatical and syntactic tones, and it is here that Dr. Ward's pioneering work has disclosed the secret, made clear the hidden difficulties. It is a book that is essential to anyone working in the Calabar Province and should be in the library of every District Office. Dr. Ward's work will have far-reaching effects, effects which will echo through the realms of anthropology and force a re-adjustment of outlook. The Efik and the parent stock, Ibibio, have always been regarded by anthropologists as primitive people. Can a people be primitive whose thoughts are so precise, clear, and logical that they have evolved five forms of the aorist tense alone to express their shades of meaning? Neither the language, the thoughts, nor the modes of expressing them can be called primitive. Can the people who have evolved and moulded their language to fit their mental needs be any longer regarded as primitive?

Her work has also made it abundantly clear that it is useless to attempt to write native hymns to fit English tunes. In English, the sound of the word determines its sense, so it matters not in singing whether the tone of the word alters. In Efik the tone of the word fixes its meaning, consequently when an Efik sings his own songs he sings the words on the same relative tones in his song as he would use were he speaking, otherwise the sense would not be retained. In European languages the words are written to fit the tune: in tone languages the tune must be made to fit the tones.

The drift of this idea was expressed by a Yoruba, Dr. O. A. Johnson, writing of his own tone language in 1921. "In Yoruba, vowels are of greater importance than consonants, and tones than vowels, hence the peculiarity of the language that musical sounds can be employed to convey a correct idea of words in speech." Dr. Ward has shown that it is essential to keep the correct relation of syntactical tone in order to convey the correct meaning. The meaning is lost if in the hymn tune the tune requires high notes to follow low notes where the syntax would require a low tone to follow a high tone.

A moment's reflection will show the cogency of these remarks. Dr. Ward writes: "The subjunctive is like the aorist in form. It differs from the Aorist in tone . . ." What a pitfall for writers of native hymns.

It is difficult enough to realize that the only difference in Efik

between, "a teller of tales" (an honourable calling, as it were) and "he tells tales" (a sneak) is a matter of tone, the homograph is the same for both meanings, e.g. Obuk Mbuk, but to realize that an assertion becomes a condition purely by tone has made interpretation difficult. One must admire the local interpreters who have been able to transpose so easily and readily, while the greatest gratitude is due to Dr. Ward for revealing these difficulties and showing how and the manner in which they may be met and surmounted. It is thus clear that for Efik one must reverse Lewis Carroll's dictum and say instead, "Take care of the sounds and the sense will take care of itself."

Following inevitably from Dr. Ward's researches in the part played by syntactical tones is the conviction felt for many years, but so far neither expressed nor followed by any, that no form of European grammar could supply a model upon which to base a grammar for a native language and certainly not for one whose syntax is interwoven with tone variation for variation of use and meaning. Dr. Ward points out the necessity for a new way of dealing with such difficulties and does not follow conventional lines, thereby giving a newness and freshness to her work.

A methodical examination of the book suggests the following comments which might be of assistance in another edition.

p. 3 : The replacement of the initial "k" by "t" in Efik occurs also in the word "tiene=follow". The parent language has "kiene" just as it has "kiet", and never "tiet". While the change of "it" into "r" is also found in Ekritam (name of a town) which in full is Ekit Itam.

p. 4 : The nouns given which begin with a consonant other than nasal are, with two exceptions, foreign words; thus: Sokoro is from the Portuguese (?); kofinuk, tatabunko, bidak are all Ekoi words; Sitim is a corruption of a European name, probably Cheetham, who introduced this token currency, "bia and tuep" are the two exceptions and in the parent language, Ibibio, "bia" appears as "abia".

p. 11 : Footnote. "Mbakara" comes from the root "kara to rule", and is applied irrespective of colour, so that it does not mean white man, to anyone who rules or governs. As this function is discharged by the European it is applied to him. The word still survives in the language of the slave descendants of the West Indies, e.g. "Bakra work neber done". The word used to describe the first Europeans to Calabar, the Portuguese, still lingers in Calabar as Potoki, the

term is now applied to the Syrian traders. A white man is called *Afa owo*.

p. 14: *Ikotanakanda* is more generally heard as *Ikot Nakanda* and the "t" does not then become a one-tap "r".

p. 15: The whistle in the "s" is in some localities replaced by "ʃ" as in the name *Eʃien*.

pp. 21 and 24: The use of the semi-vowels "y" and "w" is to be preferred to the employment of diphthongs, because these semi-vowels assimilate more readily to the sounds obtained in speech and secondly, they act as guide to the European learner. Thus, a student will be nearer the correct *Efik* pronunciation when the verb "to throw down" is written as "dwok" than as "duok". In the latter form he is liable to stress unduly the vowel "u".

pp. 27 and 28: The kymograph tracings also display (a) in the top diagram, short vowels; (b) in the bottom diagram, long vowels. It would have been better, to illustrate the long and short consonants, if the vowels had been of the same time-length in each instance, for it is just possible that the length of the vowels affects by contrast the length of the consonant.

p. 89: "Untranslatable particle." This expression is, perhaps, a little unfortunate. The *Efik* are essentially logical and practical in the use of their language and the particle "ke" appears to be a form of the verb "ka" = go. Hence the use of "ke" implies motion, movement towards. Thus, in the footnote, *Enye ke-edì* means that "he is moving to come", i.e. is actually on the way: while the particle "moj" may best be translated by "about to . . ." There is one omission in this most excellent work and that is a chapter on the plural form of the verb and the tonal structure and pattern of these forms. Thus, "dep bia = buy a yam" but to buy yams is "deme bia": so also "enye efehe = he runs" but "mo efehe = they run".

There are a few minor slips of no importance, thus:—

p. 4: "*Ekpři abia*" does not mean "plenty of yams", but "small yam".

p. 35: Footnote. The tones for "*obog mosquito*" are wrong. They are correctly shown on p. 38. The tabular form on pp. 113, 114, 115, and 119 would be clearer if at the top of the columns were printed:—

1st sing.	2nd sing.	3rd sing.
		and all plurals

p. 142: In the example given (-dep bia), and in previous instances,

these words are translated as "buy yams", actually they mean "buy one yam". If it is intended to say "buy yams" then the plural form of the verb should be used, i.e. "-deme bia".

p. 144: The affirmative "mi ntetie" is translated as "to sit down": so also is the negative "mi nkutetie (sit down)" whereas it means "not to sit down". It is noticed that the positive meanings in the other examples have been attached to the negative side. These should be transposed in the next edition.

p. 152: "Nne = mother" is an Igbo word due to the presence of many Igbo slaves. *Èka* is the Efik word.

In conclusion, this work was undertaken and accomplished in London. Dr. Ward came out to Nigeria, to Calabar, to carry out more intensive research on the spot and to make investigations into the tonal structure of Igbo. A series of lectures to native students was arranged. The rather bored air of having to listen to another European butchering their language gave way, when she started to speak, to startled surprise and ended with open-mouthed admiration and astonishment. "Why, that's just how mother talks, she is one of us," was a comment heard. What greater success is possible: what surer test of the accuracy of the work and methods could there be?

The book is essential to all who wish to learn Efik or the parent language, Ibibio, for the tonal structure is the same in both. That the work would be of great use to students of Igbo seems probable because the main tonal features of these two Sudanic languages cannot greatly vary when it is realized with what ease members of tone languages learn the languages of surrounding tribes. A Hansa has as much difficulty as a European in learning these tonal languages.

Dr. Ward's métier is clearly the investigation of tone languages, and most fortunate it is that the grant from the Rockefeller Foundation will enable her to continue her research work into the tonal structure of West African languages.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES

### Kavāḥ

MR. H. W. BAILEY, in his "Iranian Studies II" (*BSOS.*, 1933, p. 69 sqq.), has made a new attempt to emend and interpret the difficult passage of the Iranian Bundahišn (*Anklesaria*, p. 231, 13-232, 1) regarding Kay Kavāḥ. I think his interpretation much nearer to the real meaning of the passage than any of the earlier, including my own suggestions in *Les Kayanides*, p. 71. But I should now like to propose a few modifications of the interpretation of Mr. Bailey.<sup>1</sup>

First, I thus read the final words of the passage: *frazand vindīday nām nihāḥ* "he gave name to the foundling". The signs 𐬯𐬀𐬎 after 𐬯𐬀𐬎 (*vindīday*; *vindīdan* "to find") are probably a lapsus calami of an old copyist, who has repeated some of the signs of the foregoing 𐬯𐬀𐬎. As to the theme *vind-*, the Turfan texts in south-western dialect have always the form *vindādan*, which is borrowed from the northern dialect. In ordinary Pahlavi of the books, we also generally meet with this form; but the real south-western form *vindīdan* is to be found in the Pahlavi Commentary to the Vendidad. Mr. K. Barr has noted the following occurrences: in Vd. ii, 8 and 17 (of the Avestan text), Spiegel's edition of the Commentary has (p. 10, ll. 11, 15, 20) 𐬯𐬀𐬎; the two good Copenhagen MSS. K 3a and K 3b have 𐬯𐬀𐬎, 𐬯𐬀𐬎, and in one case the word is written in Persian letters above وندید; Vd. v, 14, Spiegel, p. 52, ll. 10-11: *ēyōn pa frayard vindīd* (𐬯𐬀𐬎); Vd. vii, 78, Spiegel, p. 101, l. 18: 𐬯𐬀𐬎.

Mr. Bailey's explanation of the words *kavāḥ*, *kavāday*, certainly holds. Now, evidently, the original significance of the words *kavāḥ*, *kavāday*, was not wholly familiar to the Parsis; therefore some copyist has inserted the explanation *aβurnāy*.

<sup>1</sup> I follow here and below my own method of transcription. As to the conjunction which Mr. Bailey, in accordance with Professor Nyberg, reads *apī*, I look upon it as an ideogram. In ordinary prose texts this ideogram must certainly be read *u* before the enclitic pronoun (*u-š*, *u-šān*, etc.), but I think the older form *uša-* could be read in metric texts, just as Neo-Persian has conserved older pronunciations in certain cases (the *šifāt* as a long *ī*, etc.), according to the requirements of the metre.

The last word in l. 14 of p. 231 in *Anklesaria*, 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, is to be read *rōdē*.

Now it appears that we have before us a series of perfect verses of eight syllables, taken from some Pahlavi epic on the history of the Kayānians. Reduced to its main features, the plot must have been the same which in Arabic and Persian sources is related in the history of Dārā (v. *Les Kayanides*, p. 150, and p. 71, n. 4): a new-born child is laid in a box and exposed on the river; he is found and adopted (or recognized) by the king (or the queen). If Mr. Bailey is right in reading *kavātakān* and in translating "Overseer of the Pages", the passage in question must be somewhat disordered in arrangement. Evidently the person who delivered the little child to the "Overseer of the Pages" is Uzav himself, but only in the following verse do we read that he saw and took up the child. In this case we must suppose that the two verses have been interchanged, and, restoring their original order, we should read:—

*Uzav bē dād, stad, bē parvārδ,  
pa kavādayān bē aβspard;*

"Uzav saw him, took him and had him nursed and delivered to the 'Overseer of the Pages'."

Now, during the proof-reading, Mr. Bailey writes to me that he has been able to discover at Paris the whereabouts of the MS. of the Iranian Bundahišn which had been in the possession of J. Darmesteter, and that, collating it, he has found out that this MS. is a copy of a copy of *TD*, but has a few pencilled corrections from the original *TD* itself. The Kavāt passage reads as follows:—

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥  
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥  
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

To this Mr. Bailey makes the following annotations:—

"Hence there are three points:

"(1) *parvart* is now certain.

"(2) 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 seems now to be certain, and therefore I doubt if the correct interpretation of this passage *pat kavātakān bē* . . . is yet found.

"(3) 𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌, probably means *vindūtak* and hence confirms your reading."

Having read this communication, which Mr. Bailey has kindly permitted me to make use of, I felt induced to examine the passage again, and now I propose to read not *pa kavādayān bē aβsparδ*, but *pa kavāday χūn bē aβsarδ*. The verse of eight syllables is irreprehensible. By this reading, the supposition of an interchange of this verse and the following falls away, and I read :

*kavāδ [aβurnay] andar kēβūδ-ē būδ,*  
*uda-šān pa rōdē bē hišt ;*  
*pa kavāday χūn bē aβsarδ.*  
*Uzav bē dīδ, stad, be parvarδ ;*  
*frazand vindīday nām nihāδ.*

"Kavāδ [gloss : i.e. 'child'] was in a box, and they put him on the river ; the blood froze in [the body of] the child. Uzav saw him, took him and had him nursed ; he gave name to the foundling child."

"He gave name . . .," i.e. he gave him the name "child", that neutral name symbolizing the fact that the origin of the baby was unknown.

The rhyme *aβsarδ—parvarδ* is noteworthy.

ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN.



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### PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

#### ***Kha* and other Words denoting "Zero" in Connection with the Metaphysics of Space**

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

**K***HA*, cf. Greek *χᾶος*, is generally "cavity"; and in the *Rg Veda*, particularly, "the hole in the nave of a wheel through which the axle runs" (Monier-Williams). In *Journ. U.P. Hist. Soc.*, vii, 44-5 and 62, Mr. A. N. Singh shows conclusively that in Indian mathematical usage, current during the earlier centuries of the Christian era, *kha* means "zero"; Sūryadeva, commenting on Āryabhaṭa, says "the *khas* refer to voids (*khāni śūnyā upa lakṣitāni*) . . . thus *khadvinake* means the eighteen places denoted by zeros". Amongst other words denoting zero are *śūnya*, *ākāśa*, *vyoma*, *antarikṣa*, *nabha*, *ananta*, and *pūrṇa*.<sup>1</sup> We are immediately struck by the fact that the words *śūnya* "void", and *pūrṇa* "plenum" should have a common reference; the implication being that all numbers are virtually or potentially present in that which is without number; expressing this as an equation,  $0 = x - x$ , it is apparent that zero is to number as possibility

<sup>1</sup> It may as well be pointed out here that although "The decimal notation must have been in existence and in common use amongst the mathematicians long before the idea of applying the place-value principle to a system of word names could have been conceived" (Singh, *loc. cit.*, p. 61), and although a decimal scale has actually been found at Mohenjodaro (Mackay, "Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro," *Journ. Roy. Soc. Arts*, No. 4233, 1934, p. 222), it is by no means the intention of the present article to present an argument for a *Rg Vedic* knowledge of either the decimal system or the concept "zero" as such. Our purpose is merely to exhibit the metaphysical and ontological implications of the terms which were later on actually used by Āryabhaṭa and Bhaskara, etc., to designate "zero", "one", and some higher numbers.

to actuality. Again, employment of the term *ananta* with the same reference implies an identification of zero with infinity; the beginning of all series being thus the same as their end. This last idea, we may observe, is met with already in the earlier metaphysical literature, for example *Rg Veda*, iv, 1, 11, where Agni is described as "hiding both his ends" (*guhāmāno antā*); *Aitareya Br.*, iii, 43, "the Agniṣṭoma is like a chariot-wheel, endless" (*ananta*); *Jaiminīya Up. Br.*, i, 35, "the Year is endless (*ananta*), its two ends (*antā*) are Winter and Spring . . . so is the endless chant" (*anantam saman*). These citations suggest that it may be possible to account for the later mathematicians' selection of technical terms by reference to an earlier usage of the same or like terms in a purely metaphysical context.

Our intention being to demonstrate the native connection of the mathematical terms *kha*, etc., with the same terms as employed in purely metaphysical contexts, it will be necessary to prepare the diagram of a circle or cosmic wheel (*cakra*, *maṇḍala*) and to point out the significance of the relationships of the parts of such a diagram according to universal tradition and more particularly in accordance with the formulation of the *Rg Veda*. Take a piece of blank paper of any dimensions, mark a point anywhere upon it, and with this point as centre draw two concentric circles of any radius, but one much less than the other; draw any radius from the centre to the outer circumference. With exception of the centre, which as point is necessarily without dimension, note that every part of our diagram is merely representative; that is, the number of circles may be indefinitely increased, and the number of radii likewise, each circle thus filled up becoming at last a plane continuum, the extended ground of any given world or state of being; for our purpose we are considering only two such worlds—mythologically speaking, Heaven and Earth, or psychologically, the worlds of subject and object—as forming together the world or cosmos, typical of any particularized world which may be thought of as partial within it. Finally, our diagram may be thought of either as consisting of two concentric circles with their common radii and one common centre, or as the diagram of a wheel, with its felly, nave, spokes, and axle-point.

Now in the first place, as a geometrical symbol, that is to say with respect to measure or numeration, our diagram represents the logical relationships of the concepts naught or zero, innumerable unity, and indefinite multiplicity; the blank (*śūnya*) surface having no numerical significance; the central point (*indru*, *bindu*) being an

incommensurable unity (incommensurable, *advaita*, because there cannot be conceived a second centre); and either circumference an endless (*ananta*) series of points, which may be thought of as numbers; the totality (*sarvam*) of the numbered, that is to say individual, points representing the sum of a mathematically infinite series extending from one to "infinity", and conceivable as plus or minus according to the direction of procedure. The whole area (*śarīra*) delimited corresponds to place (*deśa*), a revolution of the circles about their centre corresponds to time (*kāla*). It will be observed further that any radius connects analogous or corresponding points or numbers on the two circumferences<sup>1</sup>; if now we suppose the radius of one or both circles indefinitely reduced, which brings us to the central point as limiting concept (that is also "as it was in the beginning"), it is evident that even this point can only be thought of as a plenum of all the numbers represented on either circumference.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, this point, at the same time that it represents an incommensurable unity, and as we have just seen, a plenum, must also be thought of as representing, that is as the symbol of, zero; for two reasons—(1) inasmuch as the concept to which it refers is by definition without place and without dimensions, and therefore non-existent, and (2) the mathematically infinite series, thought of as both plus and minus according to direction, cancel out where all directions meet in common focus.

So far as I know, Indian literature does not provide a specific exegesis exactly corresponding to what is given in the preceding paragraph. What we do find in the metaphysical and religious traditions is a corresponding usage of the symbol of the Wheel (primarily the, or a wheel of the, solar chariot), and it is in this connection that we first meet with some of the most significant of those terms which are later on employed by the mathematicians. In *Rg Veda* i, 153, 6; i, 164, 2, 11, 13, 14, and 48; *Atharva Veda*, x, 8, 4-7; *Kauṣītaki Br.*, xx, 1; *Jaiminīya Up. Br.*, i, 35; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, i, 5, 15; *Svetāśvatara Up.*, i, 4; *Praśna Up.*, vi, 5-6; and like texts, the Year as an everlasting sequence is thought of as an unwasting wheel of life, a revolving wheel of the Angels, in which all things have their being and are manifested in succession; "none of its spokes is last in order", *Rg Veda*, v, 85, 5. The parts of the wheel are named as follows: *āṇi*,

<sup>1</sup> The familiar principle "as above, so below" is illustrated here.

<sup>2</sup> The notion of exemplarism is expressed here, with respect to number or mathematical individuality.

the axle-point within the nave (note that the axle causes revolution, but does not itself revolve); *kha*, *nābhi*, the nave (usually as space within the hub, occasionally as the hub itself); *ara*, spoke, connecting hub and felly; *nemi*, *pari*, the felly. It should be observed that *nābhi*, from root *nabh*, to expand, is also "navel"; similarly in anthropomorphic formulation, "navel" corresponds to "space" (*Maitri Up.*, vi, 6); in *Rg Veda*, the cosmos is constantly thought of as "expanded" (root *pin*) from this chthonic centre.

Certain passages indicating the metaphysical significance of the terms *āni*, *kha*, and *nābhi* in the *Rg Veda* may now be cited. It should be premised that we find here in connection with the constant use of the wheel symbol, and absence of a purely geometrical formulation, the term *āni* employed to express ideas later on referred to by the words *indu* or *bindu*.<sup>1</sup> Vedic *āni*, being the axle-point within the nave of the wheel, and on which the wheel revolves, corresponds exactly to Dante's *il punto dello stelo al cui la prima rota va dintorno*, *Paradiso*, xiii, 11-12. The metaphysical significance of the *āni* is fully brought out in *Rg Veda*, i, 35, 6 *ānim na rathyam amṛta adhi tasthuḥ*, "as on the axle-point of the chariot-wheel are actually-existent the undying (Angels or intellectual principles)"; which also supplies the answer to the well-known problem, "How many Angels can stand on the point of a needle?" More often the nave of the wheel, rather than the axle-point specifically, is treated as its centre; nor need this confuse us if we reflect that just as under limiting conditions (indefinite reduction of the radius, or when the central point has been identified but the circle not yet drawn) the centre represents the circle, so under similar conditions (metaphysically in *principio*) the axle-point implies the nave or even the whole wheel—the point without dimension, and a principal space not yet expanded (or as the *Rg Veda* would express it, "closed") being the same in reference. The nave then, *kha* or *nābhi* of the world wheel is regarded as the receptacle and fountain of all order, formative ideas, and goods: for example, ii, 28, 5, *rdhyāma te varuṇa kham ṛtasya* "may we, O Varuṇa, win thy nave of Law"; viii, 41, 6, where in Trita Āptya "all oracles (*kāvyā*) are set as is the nave within the wheel" (*cakre nābhīr iva*); iv, 28, where Indra

<sup>1</sup> *Indu* occurs in the *Rg Veda* as "drop" in connection with Soma; in *Atharva Veda*, vii, 109, 6, as "point on a die"; and grammatically as the designation of *Anusūra*. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, vi, 9, 18-20 is of interest; *indara iva hi pitarah mana iva*, i.e. "the Patriarchs are as it were drops (*indu* in pl.), as it were the intellectual principle". In *Rg Veda*, vi, 44, 22, *Indu* is evidently Soma; in vii, 54, 2, *Vāstospati*.

opens the closed or hidden naves or rocks (*apikhitā* . . . *khāni* in verse 1, *apikhitāni aśnā* in verse 5) and thus releases the Seven Rivers of Life.<sup>1</sup> In v, 32, 1, where Indra breaks open the Fountain of Life (*utsam*) this is again an emptying out of the hollows (*khāni*), whereby the fettered floods are released.

According to an alternative formulation, all things are thought of as *ante principium* shut up within, and in *principio* as proceeding from, a common ground, rock, or mountain (*budhna*, *adri*, *pervata*, etc.): this ground, thought of as resting island-like within the undifferentiated sea of universal possibility (x, 89, 4, where the waters pour *sagarasya budhnāt*), is merely another aspect of our axle-point (*āpi*), regarded as the primary assumption toward which the whole potentiality of existence is focussed by the primary acts of intellection and will. This means that *a priori* undimensioned space (*kha*, *ākāśa*, etc.) rather underlies and is the mother of the point, than that the latter has an independent origin; and this accords with the logical order of thought, which proceeds from potentiality to actuality, non-being to being. This ground or point is in fact the "rock of ages" (*aśmany anante*, i, 130, 3; *adrim acyutam*, vi, 17, 5). Here *ante principium* Agni lies occulted (*guhā santam*, i, 141, 3, etc.) as Ahi Budhnya, "in the ground of space, concealing both his ends" (*budhne rajaso* . . . *guhāmāno antā*, iv, 1, 11, where it may be noted that *guhāmāno antā* is tantamount to *ananta*, literally "end-less", "in-finite," "eternal"), and hence he is called "chthonic" (*nābhir agni prithivyā*, i, 59, 2, etc.), and first born in this ground (*jāyata prathamah* . . . *budhne*, iv, 1, 11), he stands erect, Janus-like, at the parting of the ways (*ayor ha skambha* . . . *pathām visarge*, x, 5, 6); hence he gets his chthonic steeds and other treasures (*āsvabudhnā*, x, 8, 3; *budhnyā vasūni*, vii, 6, 7). It is only when this rock is cleft that the hidden kine are freed, the waters flow (i, 62, 3, where Brhaspati *bhinad adrim* and *vidad gāh*; v, 41, 12, *śrṅgante āpaḥ* . . . *adreḥ*). This is, moreover, a centre without place, and hence when the Waters have come forth, that is when the cosmos

<sup>1</sup> The Rivers, of course, represent ensembles of possibility (hence they are often spoken of as "maternal") with respect to a like number of "worlds", or planes of being, as in i, 22, 16 *prithivyā sapta dhūmabhiḥ*. Our terms *kha*, *aśna*, etc., are necessarily employed in the plural when the "creation" is envisaged with respect to the cosmos not as a single "world", but as composed of two, three, or seven originally unmanifested but now to be conceptually distinguished "worlds"; the solar chariot having one, two, three, or seven wheels accordingly. It is perhaps because the chariot of the Year is more often than not thought of as two-wheeled (Heaven and Earth) and therefore provided with two analogous axle-points that *āpi* was not later employed as a verbal symbol of "one".



has come to be, one asks as in x, 111, 8, "where is their beginning (*agram*), where their ground (*budhnaḥ*), where now, ye Waters, your innermost centre?" (*madhyam . . . antaḥ*).<sup>1</sup>

Thus metaphysically, in the symbolism of the Wheel, the surface—blank (*śūnya*) in the initial non-being (*asad*) of any formulation (*samkalpa*)—represents the truly infinite (*aditi*) and maternal possibility of being; the axle-point or nave, exemplary being (*viśvam ekam*, *Rg Veda*, iii, 54, 8 = integral omnipresence); the actual construction, a mentally accomplished partition of being into existences; each spoke, the integration of an individual as *nāma-rūpa*, that is as archetypal inwardly and phenomenal outwardly; the felly, the principle of multiplicity (*viśumatva*). Or employing a more theological terminology: the undetermined surface represents the Godhead (*aditi*, *parabrahman*, *tamas*, *apah*); the axle-point or immovable rock, God (*ūditya*, *aparabrahman*, *īśvara*, *jyoti*); the circle of the nave, Heaven (*svarga*); any point on the circumference of the nave, an intellectual principle (*nāma*, *deva*); the felly, Earth with its analogous (*anurūpa*) phenomena (*viśvā rūpāni*); the construction of the wheel, the sacrificial act of creation (*karma*,<sup>2</sup> *ṣṛṣṭi*), its abstraction the act of dissolution (*laya*). Furthermore, the course (*gati*) of any individual upon the pathway of a spoke is in the beginning centrifugal (*pravṛtta*) and then again centripetal (*nivṛtta*), until the centre (*madhya*) is found; and when the centre of individual being coincides with the centre of the wheel, he is emancipate (*mukta*), the extension of the wheel no longer involving him in local motion, at the same time that its entire circuit now becomes for him one picture (*jagaccitra*)<sup>3</sup> seen in simultaneity, who as "round-about-seer", *paridraṣṭṛ*, now "overlooks everything", *viśvam abhicaṣṭe*, i, 164, 44.

In order to understand the use of terms for "space" (*kha*, *ākāśa*, *antarikṣa*, *śūnya*, etc.)<sup>4</sup> as verbal symbols of zero (which represents privation of number, and is yet a matrix of number in the sense

<sup>1</sup> *Madhya* is "middle" in all senses, and also algebraically "mean". For the metaphysical values, cf. in the *Rg Veda madhye samudre* and *uterasya madhye = sindh-ūnām upodaye* as the place of Agni or Varuna and in *Chāndogya Up.*, iii, 11, 1 *ekata madhye sthāne* "single in the midmost station".

<sup>2</sup> For the construction of the wheel, cf. *Rg Veda*, viii, 77, 3, *akkhidat kha arāṇ iva khadayū* and discussion in my *Angel and Titan, an essay in Vedic ontology*, to appear in the *JACS*, 1934.

<sup>3</sup> *Saṅkarācārya, Svātmanirūpaṇa*, 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Śūnya* does not appear in the *Rg Veda*, though *śūnam* occurs in the sense of "privation".

0 = x - x),<sup>1</sup> it must be realized that *ākāśa*, etc., represent primarily a concept not of physical space, but of a purely principal space without dimension, though the matrix of dimension.<sup>2</sup> For example, "all these beings arise out of the space (*ākāśād samapadyanta*) and return into the space (*ākāśam pratyastam yanti*). For the space is older than they, and is their last resort (*parāyaṇam*)," *Chāndogya Up.*, i, 9, 1; "space is the name of the permissive cause of individual-integration," *ākāśo vai nāma nāmarūpayor nirvahitā*, *Chāndogya Up.*, viii, 14; and just as Indra "opens the closed spaces", *apikhitā khāmi*, *Ṛg Veda*, iv, 28, 1, so the Self "awakens this rational (cosmos) from that space", *ākāśat eṣa khalu idam cetamātrām bodhayati*, *Maitri Up.*, vi, 17, in other words *ex nihilo fit*. Furthermore, the locus of this "space" is "within you": "what is the intrinsic aspect of extension is the supernal fiery energy in the vacance of the inner man", *tat svarūpam nabhasaḥ kha antarbhūtasya yat param tejaḥ*, *Maitri Up.*, vii, 11<sup>a</sup>; and this same "space in the heart" (*antarhṛdaya ākāśa*) is the locus (*āyatana*, *veśma*, *nāḍa*, *kośa*, etc.) where are deposited in secret (*guhā nihitam*) all that is ours already or may be ours on any plane (*loka*) of experience (*Chāndogya Up.*, viii, 1, 1-3). At the same time, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, v, 1, this "ancient space" (*kha*) is identified with Brahman and with the Spirit (*kham brahma*, *kham pūrāṇam*, *vāyuram kham iti*), and this Brahman is at the same time a plenum or pleroma (*pūrṇa*) such that "when plenum is taken from plenum, plenum yet remains".<sup>4</sup>

Here we get precisely that equivalence of *kha* and *pūrṇa*, void and plenum, which was remarked upon as noteworthy in the verbal notation of the mathematicians. The thought, moreover, is almost literally repeated when Bhāskara in the *Bījagaṇita* (ed. Calcutta, 1917, pp. 17-18) defines the term *ananta* thus, *ayam ananto rūṣiḥ khahara ity ucyate. Asmin rūṣiḥ khahare na rāsāvapi praviṣṭesvapi nīkṣeṣu bahuvapi syāt layasṭikāle 'nante 'cyute bhātagaṇeṣu yadvat*, that is "This fraction of which the denominator is zero, is called an infinite quantity. In this quantity consisting of that which has cipher for its divisor, there is

<sup>1</sup> Observe that the dual series of plus and minus numbers represents "pairs of opposites", *drandran*.

<sup>2</sup> "Transzendenter Raum der Ewigkeit ist der Ākāśa vor allem auch da, wo er als Ausgangspunkt, als Schöpfungsgrund und als Ziel, als A und O der Welt angeschaut wird." Scharfbräu, *Die Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur*, 1932, p. 56; "size which has no size, though the principle of size," Eckhart, i, 114.

<sup>3</sup> *Nabha*, from root *nabh* "to expand", etc., as also in *nābhi* "navel" and "navo". A secondary sense of *nabh* is "to destroy".

<sup>5</sup> This text occurs in almost the same form in *Atharva Veda*, x, 8, 29.

no alteration, though many be added or subtracted ; just as there is no alteration in the Infinite Immovable (*anante acyute*)<sup>1</sup> at the time of the emanation or resolution of worlds, though hosts of beings are emanated or withdrawn ”.

It may be observed further that while in the *Rg Veda* we “ do not find the use of names of things to denote numbers, we do find instances of numbers denoting things ” (Singh, loc. cit., p. 56). In vii, 103, 1, for example, the number “ twelve ” denotes the “ year ” ; in x, 71, 3, “ seven ” stands for “ rivers of life ” or “ states of being ”. It is thus merely a converse usage of words when the mathematicians make use of the names of things to denote numbers ; to take the most obvious examples, it is just what should be expected, when we find that one is expressed by such words as *ādi*, *indu*, *abja*, *prihvī* ; two by such as *yama*, *aśvinā* ; three by such as *agni*, *vaiśvānara*, *haranetra*, *bhūrūna* ; four by *veda*, *diś*, *yuga*, *samudra*, etc. ; five by *prāṇa* ; six by *ṛtu* ; and so forth. It is not to be understood, of course, that the number-words are all of Vedic origin ; many suggest rather an epic vocabulary, e.g. *pāṇḍava* for five, while others, such as *netra* for two have an obvious and secular source. In certain cases an ambiguity arises, for example *loka* as representing either three or fourteen, *diś* as representing four or ten, but this can be readily understood ; in the last-mentioned case for example, the quarters have been thought of in one and the same cosmology as either four, or if we count up eight quarters and half-quarters, adding the zenith and nadir, as ten. Taken in its entirety as cited by Singh, the numerical vocabulary can hardly antedate the beginning of the Christian era (we find that ten is represented amongst other words by *avatāra* ; six by *rāga*).

If we attempt to account for the forms of the ideograms of numbers in a similar fashion, we shall be on much less certain ground. A few suggestions may nevertheless be made. For example, a picture writing of the notion “ axle-point ” could only have been a “ point ”, and of the concept “ nave ” could only have been a “ round 0 ”, and both of these signs are employed at the present day to indicate zero. The upright line that represents “ one ” may be regarded as a pictogram of the axis that penetrates the naves of the dual wheels, and thus at once unites and separates Heaven and Earth. The Devanāgarī and Arabic signs for three correspond to the trident (*triśūla*) which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *asmany anante* and *adrim acyutam* cited above with the meaning “ rock of Ages ”.

is known to have been from very ancient times an Agni or Śiva. *A priori* it might be expected that a sign for "four" should be cruciform following the notion of extension in the directions of the four airts (*diś*) ; and we find in fact in Saka script that "four" is represented by a sign X. and that the Devanāgarī may well be thought of as a cursive form derived from a like prototype. Even if there be sufficient foundation for such suggestions, it is hardly likely that a detailed interpretation of ideograms of numbers above four could now be deduced. We can only say that the foregoing suggestions as to the nature of numerical ideograms rather support than counter the views of those who seek to derive the origins of symbolism, script, and speech from the concept of the circuit of the Year.

It is, however, beyond question that many of the verbal symbols—the case of *kha* for "zero" is conspicuous—used by Indian mathematicians had an earlier currency, that is to say before a development of mathematical science as such, in a more universal, metaphysical context. That a scientific terminology should thus have been formulated on the basis of a metaphysical terminology, and by no means without a full consciousness of what was being done (as the citation from Bhāskara clearly shows), is not only in accordance with all that we know of the natural course of Indian thought, which takes the universal for granted and proceeds to the particular, but also admirably illustrates what from a traditionally orthodox point of view would be regarded as constituting a natural and right relationship of any special science to the metaphysical background of all sciences. One is reminded of words in the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, dated in 1879, on the Restoration of Christian Philosophy, as follows: "Hence, also, the physical sciences, which now are held in so much repute, and everywhere draw to themselves a singular admiration, because of the wonderful discoveries made in them, would not only take no harm from a restoration of the philosophy of the ancients, but would derive great protection from it. For the fruitful exercise and increase of these sciences it is not enough that we consider facts and contemplate Nature. When the facts are well known we must rise higher, and give our thoughts with great care to understanding the nature of corporeal things, as well as to the investigation of the laws which they obey, and of the principles from which spring their order, their unity in variety, and their common likeness in diversity. It is marvellous what power and light and help are given to these investigations by Scholastic philosophy, if it be wisely used . . . there

is no contradiction, truly so called, between the certain and proved conclusions of recent physics, and the philosophical principles of the Schools." These words by no means represent a merely Christian apologetic, but rather enunciate a generally valid procedure, in which the theory of the universal acts at the same time with suggestive force and normatively with respect to more specific applications. We may reflect on the one hand that the decimal system, with which the concept of "zero" is inseparably connected, there in India was developed<sup>1</sup> by scholars who were very surely, as their own words prove, deeply versed in and dependent upon an older and traditional metaphysical interpretation of the meaning of the world; and on the other, that had it not been for its boasted and long-maintained independence of traditional metaphysics (in which the principles, if not the facts of relativity are explicit)<sup>2</sup> modern scientific thought might have reached much sooner than has actually been the case a scientifically valid formulation and proof of such characteristic notions as those of an expanding universe and the finity of physical space. What has been outlined above with respect to the special science of mathematics represents a principle no less valid in the case of the arts, as could easily be demonstrated at very great length. For example, what is implied by the statement in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vi, 27, that "it is in imitation of the angelic works of art that any work of art such as a garment or chariot is made here"<sup>3</sup> is actually to be seen in the hieratic arts of every traditional culture, and in the characteristic motifs of the surviving folk-arts everywhere. Or in the case of literature: epic (Volsunga Saga, Beowulf, the Cuchullain and Arthurian cycles, Mahābhārata, Buddhacarita, etc.) and fairy-tale (notably for example, Jack and the Beanstalk) repeat with infinitely varied local colouring the one story of *jātavidyā*, Genesis.<sup>4</sup> The whole

<sup>1</sup> "The place system of the Babylonians . . . fell on fertile soil only among the Hindus . . . algebra, which is distinctly Hindu . . . uses the principle of local value" (M. J. Babb, in *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 51, p. 52). That the "Arabic" numerals are ultimately of Indian origin is now generally admitted; what their adoption meant for the development of European science need not be emphasized.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Āryabhaṭa, *Āryabhaṭīya*, iv, 9, "As a man in a boat going forward sees a stationary object moving backward, just so at Laṅkā a man sees the stationary asterisms moving backward."

<sup>3</sup> See my *Transformation of Nature in Art*, 1934, p. 8 and note 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Siecke, *Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels*, Strassburg, 1892; and Jeremias, "Die Menschheitsbildung ist ein einheitliches Ganzes, und in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der einen Geistesprache," *Altorientalische Geistes-kultur*, ed. 2, p. x.

point of view can indeed be recognized in the Indian classification of traditional literature, in which the treatises (*śāstras*) on auxiliary sciences such as grammar, astronomy, law,<sup>1</sup> medicine, architecture, etc., are classed as Vedāṅga, "limbs or powers of the Veda," or as Upaveda, "accessory with respect to the Veda"; as Guénon expresses it, "Toute science apparaissait ainsi comme un prolongement de la doctrine traditionnelle elle-même, comme une de ses applications . . . une connaissance inférieure si l'on veut, mais pourtant encore une véritable connaissance," while, *per contra*, "Les fausses synthèses, qui s'efforcent de tirer le supérieur de l'inférieur . . . ne peuvent jamais être qu'hypothétiques . . . En somme, la science, en méconnaissant les principes et en refusant de s'y rattacher, se prive à la fois de la plus haute garantie qu'elle puisse recevoir et de la plus sûre direction qui puisse lui être donnée . . . elle devient douteuse et chancelante . . . ce sont là des caractères généraux de la pensée proprement moderne; voilà à quel degré d'abaissement intellectuel en est arrivé l'Occident, depuis qu'il est sorti des voies qui sont normales au reste de l'humanité" <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Even the "Machiavellian" *Artha-śāstra* (i, 3) proceeds from the principle *śradhurmah svargāya ānantyāya ca, tasya atikrame lokah saṅkharād uccidyeta* "vocation leads to heaven and eternity; in case of a digression from this norm, the world is brought to ruin by confusion".

<sup>2</sup> René Guénon, *Orient et Occident*, Paris, 1930 (extracts from ch. ii).



## Balti Proverbs

Collected by A. F. C. READ

THE land of Baltistan lies in Kashmir State territory beyond the Himalayan range and to the north of the province of Ladakh. It is occasionally called Little Tibet, but nowadays it is usually referred to by the State as that part of Ladakh which comes under the jurisdiction of the Skardu Tehsil. Some hundred thousand people speak the Balti language, which in some instances would appear to resemble more the written Tibetan than any spoken dialect of that language.

Proverbs and sayings are in daily use even among the most uneducated, and they are usually referred to as *Mot-i mi-i tam-lo*, i.e. sayings of the men of olden times.

Below are given fifteen of the most common.

*Chhu med yul-i hrikong chhogo,*  
*zan med yul-i bre chhogo.*

The canals (are) large in a waterless land, the measures (are) large in a land without grain  
*zan* = general term for prepared cereals; *bre* = wooden measure of about two pounds.

*Phyanphi myu la yul med,*  
*khrosphi myu la zan med.*

The wanderer has no land, (and) the sulky one no food.

*Billa medpi nangping byua*  
*khang-go.*

The mouse is the head in a house without a cat. *khang-go* = the head of the house.

*Mi-i tam la chhes na rang tam*  
*chhu.*

If one believed any man's word, one's own word would be as water.

(Used in the sense that: One's word is valueless if only a repetition of hearsay.)

*Longko gang na hyu hyu.*

When the inner stomach is full then whistle. (If one gets what one wants then what matter anything or anyone else.)

*longka* = second stomach of animals, commonly employed to imply the seat of personal satisfaction. *hyu* = whistling.



*Spyangku rgas na sang lu thob.*

Although the wolf grow old he gets the sheep. (A rogue is always a rogue in spite of his age.)

*Rang-yul khser-i gomba.*

In the homeland, steps are golden.

*Sa byungmi rdzes, kha byungmi tam.*

The footprint which comes out of the earth, the word which comes out of the mouth. (A man is known by his words.)

*Skyang traq na brang ekhoq.*

If the disobedient (son, boy,) increase, then the chest breaks. ("A child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame," Prov. xxix, 15.)

*Rgod mang la ngu mang.*

Much laughing (brings) much weeping.

*Hрмаq tam ma zer, hрмаq zan zo.*

Don't speak when in a crowd, eat its food. (The less he spoke the more he heard.)

*Kasman-i stagji-kha, hashaq-i ihsang bed.*

The magpie builds his nest on a desolate tree. (Tyranny can only be exercised over the helpless.)

*Sning minma na hlwa hrkwed.*

When one gives the heart they steal the stomach. (Give him an inch and he'll take an ell.)

*Mi-sar khide bes ma byos, khi-sar khide ling ma byos.*

Don't travel with a new (inexperienced) man, don't go hunting with a new dog.

*Lalig-i thik na kangma.*

The foot should keep within the size of the quilt. (Spend and think according to your income.)

(N'étends pas tes pieds au delà de la couverture.) *lalig* = a kind of patchwork quilt.

#### OTHERS

*Thyu la thagpa.*

To a string a rope. (To make mountains out of molehills.)

*Rang-yul bjed na pha-skad ma bjed.*

Though the homeland be forgotten, the mother tongue never.

*Hrmaq loq na hyaq rdob.*

If the crowd so desire the yak must be slaughtered. (When in Rome do as Rome does.)

*Shu phyungmi bar la ngus na, chhu borbi bar la rgod; shu phyungmi bar la rgod na, chhu borbi bar la ngus.*

Weep when making the water track, and you'll laugh when the water flows down; laugh when you make the water track, and you'll weep when the water flows down.

*shu* = earth embankments to control the water in irrigation.

(Care in preparation is rewarded by the work standing all tests.) Also used in reference to the upbringing of a child.

*Mi manging tam ma zer, chhu manging rab ma byos.*

Don't converse in a crowd, don't ford in deep water. (Don't attempt an impossibility.)

*Byabu khnam la, zanmo sa la.*

The bird's in the sky, the grain on the earth. (One cannot be nourished by a supply afar off.)

*Sha kalāl, sha-chhu harām.*

The meat is lawful, but the gravy unlawful. (One is an object of convenience, esteemed and despised as the occasion demands.)

*Golong chhu-i duksa, anmed nad-i duksa.*

A hollow for water and a weak one for sickness. (One cannot expect more than the particular circumstance or person is capable of giving.)

*duksa*, from *dukpa* (to remain), and *sa*, place, etc.

*Rang da rang la loqpat.*

From self it will certainly come back to self. (Paid back in one's own coin.)

*Chhu khyerbī mī rāi la khril.*

A drowning man clutches even a sword. (A drowning man clutches a straw.)

*Kho zose medpa ngarmo brod  
na shes.*

Without having eaten the bitter, there is no appreciation of the sweet taste.

*Sning la tshik med na mik la  
fshik med.*

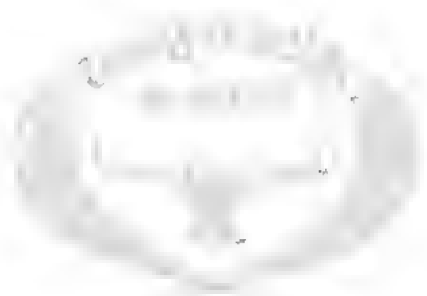
When there is no feeling in the heart there is nothing shown in the eye. (Sympathy is no use except it be from the heart.)

*'Amal na rongkhang, hikmat na  
rozi.*

Good works but bring the grave, but skill brings a living.

*Gut phono patse lagpi lekhar  
rgyal.*

An alpenstock is better than a half-witted brother.



## The Four Classes of Urdu Verbs

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

FROM the point of view of causality, Urdu verbs may be divided theoretically into four classes, according to their form : Intrans., Trans., First Causal, Second Causal. In this note I have kept before myself the difference between the form and the meaning of a verb ; but, though fully cognizant of what some grammarians say about "verbs used transitively or intransitively", I find it more convenient in practice to say simply "intr. verb" and "trans. verb". As I am here not writing a treatise on general grammar, but merely making a few remarks on Urdu verbs, I will content myself with defining roughly the terms used : intr. verb, one which does not take a real object ; trans. verb, one which can take a real object (so-called cognate objects being ignored).

A trans. verb is trans. whether the object is expressed or not, but a few verbs may be genuinely both trans. and intr. Thus in English : he went to change his clothes (trans.) ; he went to change (trans., object suppressed) ; true friends do not change (intrans.).

So in Urdu *palatnā* and *badalnā* can be truly intransitive as well as trans. All trans. verbs in Urdu can be used with obj. suppressed, but the suppression of the object leaves them trans.

Intrans. verbs may be further subdivided into ordinary intrans. and purely neuter, as in the phrases : he turned-out of his room for me, and he turned-out a thief.

Some Urdu verbs have no causals in use (I went into this in *Bull. S.O.S.*, v, iii, 521) ; of a few it may be said that they have three. In practice possibly the most useful method of describing them is that mentioned above, viz. calling the causal of an intr. verb its trans. ; or if we start with the trans. verb, we may call the intrans. verb a middle or passive.

*Important General Rule.*—So far as meaning goes, trans. verbs have no causals. The so-called causals of trans. verbs are causals of their passives.

We may then put verbs in four columns :—

(1) intr. (2) trans. (3) so-called first causal. (4) so-called second causal. Very few verbs appear in all four columns, some appear in only one.

Column 1 contains all truly intrans. verbs.

Column 2 contains trans. verbs (i.e. verbs which can take a true object, expressed or not). When a verb occurs in cols. 1 and 2, the form in col. 2 is usually the trans. of that in col. 1, but generally there is some change of meaning, with the result that two is not a real trans. of one.

Column 2 might be called the causal of col. 1, but the relationship is, perhaps, more conveniently stated as intr. and trans., or middle and active. At this point there are two points to be noted :—

(i) In some verbs the same idea runs through all forms, e.g. *ladnā* ; all the forms contain the idea of loading ; so *bannā*, making or being made. Other verbs, however, do not keep to one idea ; thus *dikhnā* “be visible” goes on to *dekhnā* “look at” or “see” ; *dikhānā* “show”—three distinct ideas.

(ii) When the same idea is retained, cols. 3 and 4 are practically the same in meaning, e.g. *ladānā* and *ladvānā* mean the same, whereas *dikhānā* and *dikhvānā* are quite different. See below.

It is necessary to have a clear idea of the relationship between the four columns.

Col. 1. Let us call the nominative of these verbs “x”. Being intr. they have no obj.

Cols. 2, 3, 4. Let us call the noms. of these verbs A, B, and C respectively.

*ladnā* “be loaded”.

Col. 1. *asbāb lad rahā hai* “the furniture, x, is being loaded”.

Col. 2. *naukar asbāb lād rahā hai* “the servant, A, is loading the furniture”.

Col. 3 or 4. *mālik asbāb ladvā rahā hai* “the master, B, is getting the furniture loaded”. *ladvānā* does not mean cause to load.

“x” which is the nom. of col. 1 verbs, is the obj., and the only obj. of verbs in cols. 2, 3, 4.

A, which is the nom. or agent of 2, cannot become the obj. of 3 or 4.

B, the nom. or agent of 3, cannot become the obj. of 4.

A, B, C are therefore never found as direct objects.

Col. 3 verbs are usually said to be causals of col. 2 verbs ; e.g. that *banvānā* is the causal of *banānā* and means “cause to make”. Both statements are erroneous. *banvānā* is the causal of *banānā* and means “cause to be made”. If it meant “cause to make” its obj. would be A, “cause A to make” ; on the contrary its obj. is “x”, and it means “cause x to be made by A”.

Col. 3 verbs fulfil two functions: they are (a) causals of col. 1 through the instrumentality of A; (b) causals of the passive of col. 2.

So we get *bannā* "become made"; *banānā* "make" (directly, no outside party); *banvānā* "cause to be made through A". It does not mean "cause to make".

The nom. of *bannā* is always the obj. of *banānā* and *banvānā*. The object of *banvānā* is not A, the maker; it is x, the thing made.

Similarly, if we put *banvānā* in the passive, its nom. is x, the nom. of *bannā*, and this same x is the nom. of the passive of *banānā*.

*ṣandūq abhī nahī banā* "the box has not yet become made".

*ṣandūq abhī nahī banvāē geū* "the box has not yet been made" (by A, the carpenter).

*ṣandūq abhī nahī banvāē geū* "the box has not yet been ordered (by B, the master) to be made" (by A, the carpenter).

But we can never say *us ne baḥḥāī ko banvāē* "he caused the carpenter to make"; or *baḥḥāī banvāē geū* "the carpenter was caused to make".

Preposition of agency. In the *Bull.*, loc. cit., I discussed this point. It may be either *se* or *ko*. Col. 3 verbs mean "cause something to be done by A". This *by* is sometimes *se* and sometimes *ko*. The problem is rather intricate. These col. 3 verbs are causals of the passive of col. 2 verbs. Now, if we study the col. 2 verbs, which are transitive, we note that practically all of them may be compounded with *lenā* or *denā*, some with both. *lenā* suggests a much closer connection than *denā* between the agent and the act.

When we come to col. 3, where we find the causals of the passive of the col. 2 verbs, we see that when the col. 2 verb is a *lenā* verb the corresponding verb in col. 3 has hardly any true causality. The idea is rather that something is done by A with the help of B. The agency is consequently expressed by the dative *ko*.

We note, further, that sometimes they are practically new verbs, containing a new thought, e.g. *dikhānā*, from *dekh lenā*, theoretically means "cause to be seen"; in reality it means simply "show"; *sunānā* means "relate or read out or recite (to someone)", not, strictly speaking, "cause to be heard."

*B ne A ko kapre pinhāe* "B helped A on with his clothes, clothed him"; *pahin lenā* "put on".

*B ne A ko dāstān sunāi* "B told A a story"; *sun lenā* "listen".

*B ne A ko sharbat pīlāe* "B gave A a sweet drink"; *pī lenā* "drink".

*B ne A ko kuch likhācā* or *likhācā* "B dictated something to A";  
*likh lenā* "write for oneself".

*B ne A se kuch likhvācā* "B got something written by A"; *likh denā* "write for someone else".

It is quite natural that the "causal" of a *lenā* verb should not contain any idea of real causality, for a *lenā* verb means doing something for oneself; consequently its "causal", actually the causal of its passive, does not mean "cause it to be done", which is almost meaningless, seeing that the person is doing it for himself; it means "help or enable it to be done", as in the examples above.

### EXAMPLES

Col. 4 often differs only in form from col. 3, and it is generally preferred when the idea of getting something done by an outside party is prominent. Thus *kām karvānā* is preferable to *kām karānā*, but the meaning is the same. When col. 4 differs from col. 3 we have the following:—

Col. 4 is (a) the causal of 1, through agency of A and help of B; (b) the causal of passive of 2 through help of B; (c) causal of passive of 3. In each case the object is x, never A or B.

Col. 4 is not the causal of the active of 2 or 3.

Col. 4 differs in meaning from col. 3, when col. 3 (which means that B causes something to be done *by* A) uses *ko* to express *by*. See above.

The following examples show how the nominative, x, of class 1 verbs, which are intrans., becomes the object of classes 2, 3, and 4. They show, too, that all so-called causals of trans. verbs are causals of the passive of those verbs, never of the verbs themselves.

### Examples

	Nom.		Nom.	Object
1		2		
(a) <i>dikh</i>	x	<i>dekh</i>	A	x
(b)		<i>sun</i>	A	x
(c)		<i>pahin</i>	A	x
(d)		<i>pī</i>	A	x
(e) <i>kat</i>	x	<i>kūt</i>	A	x
(f) <i>lad</i>	x	<i>lād</i>	A	x
(g) <i>bandh</i>	x	<i>bādh</i>	A	x
(h) <i>kaṭ</i>	x	<i>kāṭ</i>	A	x

3			4		
	Nom.	Object		Nom.	Object
(a) <i>dikhā</i>	.	B x	<i>dikhvā</i>	.	B, C x
(b) <i>sunā</i>	.	B x	<i>sunvā</i>	.	C x
(c) <i>pīnhā</i>	.	B x	<i>pāhīnvā</i>	.	C x
(d) <i>pītā</i>	.	B x	<i>pīlvā</i>	.	C x
(e) <i>katā</i>	.	B x	<i>katvā</i>	.	B x
(f) <i>ladā</i>	.	B x	<i>ladvā</i>	.	B x
(g) <i>bandhā</i>	.	B x	<i>bandhvā</i>	.	B x
(h) <i>kaṭā</i>	.	B x	<i>kaṭvā</i>	.	B x

- (a) 1, x is visible ; 2, A looks at x ; 3, B shows x to A ; 4, B causes x to be looked at by A. or C causes x to be shown to A by B.
- (b) 2, A listens to x ; 3, B relates x to A ; 4, C causes x to be related to A by B.
- (c) 2, A puts on x ; 3, B helps x to be put on by A ; 4, C causes x to be put on by A through B's help.
- (d) 2, A drinks x ; 3, B gives x to A to be drunk ; 4, C causes x to be given by B to A to be drunk.
- (e) 1, x is spun ; 2, A spins x ; 3 and 4, B causes x to be spun by A.
- (f) 1, x is loaded ; 2, A loads x ; 3 and 4, B causes x to be loaded by A.
- (g) 1, x is tied ; 2, A ties x ; 3 and 4, B causes x to be tied by A (*bandhānā* is hardly ever used in modern Urdu).
- (h) 1, x is cut ; 2, A cuts x ; 3 and 4, B causes x to be cut by A.

When one studies the details of individual verbs, puzzling and involved problems arise, but the foregoing outline gives the chief points. On the general question of Indo-Aryan causals verbs Beames, *Comp. Gram.*, iii, 75 ff., may be consulted.





# Iranian Words in the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan

By T. BURROW

**A**JHATE (i.e. *azate*) may be connected with the Avestan *āzāta* "noble", "of noble birth". Cf. also "z'tch in the Sogdian letters "free-born" (Reichelt, *Sogd. Handschriftenreste*, ii, p. 3). Although the documents do not furnish enough material for defining with certainty the meaning of the word, this explanation suits all the passages where it occurs. It is used most frequently as an introductory term in giving lists of witnesses, e.g. 593 *tatra sočhi ajhade jamna cojhbo Dhañena Suṅgi Kuleya* "There the witnesses are people of high rank (or "free-born"), the *cojhbo* Dhañena, Suṅgi, Kuleya, etc." Similarly in 507, 588. It is worth while noticing that *khula putre* is used in a similar formula in 415, though not in exactly the same position. *tatra sočhi jmoti śramamṇa Parvati tivira Buddharāchida, vasu Kolpiṣa, khula putre Lpatga* "There witnesses know this—the monk Parvati, the scribe Buddharāchida, the *vasu* Kolpiṣa, and Lpatga, son of a good family." It was important of course for witnesses to be of good rank (cf. *Yājñavalkya*, ii, 88–9). The meaning suits all the other passages, e.g. 272 *atra cojhbo Somjakena aṭhvae ajhate jamna suṭha abomaia (= abhyavamatam) koremdī* "There the serviceable (*aṭhvae*, i.e. employed in the service of the State) people of high rank very much disobey the *cojhbo* Somjaka".

*gaṃñi*

Only in 357. Also written *kañi* = Iranian *gañj*- "treasure, store". *gaṃñi draṃga* = "treasure-house, store-house". *gaṃñavarā* "keeper of the treasury" also occurs. Both words were borrowed into Sanskrit as *gañja* and *gañjarāra*, and since they occur in works written in the north-west of India (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, e.g. iv, 589, and *Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara*) they must have been current chiefly in that area. This is the only example of *ñj* = *ṇñ* in the documents, but cf. *kuñaru* = *kuñjara* in the Kharoṣṭhi Dh. P.

*draṃga*

In *Ancient Khotan*, p. 402, Stein gives the meaning "frontier-watch station" for *draṃga*, a meaning which he had determined for the word in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (*Chronicle of Kashmir*, ii, p. 291). These places were used for collecting custom's dues from merchants, etc., entering the country (= *gūlma*). The meaning is not exactly that in

the documents, but rather a taxation depôt or office in general, cf. 439. *Bhimaṣena vimñāreti yatha eṣa deviyae gavi paḍichitaḡa, Yave aṭanammi paṣuvala, avi Kuṭana ammaṣa yatma, puna ahumo rayaka gavi picavetu, taha na dhamā eka mamnuṣa paṃca so draṃga dhareti . . . pruchidavo bhutartha eṣa eti draṃga dharidāe siyati, rayaka gavi na kuvi picavidavya, yo draṃga na dharitaḡa siyati taṣa rayaka gavi picavidavo* "Bhimaṣena informs us that he has taken over the queen's cattle, he is keeper of the sheep at Yaṁve aṭanma, he is yatma in charge of the kuṭana corn, and now you are putting the royal cows in his charge: it is not right that one man should hold five or six draṃga's . . . you must enquire whether he really holds so many draṃga's (eti = Pr. ettiya or ete). The king's cattle are not to be put in his charge. They are to be put in the charge of a man who has not held (any other) draṃga's." Compare similar complaints 430, 520. From these passages we might be inclined to take the word in the general sense of "office", "department", such as the office of "keeper of the royal cows", etc. But that the meaning is more specific is shown by passages like 98, *Pḡitaṣa draṃgaṃmi amma mavida* "Corn has been measured into Pḡita's draṃga". Here the draṃga is plainly the building into which the corn was put. Cf. 357, *kañi draṃga* = "store-house". There were special draṃga's for special commodities as appears from 567, *masuṭi draṃgaṃmi* "the wine-draṃga". In the passage quoted in the beginning then, *paṣuvala* must mean not "shepherd" but the person in charge of collecting the revenue from the sheep in Yaṁve aṭana and the draṃga is the local office for that work.

The word may be derived from the Av. *drang-* "to make firm" meaning originally a "fortified post" and then, since revenue was gathered into such places, a taxation department in general.

#### maravara

A title, e.g. 385, *maravara Kuviñeyāṣa paride namata* 1. "1 namata (= Anglo-Indian *numdah*, Stein *Ancient Khotan*, p. 402) from the *maravara* Kuviñeya." The documents do not supply any information as to its exact meaning, but it may = an Iranian *maḡrabara* = "councillor"; *maḡra* would become \**māra* in Saka. Cf. Saka *tāra* "darkness" = *taḡra*. Saka *mandra* is borrowed from Sanskrit. Compare also the Sogdian *m'rkr'k* "magician".

#### darṣ

The verb *darṣ* means "to load" (a camel, etc.). The noun *darṣa* = "a load" (equivalent to *naḍha* which occurs more often) 329, *edaṣa*

ca Opjeyasa hastnami ratra divasa pañca utana masu visarjidayya  
 eka vṛṣa dorso masn milima I khi 1 "And in the hand of this by  
 day or night wine (that can be carried) by five camels must be sent;  
 the load of one camel is 1 milima 1 khi of wine." 431, *eda vosta sṛva*  
*tomgho śñjaena atra Kuhani dōrsida* "All these things were packed by  
 the tomgha Śāja there at Kuhani" 40, *yati . . . dōrsidūgena marisyati*  
*vulaḷa dhoranajū bhmiṣyati* "If it shall die on account of its load, its  
 keeper shall be owing for it."

An Iranian loan-word. Av. *darəz-* "to bind". Saka *dulśū* (2nd  
 plural of \**dulyś* translating *piṇḍī-kr.* Konow, *Saka Studies Vocabulary*).  
 The change from the dental to a cerebral spirant is paralleled in certain  
 native names and words. We find doublets such as *Larsu* and *Larṣu*  
*Koltarsa* and *Koltarṣu*, *tirṣo* (epithet of a horse) and *tirsa*. The *ṣ* quite  
 probably stands for *z* (*darzida*) on the analogy of the other sibilants,  
 when medial, *ś* becoming *j* (*z*) and *s*, *jh* (*z*). In Saka the voicing of  
 internal *ś* is attested by the spelling (*ss* = *ś*, *ś* = *z*, Konow, *Saka*  
*Studies*, p. 38).

### *truṣṣa*

Only in 581, *naṇnuṣa Dhamaśa nama blati Tivira Ramṣotsa ca*  
*truṣṣa kolaṇmi trubhiṣṭha kolaṇmi kraya vikraya kiḍamti* "A man  
 called Dhamaśa and a second the scribe Ramṣotsa in a time of drought,  
 in a time of famine made a transaction of buying and selling." Probably  
 an Iranian *kuška-* "dry" with the Indian prefix *dur-*. If the word  
*kuška-* existed as a loan-word, it would be quite natural to add the  
 prefix *dur-*. The omission of *h-*, the elision of the vowel, and the  
 writing of *t-* for *d-* are all characteristic of the language of the docu-  
 ments. The transition of *-šk-* to *śj* appears also in *muṣṣeṣu* (540)  
 = S. *muška-*. (Professor F. W. Thomas compares English "dry",  
 "drought" from an I.E. *\*dhruǵh-*.)

### *śitiyaṇmi*

The meaning is roughly clear from 67, *mahaṇta nagaraśa doḥkina*  
*śitiyaṇmi bhuma* "land situated to the right of the great city, land  
 on the right side of the great city" = Av. *śiti-* (= *ksiti-*)? One expects  
 as a rule the cerebral *ś* to correspond to Iranian *š*, as in Saka. Perhaps  
 it was palatalized because *-i* tended to be pronounced *yi-* (e.g. *yīyo*  
 = *īyam*). Saka *śśāra* "good" = Sogd. *šyr* may be a parallel (= *ś*  
 out of *sr* = Av. *sṛīra-*?).

It must be borne in mind that the reading *śitiyaṇmi* is not absolutely

certain, it may be *yiti*- (see the account of the alphabet *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, p. 308).

*thavaṃnaḡa*

That *tāvastaḡa* is an Iranian loan-word meaning carpet has already been pointed out by Professor F. W. Thomas (see *Khar. Inscr., Index Verb.*). Connected with it and forming a close parallel with Saka is *thavaṃnaḡa* (also written *thavaṃnae*) *tavanaḡa*. Cf. also *thavaṃna-mae* "made of *thavaṃna*"). It is apparently the same word as appears in Saka as *thauna* "cloth".

*noḡsari*

195. *maṣe noḡsari* "in the month of the new year" Iranian as pointed out by Konow (*navaka-sarəd*). Probably Saka, although the Saka for "year" in the existing documents is *salī* (*-rd*- becoming *l* regularly, Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 29). On the other hand, Saka *ysiri* (Gen.) corresponds to Av. *zərəd*- (as H. W. Bailey suggests to me), so that perhaps final *-rd* became *r* while medial *rd* became *l*. *-sar*- (*-sari* being the Locative Singular inflected according to the Indian type), would thus correspond regularly to the consonantal base Av. *sarəd*-, while *salī* would be equally regularly developed out of an extended base. In Sogdian the *-d* is preserved *srδ*.

*spāṣa*

*spāṣa* seems not to be an official ("spy") but an abstract noun, "the function performed by a *spāṣavaṃna*". The word *spāṣa* occurs usually in connection with the verb *račh*-. It might be the thing guarded or a cognate Accusative. The latter is shown to be the case by the variant *spāṣa kartavya* 578 *ma iṃci tusya niryiḡa* (for *niryōḡa*) *bhavidavya nitya kalamni Sacayoni spāṣa kartavya* "Let there be no slackness on your part, at all time watch is to be made at Saca", compared with 541 *iṃmade spāṣavaṃnaḡa mamnuṣa viṣarjideṃi supiyama paride spāṣa račhamnae* "From here I have sent a scout man to keep watch from the Supis". The word regularly appears in the formula at the head of documents sent to the governor of the province, e.g. 272 *avi spāṣa jivitaparicuḡena anada račhidavya* "Also watch is to be kept carefully (*anada*, or "properly") even at the expense of your life." The *spāṣavaṃna*'s were frontier guards or scouts, whose business it was to look out for approaching enemies (541); also to see that no unauthorized persons crossed the frontier. 71, *Suḡika taya dhitu smaḡasae ca ukastaṃti palayaṃni gataṃti, eṣa pitu saca spāṣavaṃmana ṣaḡha pačē gataṃti, eḡa uḡi paḡa* (for *padama* "back"?)

*nivartavīṃti*. "Sugīka and the daughter of that (woman) departed and went as fugitives: she and her father along with the scouts went after them, and they turned back this camel." Cf. also 471.

The word is no doubt Iranian \**spāsa* (Sogdian *sp's*) derived from the verb *Av. spas-* "to spy, to keep watch". It cannot be Indian, because the palatal *ś* is preserved in this dialect. *sp* is developed out of *śp* also in *paraspāra* "one another". *spāsavamṇa* seems to be a compound containing the  $\sqrt{pā}$  "to protect". Compare the (Saka) proper name in N.W. India *Nahapana* "protector of the people".

*spāsa-* developed the meaning of "service" in middle Iranian (e.g. in Sogdian, and cf. H. H. Schaeder *Iranica*, 1934, Abh. G. W. Göttingen). This meaning would suit admirably the phrase (see above) *ari spāsa jivīdaparicagēna anada račhidavya* "also your duty is to be kept even at the expense of your life". This would mean that the two meanings existed side by side in this language, because in other passages (e.g. 541 quoted above) the more limited (and original) meaning is obviously required.

#### *denuḡa*

Only 418. A title. *denuḡa Aṃtoaṣa paride* "from the *denuḡa* Aṃto". Can this be connected with *Av. daēnā* "religion"? For the suffix *-uḡa* applied to other than u-stems cf. *revatuḡa* from *vivāda*.

#### *načira*

*načira* is used in phrases with the verb *gam* "to go". *načira gachamti*, *načira gamdaro*. It is probably not a place-name since in this language the Locative has completely superseded the Accusative in expressing the goal with verbs of going, etc. They say invariably *Caḡolaṃmi gamdaro*, *Khotanaṃmi gata*, etc. The Accusative is only used in stereotyped phrases like the frequent *asaṃna gamdaro*, which seems to mean "take possession of", and presumably = S. *āsanam gantavyam* (like "possess" from *sedeo*).

Dr. H. W. Bailey has suggested to me a comparison with Sogd. *nyš'yr* "wild animals, game" *nyš'yrkr'y* "hunter" (New Pers. *naxčir* "game"), which would give very good sense. Cf. 13 *yatha etaṣa kabhoḍhami vaḡavi storam ca, taḡa jamna tatra načira gachamti, vaḡavi aṣpa vijamti* "(he complains) that in his *kabhoḍha* there are mares and horses, people go hunting there and shoot the mares and horses". The *kabhoḍha* would be some privately owned pasture land.

*śāda*

= "pleased", is compared in the Index. Verb to Av. *šyāto*. If so it is borrowed from Sogdian (*š't*) and not Saka (*tsāta*). But it may quite probably be Indian = Pali *sāta* "pleasant, sweet". The negative *assāta* shows that there was a double consonant there originally, and if this is the same word it must have been *śr* because in this dialect *śr* becomes *ṣ* (e.g. *ṣaṇaṇna*, *ṣayati* = *śrayate*, *maṣu* = *śmaśru*) *śrāta* means "cooked" in Sanskrit and the meaning might then develop into "pleasant to taste" and then "pleasant, sweet" in general.

## OTHER IRANIAN WORDS

*stora* "horse" S. *sthora* occurs meaning a "beast of burden" in the *Divyavadāna*, but that may be a loan-word too. *divira* "scribe" compounds with *-vara uṣpavara storavara utuvara*. *saste* "day" which Konow derives from Iranian *sad-* "to shine". *ratu* "authority, supervisor", *prahuni* (only 318) may be = Saka *prahona* "garment". Further (as pointed out by Konow) *jheniḡa* "under the care of" = Saka *ysīnīya*, Sogd. *zynyh*, *lastana* 298 = Saka *lāstana* "quarrel".

*Hinajha*

Title of a king of Khotan mentioned in 661 *Khotana maharaya rayatiraya hinajhasya Avijidasimhasya*. The title can be explained as a translation into Iranian of the Greek title *στρατηγός*. The term *στρατηγός* was current in N.W. India, being found, for instance, on the coins of Aśpavarman, with the inscription *Indravarmaputrasa Aśpavarmasa strategasa jayatasa*. That Iranian kings should translate a foreign term like that into their own tongue was quite natural. The translation is literal, Saka *hīnā* "army" (Av. *haēnā*) and *-aza* or *āza* from the verb *az-* "to lead" (= *āyā*). For the use of *az-* of leading armies cf. Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* s.v.; and for compounds with *-āza* compare words like Av. *gavāza* and *navāza*.

This points to the existence of an Iranian dynasty in Khotan at the date of this document. (What the date was is quite uncertain. The document is the only one we possess in the Khotan Prakrit. It may be earlier or it may be later than the documents of Niya.) Later of course (eighth century) the Saka language was used for literary and administrative purposes in the Khotan realm. How long before that there had been Iranians in the area is not known. The following facts bearing on the question can be stated.

(1) There were practically no people bearing Iranian names in the Shan-Shan kingdom at the time of the documents. The only certain ones are *Tiraphara* = \**tiyraz'arənu* (or it may contain the divine name *Tira*, frequent in the west, *τιριδάτης* etc. as Dr. H. W. Bailey suggests. *Tanuśpa* = \**Tazuāspa*. The element *-aspa* occurs also in other names in which the first member is not so clear, e.g. *Rataspa*, *Saraspa*, *Šanaspa*. Iranian *-rənu* seems to occur in *Nanarasnu* and *Lpīparasnu*. Like *-sena* it is added to bases in the native language. *Lpīparasnu* presumably contains the same base as *Lpīpeya* which is, of course, not Iranian. Similarly *-phura* in *Cinaphura* compared with *Cināsena* and *Cinika*. Apart from these the mass of native names are definitely not Iranian.

(2) The names which appear in the solitary document from Khotan are quite different from the usual type at Niya, and, so far as can be judged from such small evidence, would point to a different language being spoken there. *Aphīñanu* contains the sound *ph* (= *f*) which does not occur in native proper names in the Niya documents (only in the Iranian *-phura* and *Phūñaseva*, *Phūñasena*). *Khvarnarse* might be Iranian containing Av. *x'arənah-* (*x'arənaršā* like *xšayaršā*). The name *Spaniyakā* may be connected with Avestan *spangah-* "more holy" and Middle P. *spēnāk* (from \**spangaka-*, cf. Bartholomae, s.v.). Thus in one document we have two names which are probably Iranian.

(3) The change from *e* to *ī* which is characteristic of Saka had occurred at the time of this document, e.g. *Hiaajha*. Similarly of *o* to *ū* *cudiyadi* = (Niya) *coteyuti*. It had not occurred at the time the word *ghenīqu* was borrowed into the Niya Prakrit.

(4) There are a great number of Indian words in Saka which are definitely Prakrit and not Sanskrit. Quite different from the other Central Asian languages, Sogdian (with hardly any loan words, and Tokharian with words borrowed straight from Sanskrit. For instance, the Saka for "attendant" is *vaṭāyaa* = *vaṭhayaṭā* of the Kharoṣṭhi documents. In Tokharian we have *upasthāyak* borrowed straight from Sanskrit. This can be best explained by assuming that an Indian Prakrit had been used by the Sakas of Khotan as an administrative language, and that must have been at the time of this document.

(5) Of the Iranian loan-words occurring in the Kharoṣṭhi documents, a number occur in North India. *sthora gaūja gaūjavara aśvavāra divira draiga* are borrowed into Sanskrit. *saste* occurs in inscriptions in N.W. India. This suggests that the Iranian loan-words were not borrowed in Central Asia, but in N.W. India during the



time of Iranian domination, and imported into Central Asia as an integral portion of the Prakrit.

(6) *Additional note.*—A few men of Khotan are mentioned in the documents from Niya. Their names are not Iranian. Examples are : *Ṣaṃṃgo* 322, *Śakha* 335, *Moṣana* 517, *Khoṣa* 362, *Kanasaḡa* 30, *Preṣām-ḍha* 216. It looks as if the population of Khotan was definitely not Iranian at the time of the documents from Niya, i.e. in the third century A.D.



# Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie

Von SIEGFRIED BEHRING

(continued from p. 348)

## III. DER PĀLI-MILINDAPAÑHA

### A. TEXTE

#### 1) Manuskripte

##### a) In Ceylon

Hier ist vielleicht zuerst

38. das Palmblatt-MS. zu nennen, welches de Zoysa in seinem *Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit MSS. in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1885)<sup>1</sup>, p. 9, als „common“ bezeichnet. Es enthält 178 Blätter, 17 Zoll lang, 9 Zeilen auf der Seite.

39. Bentotte, Tempel von (Bentota Vanavāsa Vihāra): 5 MSS. des M. und 1 sannē.<sup>2</sup>

40. Colombo: Musenm. 1 MS. in birmanischer Schrift.<sup>3</sup>

41. Colombo: Musenm. 1 MS. in singhalesischer Schrift.<sup>4</sup>

42. Matura, Tempel von: 5 MSS. des M. und 1 sannē.<sup>2</sup>

43. Mulgiri Galle, Tempel von: 5 MSS. des M.<sup>2</sup>

44. Sammlung Spence Hardy, No. 282: *Milindaprasnē*. (Singhalesisch oder Pāli?)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Leider konnte ich mir diesen Katalog nicht beschaffen, er ist in deutschen öffentlichen Bibliotheken nicht vorhanden. Wenn ich trotzdem Angaben daraus bringen kann (ausser in der vorliegenden Stelle nach *Bibl.* 78 und 85), so verdanke ich dies Herrn Gehrmur Geiger, München, der die Güte hatte, mir auf meine Bitte hin die auf den M. bezüglichen Stellen aus seinem Privatexemplar abzuschreiben. In d'Alwis: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pāli, and Sinhalese Literary Works of Ceylon* (Colombo: Sken, 1870) und in Spence Hardy's Aufsatz "The Language and Literature of the Sinhalese", *JCBRAS.*, 1846-7 (Colombo, 1861), pp. 98-104, habe ich, abgesehen von einer beiläufigen Erwähnung des „Milindappanna“ auf p. 30 des ersteren Werkes, nichts über den M. finden können. Auf dem Titelblatt von d'Alwis Katalog steht „Part 1“, doch scheinen keine weiteren Teile erschienen zu sein, denn Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, gibt auf p. 318 nur den 1870 erschienenen Band an.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Upham, *The Mahāraṣī, the Rājī-Ratnācari, and the Rājā-Pāli* . . . London, 1833, vol. iii, pp. 170, 177, 181, 184, 191. Ein ebenfalls in der Tempelbücherei von Bentota befindliches singh. MS. mit Erklärung schwieriger M.-Stellen s. *Bibl.* 85.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. *JPTS.*, 1882, p. 51, No. 20. Die hier von Rhys Davids pp. 46-58 gegebene Liste von MSS. ist aufgrund eines von de Zoysa 1876 herausgegebenen Katalogs zusammengestellt.

<sup>4</sup> *JPTS.*, loc. cit., No. 30.

<sup>5</sup> s. Spence Hardy „List of books in the Pāli and Sinhalese Languages,“ in *JCBRAS.*, 1847-8 (Colombo, 1870), pp. 198-208. Diese Liste erwähnt auch Tennent, *Ceylon*, 4. Aufl. (1866), vol. i, p. 515 n. Wo die MSS. nach Hardy's Tode geblieben sind, ist mir nicht bekannt.

45. Sammlung Spence Hardy, No. 283: *Milindaprasnāsannā*.<sup>1</sup>  
Pālitext in singhalesischer Umschrift mit singhalesischer Paraphrase.<sup>2</sup>

β) In Europa

46. Cambridge: Mr. Scott, 1 MS. birmanisches nissaya.<sup>3</sup>  
47. Cambridge: Trinity College, 1 MS. in siamesischer Schrift.<sup>4</sup>  
48. Cambridge: University Library No. Add. 1251. 1 MS. auf  
Palmblatt in singhalesischer Schrift. 154 Blätter.<sup>5</sup>  
49. Kopenhagen: Kgl. Bibliothek, No. xxxiii, 183 Palmblätter  
in singhalesischer Schrift.<sup>6</sup>  
50. Kopenhagen: Kgl. Bibliothek, No. xxxiv, 117 Palmblätter  
in singhalesischer Schrift.<sup>7</sup>  
51. Leipzig: Indisches Institut der Universität. 1 Palmblattms.,  
194 Blätter zu je 7 und 8 Zeilen (die Vorderseiten des 1. u. 2. Blattes  
sind unbeschrieben). Singhalesische Schrift.<sup>8</sup>  
52. Leningrad: Asiatisches Museum. 1 Palmblatt-MS. (MS.  
Ind., vii, 44) von 172 + 2 Blättern zu je 8 Zeilen. Singhalesische  
Schrift.

Weicht im allgemeinen nicht vom Text der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe ab.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> s. Anm. 5 auf der vorhergehenden Seite.

<sup>2</sup> Hardy erklärt sannā folgendermassen: „paraphrases of the discourses of Budha, the Pali text being given, and then an explanation, clause by clause, in Singhalese. In some instances the sannā is a literal translation, and in others there is a long commentary upon a single word" (*JCBRAS.*, 1846-7, Colombo, 1861, p. 103).

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. SBE., 35, p. xvi, u. n. 3. Ein birmanisches nissaya entspricht, nach der dort gegebenen Beschreibung von Rhys Davids, einem singhalesischen sannā, s. Anm. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. SBE., 35, p. xvii, u. n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. *JPTS.*, 1883, p. 140. Dieses MS. ist, wie mir Dr. E. J. Thomas von der Universitäts-Bibliothek Cambridge freundlichst mitteilt, eines von 16 MSS., die 1875 aus dem Besitz von Dr. Rost angekauft wurden. Dr. Thomas hat sich auch die Mühe gemacht festzustellen, dass es sich um Rost's MS. handelt, welches Trenckner bei seiner Ausgabe (*Bibl.* 65) mit „C“ bezeichnet hat. Trenckner's „D“ zu identifizieren ist mir leider nicht gelungen.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. Westergaard, *Codices indici bibl. regiae Havniensis* (Kopenhagen, 1846), pp. 49b-50b, und *JPTS.*, 1883, p. 148. Trenckner's MS. „A.“

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. Westergaard, op. cit., p. 50b und *JPTS.*, loc. cit. Trenckner's MS. „B.“

<sup>8</sup> Eine genaue Beschreibung dieser Handschrift habe ich an Herrn Geheimrat Geiger in München geschickt; sie soll, wenn Raum vorhanden ist, in der *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* abgedruckt werden.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Mironov's Katalog: *Katalog indijskich rukopisej*, Sostavil N(ikolai) D. Mironov. Vypusk I. Petrograd 1914 (= Katalogi Aziatskago Muzeja Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk I) [Auf der letzten Umschlagseite auch lateinischer Titel: *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Indicorum qui in Academiae Imperialis Scientiarum Petropolitanae Museo Asiatico asservantur*. Auctore N.D.M., Fasc. I. Petropoli 1914 (= Katalogi Muzei Asiaticoi I)], p. 354 unter No. 453.

53. London: British Museum. No. Orient. 458: 1 MS. von 392 Blättern. Birmanisches nissaya.<sup>1</sup>

54. London: India Office. Mandalay-MS., neue No. 126: 1 MS. von 241 Blättern zu je 9 Zeilen. Birmanische Schrift.<sup>2</sup>

55. London: India Office. Mandalay-MS., neue No. 127. 186 Blätter zu je 9 Zeilen (die Blätter *kā his nāh* fehlen). Palmblatt. Birmanische Schrift.<sup>3</sup>

56. London: Bibliothek Dr. Rost. 1 MS. in birmanischer Schrift.<sup>3</sup>

57. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 2 MSS. in singhalesischer Schrift.<sup>4</sup>

58. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. Zahlreiche Fragmente des M. in kambodschanischer Schrift.<sup>5</sup>

## 2) Textausgaben

### a) In bengalischen Lettern

59. *Milindapañho, Milindaprasna*. Pälitext in bengalischer Umschrift. Herausgegeben mit einer bengalischen Übersetzung, Anmerkungen usw. von Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya. Vol. i, pts. 1-2. 4° (27 × 16 cm.); iv, 42, viii, i, i, 325 pp. Calcutta: (Vāṅmīyasāhitya-pariṣad) 1909 (= *Parīṣad-granthāvalī* No. 22). (Barnett, S.C. 2, Spalte 634, und J. F. Blumhardt: *Bengali books* (= *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, vol. ii, part iv, Supplement 1906-1920). London, 1923, p. 192).

### β) In birmanischen Lettern

60. *Milindapañha pāḥiṭo*. Herausgegeben von Hsaya Hbe. 4°. i, 395 pp. Rangoon: 1915. (Barnett, loc. cit.).

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *JPTS.*, 1883, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. *JPTS.*, 1894-6, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Trenckner's MS. „M“. Wo dieses MS. sich augenblicklich befindet, weiss ich nicht. Auch habe ich, abgesehen von dem, was Trenckner in seiner Einleitung zu seiner M.-Ausgabe darüber sagt, keine näheren Angaben über dieses MS. ausfindig machen können. Es mit *Bibl.* 53 zu identifizieren ist, nach einer freundlichen Mitteilung von Prof. Barnett, unmöglich, auch sind *Bibl.* 54 und *Bibl.* 55, wie mir die Bibliothek des India Office schreibt, nicht mit ihm identisch. Ich wollte hier auch Rost's singhalesisches M.-MS. aufnehmen, welches Trenckner in seiner Ausgabe mit „C“ bezeichnet, aber „C“ ist nach einer Mitteilung von Dr. Thomas von der University Library Cambridge mit *Bibl.* 48 identisch. S. Anm. 5 auf der vorhergehenden Seite.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. *JPTS.*, 1882, p. 35 (Feer). Genauere Beschreibung s. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanscrits et pâlis*. 2e fascicule: "manuscrits pâlis." Paris, Leroux, 1908 (= Bibliothèque Nationale, département des manuscrits), No. 358 und 359.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. *JPTS.*, loc. cit., und Cabaton, op. cit., No. 360-4.

61. *Milindapañha pāṭi*. Herausgegeben von Û Hpye. 4°. xvi, 353 pp. Rangoon: 1916. (Barnett, loc. cit.).

62. *Milindapañha pāṭi nissaya*. Mit einer birmanischen Interpretation jedes einzelnen Wortes von Ādiccavamsa. Herausgegeben von Û Hpye. 4°. xvi, 609 pp. Rangoon: 1916. (Barnett, loc. cit.).

Hierher<sup>1</sup> gehört wahrscheinlich auch:

63. *Milindapañhā*. Being the portion prescribed for the Calcutta B.A. Examination. Edited by Maung Tin. 8°. ii, 107 pp. Rangoon: 1915. (Barnett, loc. cit.).

γ) In lateinischen Lettern

64. Trenckner, V(ilhelm): *Pali Miscellany*. Part i. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1879, 8°, 83 pp.

Enthält unter dem Titel *A specimen of Milindapañho*<sup>2</sup> auf pp. 5–28 den Text der Bāhirakathā (entspricht pp. 1–24 von *Bibl.* 65). Weitere Teile dieses Werkes s. *Bibl.* 81 und 98.

65. Trenckner, V(ilhelm): *The Milindapañho*, being dialogues between king Milinda and the Buddhist sage Nagasena. The Pali text, edited by V. T. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1880, gr. 8°, viii, 430 pp.<sup>3</sup>

Die Ausgabe beruht auf *Bibl.* 49, 50, 48, 56, und einer singhalesischen Handschrift, deren Lesarten bis zum Ende der Bāhirakathā Trenckner von Childers mitgeteilt wurden und welche Trenckner mit „D“ bezeichnet.<sup>4</sup>

Einteilung: Einleitung (pp. iii–vii). Abkürzungen (p. viii). Text (pp. 1–420). Anmerkungen (pp. 421–430). Verbesserungen.

<sup>1</sup> Bei Barnett ist nichts Genaueres angegeben, doch lässt der Verlagsort Rangoon darauf schliessen, dass es sich auch hier um eine Ausgabe in birmanischen Lettern handelt.

<sup>2</sup> Auf p. 71 erfährt man, dass das *Specimen* schon 1868 geschrieben und einigen Pāliforschern im Manuskript zugesandt wurde (vgl. die anerkennenden Worte von Childers im Vorwort zu seinem 1875 erschienenen Pāli-Wörterbuch, p. xvii); die Veröffentlichung wurde jedoch verzögert.

<sup>3</sup> Von diesem Werk ist 1928, von der Royal Asiatic Society als 5. Band der *James G. Forlong Publications* herausgegeben, ein photographischer Neudruck erschienen (xi und 466 pp.). Er ist im Vergleich zum Erstdruck um folgendes erweitert: 1) ein Inhaltsverzeichnis (pp. ix–xi), 2) einen allgemeinen Index von C. J. Rylands, pp. 433–456) und 3) einen Index der Gāthās, zusammengestellt von Fran Rhys Davids (pp. 457–66). Anzeigen dieses Neudruckes: Edward J. Thomas in: *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 355–7; *BB.*, fasc. 1, Nr. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Diese Handschrift sowie Trenckner's „M“ (*Bibl.* 56) zu identifizieren ist mir leider nicht gelungen.

b) In siamesischen Lettern<sup>1</sup>

66. *Milindapañhā*. Cattasallattherena Dhammapāṃokkhena Makuṭakhattiyārāmaśāsinaṃ sodhitā, 2466 Buddhasake mudditā. Sāmāraṭṭhassa rājadhāniyaṃ [Bangkok]: Mahāmakutaṛājaśāyālayena pakāsita 2466 [1923], gr. 8<sup>c</sup>, ii. xii, xi, 534 pp. + 2 Tafeln.<sup>2</sup> (Barnett, S.C. 2, Spalte 634.)

## c) In singhalesischen Lettern

67. „*Milindapaṇṇaya*. Published by M. J. Rodrigo at the Vidyāsāgara Press, Colombo, 1896; pp. 80, demy 8vo; Part.“

Zitiert nach A. W. de Silva: A list of Pali books printed in Ceylon in Singhalese characters, *JPTS.*, 1910-12, p. 147 (No. 149).

68. *Milindapañho*, etc. Herausgegeben von Anomadassi. Teil 1, 8<sup>o</sup>, 80 pp. (Colombo), 1896. (Barnett, S.C. 1, Spalte 387.)

Die Übereinstimmung von Ort, Jahr und Seitenzahl mit *Bibl.* 67 ist auffallend, doch kann ich, da meine Quellen keine näheren Angaben machen, nichts über das Verhältnis der beiden Werke zueinander aussagen.

## B. ÜBERSETZUNGEN

## 1. Vollständige Übersetzungen oder Übersetzungen von grösseren Teilen des M.

## a) Ins Bengālī

69. s. *Bibl.* 59.

## b) Ins Birmanische

Mabel Haynes Bode nennt in ihrem Büchlein: *The Pāli literature of Burma* (London, 1909) auf p. viii unter den im British Museum befindlichen Werken:

70. *Milindapañhavatthu*. Burmese translation from the Milinda. Rangoon, 1882.<sup>3</sup>

Ferner macht sie (op. cit., p. 108, No. 248) darauf aufmerksam, dass sich auf einer birmanischen Schenkunginschrift vom Jahre 1442 ein Werk

71. *Malinapañhā*, also offenbar ein birmanischer M., findet.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. auch *Bibl.* 77a.

<sup>2</sup> Dieses Werk besitzt auch die Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig (Orient. Lit. 998ca). Es ist, wie aus einem eingeklebeten Begleitschreiben vom „22. Tage des Monats Pussa (Pussa)“ 1923 hervorgeht, ein Geschenk der Prinzessin Saddhasināṇā, die an ihrem 60. Geburtstag das Buch zur Erinnerung an die 1889 im Alter von 5 Jahren verstorbene Prinzessin Nabhacaracānāsagarī veröffentlicht hat (s. p. 11). Die 2 obengenannten Tafeln bringen Photographien der beiden Prinzessinnen. Der Text weicht stark vom Trenckner'schen ab.

<sup>3</sup> Pavolini, *Buddhismo* (*Bibl.* 112) erwähnt, p. 98, eine birmanische Übersetzung Rangoon, 1883.

c) *Ins Deutsche*

72. Nyāpatiloka (Anton Gueth): *Die Fragen des Milinda*. Ein historischer Roman, enthaltend Zwiegespräche zwischen einem Griechenkönige und einem buddhistischen Mönche über die wichtigsten Punkte der buddhistischen Lehre. Aus dem Pāli zum erstenmale vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt von N. Erster Band.<sup>1</sup> Leipzig: Max Altmann 1919,<sup>2</sup> 8°, xvi und 338 S. (pp. 287–338: Anhang und Register). Zweiter Band. München-Neubiberg: Oskar Schloss 1924, gr. 8°, viii, 268 pp. (pp. 239–268: Anhang und Register).

Der 1. Band enthält die Übersetzung bis M. 188, 7 = Q. iv, 3 (i, 260), der zweite die Übersetzung von M. 188, 8 = Q. iv, 4<sup>3</sup> (1,261) bis zum Schluss.<sup>4</sup>

73. Schrader, F(riedrich) Otto: *Die Fragen des Königs Menandros*. Aus dem Pāli zum ersten Male ins Deutsche übersetzt von Dr. phil. O. Sch. Berlin: Paul Raatz o.J. (1907),<sup>5</sup> 8°, xxxv + 172 + xxvii pp.

<sup>1</sup> Der Titel auf dem Umschlagblatt, das ein Bild der „Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa, Ceylon“ trägt, lautet: *Die Fragen des Milinda*. Von Bhikkhu Nyāpatiloka zum ersten Male vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt. Erster Teil.

<sup>2</sup> Zum Schluss der Vorrede (vom Oktober 1913) findet sich (p. xvi) die Anmerkung: „Obzwar vorliegendes Werk bereits Herbst 1913 in Lieferungen ausgegeben wurde, hat sein Erscheinen in Buchform infolge des Weltkrieges leider eine Verzögerung von über 5 Jahren erlitten. Blankenese b. Hamburg, 25. Mai 1919.“

<sup>3</sup> Bei Nyāpatiloka muss es auf p. 1 des 2. Bandes auch „4. Kapitel“ statt „3. Kapitel“ heissen. Nyāpatiloka folgt hier dem Irrtum der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe, die M. 211, 4 „tatiyo vaggo“ statt „catuttho v.“ hat. Trenckner verbessert den Irrtum M. 431.

<sup>4</sup> Im 2. Bande sind die Seitenzahlen der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe fortlaufend verzeichnet; im ersten Bande fehlt diese Erleichterung für den Benutzer.

<sup>5</sup> Für dieses Werk habe ich die Jahresangaben 1905 und 1907 gefunden. Winternitz' Angabe 1905 (*Gesch. d. ind. Litt.*, 2. Band, p. 139, n. 4), die sich auch im 2. Bande der von Bertholet u. Lehmann herausgeg. 4. Aufl. von Chantopia da la Sanssaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen 1925) auf S. 102 (Konow) und in der Zeitschrift „Buddhistischer Weltspiegel“, 1. Jahrgang, p. 128, findet, wird bekräftigt durch die *Buddhistische Welt* (Beiblatt zur Zeitschrift *Der Buddhist*), 1. Jahrg. (1905–6), wo das Werk auf p. 12 und 13 als Neuerscheinung angezeigt wird. Das Jahr 1907 bringen: Barnett, *S.C.* 2, Spalte 634; Dem., p. 22 n.; Garhe, *Indien u. das Christentum* (Tübingen, 1914), p. 30, n. 1; Glasenapp, *Bibl.* 110, p. 140; Hardy, *Der Buddhismus nach älteren Pāli-Werken*, Neue Ausgabe (1919), p. 215; Oldenberg, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 13. Band (1910), p. 593. Auf 1907 weist ebenfalls die Besprechung von Schrader's Übersetzung durch Seidenstücker (?) in der *Buddhistischen Warte*, 1. Jahrgang (1907–8), pp. 89–91. Da auch Hinrichs' Bücherkatalog und die *Berliner Titeldrucke* das Werk unter dem Jahre 1907 anführen, ist dieses Jahr als Erscheinungsjahr des Buches gesichert. Wodurch sich die Angabe 1905 erklärt, vermag ich nicht zu sagen; vielleicht erschien in diesem Jahr eine erste Lieferung des Werkes? Das Datum 1903 (*Bibl.* 104, p. xii) muss auf einem Missverständnis beruhen.

Inhalt: Vorwort (pp. iii-v). Einleitung (pp. vii-xxxv). Übersetzung (pp. 1-95). Inhaltsangabe der nicht übersetzten Stücke (pp. 97-116). Die chinesischen Ausgaben und ihr Verhältnis zum Pāli-Text (pp. 117-125).<sup>1</sup> Anmerkungen (pp. 127-172). Register (pp. i-xviii). Berichtigungen und Zusätze (pp. xix-xxvii).

Wie schon aus dieser Inhaltsangabe ersichtlich, übersetzt Sch. den Text nur teilweise, und zwar den Teil, welchen er für den Ur-M. hält. Die übersetzten Stellen verhalten sich wie folgt zum Trenckner'schen Text:

Schrader	Trenckner'scher Text
Einleitung [= 1. Buch] (Bāhirakathā)	
p. 3, Abs. 1. „Es gibt . . .“ bis „ . . . aller Art“.	p. 1, 13: „Atthi Yonakānam . . .“ bis 2, 7: „ . . . nise- vitam.“
p. 3, Abs. 2. „Dort in Indien . . .“ bis p. 4, Zeile 9 v. u.: „ . . . lösen kann.“	3, 26-4, 15.
p. 4, Zeile 8 v. u.: „Zu jener Zeit nun . . .“ bis p. 5, Absatz: „ . . . Nirvāṇa-Wolke der Wahrheit.“	21, 12-22, 7.
p. 4, Abs.: „Und Devamantiya sprach . . .“ bis zum Ende der „äusseren Erzählung“ auf p. 8.	22, 18 bis zum Schluss von p. 24.

2. Buch: „Die Kennzeichen“ (Jakkhaṇapañha)  
pp. 11-73. pp. 25-64.

3. Buch: „Zweifel und Lösungen“ (Vimaticchedanapañha)

#### 4. Kapitel

Abschnitt 1 und 2 (pp. 77-8). p. 65, 1-29.  
Abschnitt 6 (pp. 78-9). pp. 68, 31-69, 15.

#### 5. Kapitel

Abschnitt 5 (pp. 80-1). p. 71, 16-29.  
„ 8 (p. 81). p. 72, 19-32.  
„ 10 (pp. 81-2) p. 73, 9-22.

<sup>1</sup> Dieser Abschnitt wurde schon *Bibl.* 25 angezeigt.



## 6. Kapitel

Abschnitt 1 (pp. 83-4).	p. 73, 24-74, 17.
„ 6 und 7 (pp. 84-5).	p. 76, 16-77, 22.
„ 9 (p. 85)	p. 77, 8-22.

## 7. Kapitel

Abschnitt 2 (p. 86).	p. 80, 17-27.
„ 4 und 5 (pp. 87-9).	p. 82, 12-83, 20.
„ 7 und 8 (pp. 89-90).	p. 83, 31-84, 25.
„ 14-16 (pp. 90-92)	p. 86, 8-87, 19.

d) *Ins Englische*

74. Davids, T. W. Rhys: *The Questions of King Milinda*. Translated from the Pali by T. W. Rh. D. 2 Bände. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890<sup>1</sup> und 1894. i: xlix und 315 pp.; ii: xxvii und 383 pp. (= SBE., vols. 35, 36.)<sup>2</sup>

Einteilung: 1. Band: Inhaltsverzeichnis (pp. vii-x). Einleitung (pp. xi-xlix). Übersetzung von pp. 1-210 der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe (pp. 1-302). Appendix: Devadatta in den Jātakas (pp. 303-4). Addenda et Corrigenda (pp. 305-6). Eigennamen-Index (pp. 307-10). Sachregister (pp. 311-15). 2. Band: Inhaltsverzeichnis (pp. vii-x). Einleitung (pp. xi-xxvii). Übersetzung, pp. 211-420 der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe (pp. 1-375). Nachträge und Verbesserungen (pp. 377-8). Sachregister (pp. 381-3).

e) *Ins Französische*

75. Finot, Louis: *Les questions de Milinda (Milindapañha)*, traduit du Pāli avec introduction et notes par L. F. Bois dessinés et gravés par Andrée Karpelès. Paris: Bossard, 1923. 8°, 166 pp. (= Les classiques de l'orient, vol. viii.)

Übersetzt die Bücher i-iii = M., 1-89 = Q. (i, 1-136). Einteilung: Einleitung (pp. 9-15). Übersetzung (pp. 19-147). Anmerkungen (pp. 149-157). Bibliographie (p. 159).<sup>3</sup> Inhaltsverzeichnis (pp. 161-6).

<sup>1</sup> Vom 1. Band (SBE., 35) ist 1925 ein photographischer Neudruck (Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford) erschienen. Ob auch vom 2. Band ein Neudruck erschienen ist, weiss ich nicht.

<sup>2</sup> Die in dieser Übersetzung behandelten Pāliwörter sind im „Index to Pāli Words discussed in Translations“ von Mabel Haynes Bode in *JPTS.*, 1897-1901, pp. 1-12, mit berücksichtigt worden.

<sup>3</sup> Verzeichnet *Bibl.* 65, 74, 27, 23, und 108.

f) *Ins Italienische (nach der engl. Übersetzung)*

76. Cagnola, G.: *Dialoghi del Re Milinda*. Versione dall'Inglese, di G. C. Milano: Casa Editrice Isis, 1923.<sup>1</sup>

g) *Ins Siamesische*

77. *Pāṇhā Pha: ja milin* (Die Fragen des Königs Milinda). Erster Band. Bangkok 2472 (1929–1930). 8°. xviii + 106 pp.

„Nouvelle<sup>2</sup> traduction siamoise publiée par les soins de l'Institut royal du Siam“ (Raymonde Linossier in *BB.*, fasc. 2, No. 38).

77a. H. G. Rawlinson erwähnt „a Siamese version of the Milinda Pañha“ (*Intercourse between India and the Western World*, 2. ed., Cambridge, 1926, p. 82), doch macht er leider keine genaueren Angaben darüber. So ist nicht zu entscheiden, ob es sich um eine Übersetzung ins Siamesische oder um einen in siamesischer Schrift geschriebenen Pāli-M. handelt.

h) *Ins Singhalesische*

78. *Hīnaṭikumburē Sumaṅgala: Milindaprasānaya oder Śrī Dharmādāsaya*. Herausgegeben von Mohottivatte Guṇānanda. Koṭahena (Colombo): Buddhist Press 1877–8 (2420 nach Buddha) 8°, 628, 12, iv pp.<sup>3</sup>

Zu dieser Ausgabe, welche Rhys Davids bei seiner Übersetzung des M. benutzt hat (s. SBE., 35, p. xii) vgl. Z.W. 2, Spalte 129, und Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* (London, 1928), pp. 303–4. Erwähnungen der Ausgabe bei Trenckner, *Bibl.* 65, p. vii (T. bemerkt, dass ihm die Ausgabe leider nicht zugänglich war) und Pavolini, *Bibl.* 112, p. 98, n. 1. Die Namen der fünf singhalesischen Herren, auf deren Kosten die Ausgabe gedruckt wurde, bringen Rhys Davids, SBE., 35, p. xii, und Malalasekera, op. cit., p. 304.

Die Übersetzung selbst war schon 100 Jahre früher unter dem Könige Kīrtti Śrī Rājasiṃha, der 1747 den Thron bestieg,

<sup>1</sup> Dieser Übersetzung habe ich leider nicht habhaft werden können; ich erfuhr von ihr durch die Besprechung, die Frau Rhys Davids ihr *J.R.A.S.*, 1925, pp. 130–2, gewidmet hat.

<sup>2</sup> Die vorhergehenden siamesischen Übersetzungen sind mir leider unbekannt geblieben.

<sup>3</sup> Andersen und Smith kennen eine Neuausgabe desselben Werkes: Colombo, 1900. S. *Bibl.* 100, p. xvii, unter „Hīnaṭ“.

angefertigt worden.<sup>1</sup> Eine aus dem 19. Jahrhundert stammende Palmblatthandschrift der Übersetzung, aus 284 Blättern bestehend, beschreibt de Zilva Wickremasinghe, Z.W. 1, unter No. 22 (pp. 27–8); eine andere Handschrift (400 Palmblätter) erwähnt de Zoysa in seinem *Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1885), p. 9.

2. Übersetzungen oder Referate von kleineren Abschnitten des M.

a) der Bāhirakathā

79. *Milindappasnakathāva* (No. xii der Elu und Singhalesischen HSS. der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Kopenhagen), 46 Blätter.

Übersetzung der Bāhirakathā ins Singhalesische.<sup>2</sup>

80. *Nāgasenakathāva*.

Bildet den 3. Abschnitt eines im oder vor dem 13. Jahrh. kompilierten umfangreichen singhalesischen Werkes, des *Saddhamaratnāvalīya* oder *Ratanāvalīya*, das zum grössten Teil Geschichten aus dem Dhammapadakommentar enthält. Nach dem Zeugnis von Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, der eine Handschrift dieses Werkes, Z.W. 1, pp. 11 ff., beschreibt, stellt das *Nāgasenakathāva* eine singhalesische Übersetzung der Bāhirakathā dar (Z.W. 1, p. 28).

81. Trenckner, V(ilhelm): „Pali Miscellany“ (Titelangabe s. *Bibl.* 64).

Enthält auf pp. 29–54 eine Übersetzung der Bāhirakathā ins Englische.

82. Turnour, George: „Examination of some points of Buddhist Chronology.“ In *JASB.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 521–536.

Hier finden sich Erwähnung des M. (*Milindapanno*) und

<sup>1</sup> Nach Malalasekera, op. cit., p. 284, im Jahre 1777–8 (2320 nach Buddha) in Sirivaddhanapura (Kandy). Spence Hardy, *Bibl.* 102, gibt auf p. 538 der Ausgabe 1880 Kandy als Ort und 1777 als Jahr der Übersetzung an. Auf den Angaben von Hardy fussen: Silbernagl, *Der Buddhismus nach seiner Entstehung, Fortbildung und Verbreitung*, p. 81 n. 5, und Weber, *Indische Studien*, iii, p. 122. Frau Rhys Davids nennt *Bibl.* 104, p. 5, als Übersetzungsjahr „1777 oder 1747“.

<sup>2</sup> Da aus der Westergaard'schen Beschreibung dieser Handschrift (West., p. 69a) nicht mit genügender Deutlichkeit hervorging, ob es sich nur um eine singhalesische Übersetzung des Textes oder ein sannā handelt, welches auch den Palitext enthält, wollte ich diese HS. ursprünglich auch in der Abteilung III A 1ß bringen. Die Behebung meiner Zweifel verdanke ich Prof. Dines Andersen-Kopenhagen, der die Freundlichkeit hatte, Rask's Collectaneen (West., p. 95, No. 19) durchzusehen und hierbei feststellte, dass Rask zur in Frage stehenden HS. bemerkt: „1. Del af Milindeprasne i blot Sing. Oversættelse.“

Inhaltsangabe der Bāhirakathā (mit stellenweiser Übersetzung) auf pp. 530–4. In derselben Zeitschrift, vol. vi (1837), p. 509, bezieht sich Turnour auf diese Untersuchung: „The NĀGASĒNO<sup>1</sup> of Pāli annals, whose history I have touched upon in a former article.“

b) anderer Teile des M.

83. Burlingame, Eugene Watson: *Buddhist parables translated from the original Pāli by E. W. B.*, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Lecturer in Pāli (1907–8) at Yale University. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922. gr. 8°, xxix, 348 pp.

„Chapter xi [p. 201–245] contains numerous selections from a collection of imaginary dialogues between Menander, Greek king of Bactria, 125–95 B.C., and the Buddhist sage Nāgasena“ (p. xxii).

Im einzelnen werden übersetzt: pp. 201–4 (§ 1): M. 25, 1–28,12. pp. 204–6 (§ 2): M. 40,1–41,10. pp. 206–9 (§ 3): M. 46,5–48,29; 49,13–27. pp. 209–210 (§ 4): M. 49, 28–31; 50,20–51,12; 51,23–4. pp. 210–212 (§ 5): M. 52, 28–54,16. pp. 213–15 (§ 6): M. 54,17–57,3. pp. 215–17 (§ 7): M. 67,4–68,23. pp. 217–19 (§ 8): M. 313,1–315,27. pp. 219–224 (§ 9): M. 315,28–323,4. pp. 224–8 (§ 10): M. 323, 5–326,14. pp. 228–230 (§ 11): M. 326,15–328,16. pp. 230–243 (§ 12): M. 329,1–341,25. pp. 244–5 (§ 13): M. 353,28–355,12.

84. Kilner, Rev. Thomas: „The Power of Truth.“ In: Gogerly, Daniel John, *Ceylon Buddhism*, being the collected writings of D. J. G., edited by Arthur Stanley Bishop (Colombo, 1908), pp. 293–6.<sup>2</sup>

Ist ein Referat mit teilweisen Übersetzungen der Geschichte vom König Sivi, M. 119, 11–123, 7 = Q. iv, 1, 42.

85. *Milindappañña Geṭapadā*. Ein in der Tempelbücherei von Bentota in Ceylon befindliches MS., „a little Sinhalese work explanatory of some difficult passages of the Pāli text of Milinda Pañha“ (de Zoysa, *Catalogue* . . ., Colombo, 1885, p. 9). Ich nehme

<sup>1</sup> Den Turnour noch = Nāgārjuna setzt.

<sup>2</sup> Erschien zuerst in der Zeitschrift *The Friend* für 1830 mit einer Ergänzung und Berichtigung von Gogerly, „Observations on the article entitled: The power of truth,“ die man *Ceylon Buddhism*, pp. 296–307, findet. G. übersetzt hier unter anderem als Parallele zur Sivi-Erzählung und zur saṃcakkiriya in M. 119,11–123,7, die Geschichten von Sivi und vom Fischkönig aus dem Cariyāpīṭaka.

an, dass das Werk Übersetzungen von Stellen des M. ins Singhalesische enthält und habe es daher hier eingeordnet.

86. Perera, K. R.: „Nāgasēnasvamin . . . gē saha Milindurajatumāget Jivita-kathāva.“ Kolamba (Colombo): 1890, 8°, 14 pp.

„A legendary account of the Buddhist sage Nāgasena and king Milinda, in 216 stanzas,“ sagt de Silva Wickremasinghe von diesem in der Bibliothek des British Museum vorhandenen Werk (Z.W. 2, Spalte 149). Da der Charakter des Werkes durch diese Bemerkung nicht genügend bestimmt erschien, um die Einrichtung einer neuen Abteilung für dieses Werk allein zu rechtfertigen, habe ich es unter die Teilübersetzungen eingeordnet.

87. da Sylva, Lewis: „Le bonheur du Nirvāṇa,“ extrait du Milindappraśnaya ou Miroir des doctrines sacrées. Traduit du Pāli par L.d.S., Pandit de Colombo (Ceylan). In: *RHR.*, vol. xi (1885, i), pp. 336–352.

Übersetzung von M. 313, 1–326, 14.<sup>1</sup>

88. Warren, Henry Clarke: *Buddhism in Translations*. Cambridge, Mass., 1896.<sup>2</sup> 4°, xx, 520 pp. (= HOS., vol. 3).<sup>3</sup>

Übersetzt verschiedene Abschnitte aus dem M., von dem Warren sagt, er sei „strictly speaking a North Buddhist work, but it is considered so orthodox by the South Buddhists, i.e. by the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, that I have felt bold to draw upon it freely in this book“ (p. xix).

Die übersetzten Abschnitte sind: § 14. King Milinda and Nāgasena come to an understanding (pp. 128–9): M. 28,28–29, 11. § 15. There is no Ego. a. (pp. 129–133): M. 25,1–28,12. § 17. No continuous personal identity. a. (pp. 148–150): M. 40, 1–41,10. § 28. Consciousness. a. (pp. 182–3): M. 62,8–23. § 31. Contact (pp. 186–7): M. 60, 10–23. § 39. The cause of inequality in the world (pp. 214–15): M. 65, 11–29. § 44. The round of existence (p. 232): M. 77, 8–22. § 45. Cause of rebirth (pp. 232–3): M. 32, 12–19. § 46. Is this to be my last existence? (p. 233): M. 41, 11–28. § 47. Rebirth is not transmigration. a. und b. (pp. 234–8): M. 71, 16–29 und 46,5–48,29.

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids' Kritik dieser Übersetzung s. SBE., 36, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Im 4. Abdruck (1906) findet sich der Vermerk: *First issue*, 1,000 copies, May, 1896. *Second issue*, 500 copies, February, 1900. *Third issue*, 500 copies, edition for India, February, 1900. *Fourth issue*, 500 copies, June, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Zu diesem Werk hat Miss C. B. Runkle im *JPTS.*, 1902–3, pp. 98 ff., einen Index zusammengestellt. Der M. ist dort auf pp. 100–101 zu finden.

§ 50. How existence in hell is possible (pp. 253-4): M. 67,4-68,23. § 66. Spiritual law in the natural world (pp. 306-307): M. 82,12-83,20. § 87. The value of training in religion (pp. 420-1): M. 264,29-266,3. § 88. The colourless life (p. 421): M. 76,23-77,2. § 90. The body is an open sore (p. 423): M. 73,24-74,17. § 98. No Buddhist should commit suicide (pp. 436-440): M. 195,1-197,29.

89. Windisch, Ernst: *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903. 4°, 235 pp. (= *Abhandlungen d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Band 26, No. 2).

Enthält auf pp. 20-7 die erstmalige<sup>1</sup> Übersetzung des Abschnitts M. 123-130.

#### C. LEXIKOGRAPHISCHES UND GRAMMATISCHES

90. Andersen, Dines: s. *Bibl.* 94, 99, und 100.

91. Childers, Robert Caesar: *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*. London: Triibner & Co., 1875. 4°, xii, 624 pp.

Zitiert den M., dessen I. Buch ihm durch eine Abschrift von Trenckner (vgl. Einleitung, p. xvii) bekannt geworden war, als „Mil. P.“

92. Davids, T. W. Rhys, und William Stede: *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*. Chipstead, Surrey: Pali Text Society, 1921-5. 4°, xiv, 749 pp. (173 + 99 + iv (Nachruf auf T. W. Rhys Davids) + 114 + 167 + 192) + 9 pp. Verbesserungen + 5 pp. Nachwort von W. Stede.

Wörter aus dem M. mit „Miln.“ bezeichnet.

93. Kern, H(endrik): *Toevoegselen op't Woordenboek van Childers* door H. K. Amsterdam: Müller, 1916 (= *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks. Deel xvi, No. 4 (i) und 5 (ii)*). I (Ohne alphabetische Ordnung und A-N): 179 pp. II (O-Y): 140 pp.

Enthält viel Material aus dem M., der hier, wie in *Bibl.* 91 (Childers), „Mil. P.“ abgekürzt wird.

94. Konow, Sten: „Words beginning with H“ (*JPTS.*, 1906-7, pp. 152-171), und: „Words beginning with S.“ Revised and enlarged by Dines Andersen (*JPTS.*, 1909, pp. 1-235).

M. = „Mil.“

<sup>1</sup> In *Bibl.* 74 ist dieser Abschnitt nicht übersetzt. In Nyāṇatiloka's Übersetzung (*Bibl.* 72): Band I, pp. 200-209.

95. Morris, Rev. Richard: „Notes and Queries.“ In *JPTS.*, 1884, pp. 69–108; 1885, 29–76; 1886, 94–160; 1887, 99–169; 1889, 200–212; 1891–3, 1–75.

In dieser Sammlung lexikographischer Notizen ist auch der M. stark vertreten. Ich bringe hier nur als Beispiel die M.-Stellen aus dem *JPTS.* für 1884. p. 72: M. 75, 18 (āsīyati) und Trenckner's Bemerkung dazu M. 422; M. 375,<sup>1</sup> 2 (sāmvaddham<sup>2</sup>). p. 73: M. 47, 1–2 (aggaṇ . . . visivetvā); M. 102, 19 (sāmsibbita-visibbīta). p. 75: M. 393, 30 (-upasiṃsako). p. 75 n.: M. 5, 2–3 (pattakkhandho). p. 76: M. 358, 6–7<sup>3</sup> (kammakaraṇaṃ); M. 197 (Strafenaufzählung). p. 77: M. 413, 10 (kālasutta). p. 79: M. 151, 18–19 (koḷāpa). p. 80: M. 197 (Strafenaufzählung). p. 81: M. 340, 27 (tamaṃ). p. 82, n. 1: M. 405, 19 (asecanaka). p. 82 und n. 2: M. 259, 31; 260, 4, 21 (disāvidisaṃ). p. 83: M. 398, 14, 16; 251, 10 (disāvidisā). p. 85: M. 90, 21 (paṭṭisāka); M. 367, 24 (paripāṭiyanto). pp. 87–8: Analyse des Satzes M. 152, 15–17. p. 87: M. 150, 11–12 (paccācamapeyya). p. 92: M. 197, 18–19. p. 94: M. 266, 4 ff. (satisammoso). p. 95: M. 367, 23; 368, 17 (lakuṭa). p. 96: M. 39, 10, 15, 17/18 (vidamseti); M. 37, 6, 7, 15/16 (apilāpana). p. 101 n.: M. 378, 9 (lakāra). p. 104: M. 253, 9 (bhava bhava).

96. Nyanatiloka: *Pali-Anthologie und Wörterbuch*. Eine Sammlung progressiv angeordneter Palitexte mit einem nach wissenschaftlichen Grundsätzen verfassten und mit etymologischen Anmerkungen versehenen Wörterbuch. A: Pali-Wörterbuch. München-Neubiberg: Schloss 1928. gr. 8°, xii, 129 pp.<sup>4</sup>

Enthält auch Wörter aus dem M. („Mil.“) zu den entsprechenden Übungsstücken aus dem M. in Teil B (*Pali-Anthologie*, 1928. 8°, 71 pp.): M. 69, 16–70, 16; 71, 16–29; 72, 1–8.

97. Smith, Helmer. s. *Bibl.* 100.

98. Trenckner, V(ilhelm): *Pali Miscellany* (genauen Titel s. *Bibl.* 64).

<sup>1</sup> So muss es auch *JPTS.*, 1884, p. 72, statt 378 heissen.

<sup>2</sup> So Trenckner. Morris: °dḍham (Druckfehler).

<sup>3</sup> Morris gibt hier auch noch M. 290 an, doch kann ich dort das Wort kammakaraṇa nicht finden.

<sup>4</sup> Angezeigt *BB.*, fasc. 1, No. 35.

Bringt auf pp. 55–83 „Notes“ und „Supplementary Notes“ zur Bāhirakathā des M. Einen verbesserten Neudruck dieser Bemerkungen stellt *Bibl.* 99 dar.

99. Trenckner, V(ilhelm): „Critical and philological notes to the first chapter (Bāhirakathā) of the Milindapañha.“ Revised and edited, together with an index of words and subjects, by Dines Andersen. In *JPTS.* 1908. pp. 102–151.

Ist ein verbesserter Neudruck von *Bibl.* 98. Einteilung: Einleitende Bemerkungen von Andersen (pp. 102–3). Trenckner's Anmerkungen (pp. 104–138). Indices: a) Sachregister und Eigennamenindex (pp. 139–141). b) Grammat. Index: Laute, Suffixe usw. (pp. 141–3). c) Pāliwörter (pp. 143–151).

100. Trenckner, V(ilhelm): A critical Pāli dictionary begun by V. T., revised, continued, and edited by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith. Published by the Royal Danish Academy. Copenhagen: Høst and Son, 1924 ff. 4°. <sup>1</sup>

Bis jetzt sind fünf Lieferungen dieses grossangelegten Werkes, das zum ersten Mal die umfangreichen lexikographischen Zettelsammlungen Trenckner's systematisch auswertet, erschienen. Die erste Lieferung (1924–6) enthält eine kurze Lebensbeschreibung Trenckner's von Andersen (pp. iii–viii), ein Vorwort der Herausgeber (pp. ix–xi), Abkürzungen, Konkordanzen d. Ausgg. von Kaccāyana, Petavatthu u. Vināyavatthu und Transkriptionssystem (pp. xii–xxii). Das Wörterbuch ist in den bis jetzt vorliegenden Lieferungen (pp. 1–234) bis „anodissa“ geführt.

Der M. wird hier „Mil.“ abgekürzt, die singhalesische Übersetzung (*Bibl.* 78) „Hinaṭ“.

#### D. WERKE, DIE VIEL ÜBERSETZUNGEN UND AUSZÜGE AUS DEM M. ENTHALTEN

101. Hardy, Spence: *Eastern Monachism*. An account of the origin, laws, discipline, sacred writings, mysterious rites, religious ceremonies, and present circumstances of the order of mendicants founded by Gótama Budha (compiled from Singhalese MSS. and other original sources of information); with comparative notices of the usages and institutions of the Western ascetics. and a review of the

<sup>1</sup> Die zweite bis vierte Lieferung angezeigt *BB.*, fasc. ii, No. 90 und fasc. iv–v, No. 158.



monastic system. London: Partridge and Oakey. 8°, xi, 443 pp. Neudruck, 1860, xii, 444 pp.<sup>1</sup>

Der M. ist eine wichtige Quelle für Hardy's Arbeit; in *Bibl.* 101 und 102 bringt er so viel Übersetzungen und Auszüge aus dem M., dass Weber, *Indische Studien*, Band iii, p. 121, meinte, der M. scheine in den beiden Werken „ziemlich vollständig aufgenommen zu sein“. Das stimmt nicht ganz, aber die folgenden Listen der von Hardy übersetzten Stellen werden zeigen, dass Hardy den M. eifrig benutzt hat, den er ja auch *Bibl.* 102, pp. 532 ff., als eine seiner Hauptquellen angibt.

<i>Eastern Monachism</i> Ausgabe 1850	<i>Trenckner'sche</i> Text-Ausgabe	Übersetzung von <i>Rhys Davids</i>
7, 9-28	272, 10-273, 13	iv, 7, 20 (ii, 109-111)
9, 28-10, 5	359, 13-22	vi, 20 (ii, 268)
15, 24-17, 24	348, 1-357, 7	vi, 1-15 (ii, 244-261)
32, 9-15	?	
33, 2 v. u.-34, 32	80, 28-82, 11	iii, 7, 3 (i, 124-6)
34, 33-35, 8	73, 24-74, 11	iii, 6, 1 (i, 115)
35, 9-39 <sup>2</sup>	246, 12-252, 30	iv, 6, 23-39 (ii, 63-75)
36, 7-37, 10	255, 1-256, 31	iv, 6, 45-9 (ii, 78-81)
72, 14-40	229, 15-231, 24	iv, 5, 30-3 (ii, 33-7)
73, 25-74, 7	8, 23-9, 27	i, 20-1 (i, 14-16)
94, 34-95, 8	214, 17-23	iv, 5, 6 (ii, 6)
113, 23-28	11, 6-15 <sup>3</sup>	(i, 19)
130, 20-34	211, 5-213, 4	iv, 5, 1-3 (ii, 1-4)
143, letzte Zeile—144, 4	108, 5-11	(i, 163)
152, 1-2	195, 1 197, 29	iv, 4, 13-15 (i, 273-8)
152, 12-25	?	
211, 25-34	80, 17-27	iii, 7, 2 (i, 123-4)
228, 23-232, 4	95, 8-102, 3	iv, 1, 10-18 (i, 144-154)
250, 14-20	74, 12-16	(i, 115)
267, 12 ff.	?	
269, 27-40	85, 18-80	iii, 7, 11 (i, 130-1)

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Weber, *Indische Streifen*, ii, p. 188. Die Ausgaben 1860 von *Bibl.* 101 und 102 waren mir leider nicht zugänglich; die Universitätsbibliotheken von Leipzig und München sowie die Preussische Staatsbibliothek besitzen diese Ausgaben nicht.

<sup>2</sup> In Trenckner's Text ist nur eine Andeutung der Papageiengeschichte. Die ausführliche Geschichte, welche Hardy in seiner *Milinda-sannā* vorlag, findet sich, wie Rhys Davids, *Q.* (ii, 6 Anm.), sagt, *Jātaka* Nr. 429 (*Mahāsukajātaka*) und 430 (*Cullasukajātaka*).

<sup>3</sup> Hat 16 „Hindernisse“; Hardy 15.

<i>Eastern Monachism</i> <i>Ausgabe 1850</i>	<i>Trenckner'sche</i> <i>Text-Ausgabe</i>	<i>Übersetzung von</i> <i>Rhys Davids</i>
275, 3-276, 16	198, 1-200, 15 <sup>1</sup>	iv, 4, 16 (i, 279-283)
279, 29-280, 18 <sup>2</sup>	121, 24, 123, 7	iv, 1, 47-8 (i, 182-5)
283, 25-284, 15	264, 3 v. u.-266, 3	iv, 7, 7-8 (ii, 98-8)
285, 31-286, 5	84, 26-85, 9	iii, 7, 9 (i, 129-130)
286, 6-39	266, 4-267, 8	iv, 7, 9-10 (ii, 98-101)
286, 1 v. u.-287, 7	44, 19-31	ii, 2, 4 erste Hälfte (i, 69)
287, 8-16	145, 25-148, 1	iv, 2, 6-9 (i, 206-9)
287, 17-24	44, 31-45, 6	ii, 2, 4 zweite Hälfte (i, 69-70)
287, 25-38	207, 23-209, 21	iv, 4, 44-5 (i, 297-300)
287, 39-288, 32	253, 1-254, 28	iv, 6, 40-4 (ii, 75-80)
288, 33-291, 26	102, 13-106, 6	iv, 1, 20-6 (i, 155-160)
292, 24-6	323, 5-7	iv, 8, 76 (ii, 195)
292, 27-34	69, 23-70, 3	iii, 4, 8 (i, 103)
292, 35-9	69, 16-21	iii, 4, 7 (i, 107)
293, 34-295, 28	263, 10-271, 6	iv, 7, 13-17 (ii, 103-107)
295, 29-296, 8	310, 5-312, 32	iv, 8, 53-7 (ii, 176-181)
296, 9-297, 2	313, 1-315, 27	iv, 8, 58-60 (ii, 181-5)
297, 3-298, 20	315, 28-323, 4	iv, 8, 61-75 (ii, 186-195)
298, 21-299, 29	323, 5-326, 14	iv, 8, 76-84 (ii, 195-201)
299, 30-300, 19	326, 15-328, 16	iv, 8, 85-8 (ii, 202-5)
300, 20-30	73, 9-22	iii, 5, 10 (i, 113-14)

102. Hardy, Spence: *A Manual of Buddhism in its Modern Development*. Translated from Singhalese MSS. London: Partridge and Oakley, 1853. gr. 8°, xvi, 533 pp.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hier ist die Geschichte nur kurz erzählt. Hardy's sanna bringt die Sāma-Erzählung ausführlicher, ebenfalls die singhales. Übersetzung, vgl. Q. (i, 283 Anm.).

<sup>2</sup> Hardy's Bemerkung, er hätte diese Stelle „from the same source“ wird man auf das Cariyāpitaka beziehen, aus welchem er kurz vorher 2 Proben in der Übersetzung von Gogerly gebracht hat. Nun steht aber die Geschichte von der Bindumati garnicht im Cariyāpitaka. Ich erkläre mir das so, dass H. die Stellen aus dem Cariyāpit. später in den Text hineingenommen und vergessen hat, das „from the same source“, das sich bis dahin auf den M. bezog, zu ändern.

<sup>3</sup> Ein Neudruck vom „Manual“ erschien — gleichzeitig mit dem Neudruck von *Eastern Monachism* (Bibl. 101) — 1860 bei Williams & Norgate in London, gr. 8°, xvi, 534 pp., vgl. Weber, *Indische Streifen*, Band ii, p. 188, und Barth, *Ouvres*, Paris, 1914, vol. i, p. 100 n. Ein weiterer Neudruck erschien 1880, ebenfalls bei Williams

<i>Spence Hardy</i>		<i>Trenckner</i>	<i>Rhys Davids'</i>
1. Aufl. 1853	2. Neudr. 1880		Übersetzung
12, n. 3	12, n. 3	68, 24-9	iii, 4, 5 (i, 106)
22	22	1	
60	61-2	149, 4-150, 21	iv, 2, 12-14 (i, 211-13)
60-1	62-3	67, 4-68, 23	iii, 4, 4 (i, 103-6)
61, 19-27	63, 3-12	101, 22-5 <sup>2</sup>	(i, 153) <sup>2</sup>
87	89	284, 23-285, 10	iv, 8, 18 (ii, 132-5)
153 n.	156 n.	235, 1-236, 25	iv, 6, 1-3 (ii, 43-6)
214-16	220-2	231, 18-21 <sup>3</sup>	(ii, 37)
315-320	326-331 <sup>4</sup>		
363-4	376-7	134, 9-138, 16	iv, 1, 62-6 (i, 190-5)
373-4	387	159, 6-160, 21	iv, 2, 29 (i, 225-7)
375-7	{ 389-390	164, 17-167, 22	iv, 3, 5-10 (i, 234-7)
	{ 390-1	186, 25, 188, 6 <sup>5</sup>	iv, 3, 38-9 (i, 257-260)
379-380	393-4	232, 7-234, 29	iv, 5, 35-7 (ii, 38-42)
381-6	{ 396, 3-397, 10	154, 18-158, 16	iv, 2, 20-6 (i, 219-223)
	{ 397, 11-37	179, 7-181, 22	iv, 3, 27-30 (i, 248-251)
	{ 397, 38-398, 6	209, 22-211, 3	iv, 4, 46-7 (i, 201-2)
	{ 398, 7-26	70, 5-71, 11	iii, 5, 1-3 (i, 109-110)

und Norgate, xii, 566 pp. Diesem 2. Neudruck hat der Verleger folgende Notiz vorangeschickt: „The present volume having been out of print for some time, the demand for it, however, still being so great that copies have been sold in public sales for several pounds, the publishers have been induced to reprint a small edition of the work. They have taken the opportunity of correcting a few errors, and adding a much more complete Index, which has been kindly compiled by Dr. Frankfurter of Berlin, who is pursuing Pāli studies in London. In every other respect the present is an exact reproduction of the first edition.“

Die Ausgabe von 1880 habe ich mir, wie schon n. 1 auf p. 532 bemerkt, nicht verschaffen können; so gebe ich in der Liste der Stellenvergleiche die Seitenzahlen nach den Ausgaben von 1853 und 1880.

<sup>1</sup> Diese Stelle aus dem „Milinda Prasna“ kann ich im M. nicht nachweisen; es handelt sich offenbar um einen kosmographischen Exkurs in Hardy's sannā.

<sup>2</sup> Hier werden auch fünf zur Hölle gefahrene Leute erwähnt, doch stimmen nur drei (Ciñcā, Suppabuddha und Devadatta) mit den bei Hardy genannten überein.

<sup>3</sup> Hier ist nur eine Anspielung auf die Begegnung Buddha's mit Kasibhāradvāja. Hardy's ausführliche Erzählung der Begebenheit, die er in seiner sannā fand, entspricht dem Kasibhāradvājasutta des Suttanipāta (pp. 12-16 der von Andersen und Smith besorgten PTS.-Ausgabe, 1913) und dem Samyutta-Nikāya, vii, 2, 1 (i, 172-3).

<sup>4</sup> Obgleich sich Hardy bei der Erzählung von Devadatta und Ajātasattu bis p. 331, 9 auf den M. beruft, kann ich im M. gerade zu diesem Stück keine Parallele finden. Dafür haben die gleich darauf folgenden Stellen (p. 331, 10 ff.) sachliche Entsprechungen in M.: Hardy, p. 331, 16-18 entspricht M. 136, 3-13 und 179, 7-181, 23, und die Geschichte vom Elefanten Mālāgiri-Dhanapāla (im M.: Dhanapālaka), p. 331, 19 ff., behandelt der Abschnitt M. 207, 23-209, 21.

<sup>5</sup> Hardy gibt diese Geschichte — vgl. Majjh. Nik. 67 (i, 456 ff.) — ausführlicher wieder; ebenfalls Hinatikumburā, vgl. Q. (i, 257, n. 2).

*Spence Hardy*

1. Aufl. 1853	2. Neudr. 1880	<i>Trenckner</i>	<i>Rhys Davids'</i> Übersetzung
	398, 27-38	74, 18-31	iii, 6, 2 (i, 116)
381-6	398, 39-399, 17	142, 14-144, 10	iv, 2, 1-3 (i, 202-4)
	399, 18-400, 30	107, 27-113, 8	iv, 1, 28-34 (i, 162-170)
	400, 31-401, 7	102, 4-13	iv, 1, 19 (i, 154)
391	405-406	Anspielung auf das 1 ff.	Wagengleichnis M. 25,
396-7	411-412	46, 16-29; 47, 31- 48, 14; 47, 16-30	(i, 72-4)
399 n.	414 n.	Hinweis auf den M.	als Quelle
404	419	60, 10-23	ii, 3, 9 (i, 92-3)
405	420, 1-12	60, 24-61, 8	ii, 3, 10 (i, 93)
406	421, 7-20	61, 21-62, 5	(i, 94-5)
406-8	421, 21-423, 6	77, 23-80, 16	iii, 6, 10-7, 1 (i, 120-3)
408	423, 26-8	62, 24-8	ii, 3, 13 (i, 95-6)
	423, 29-34	62, 29-63, 3	ii, 3, 14 (i, 96)
	424, 32-425, 6	36, 19-37, 4	ii, 1, 11 (i, 57)
	427, 6-428, 9	34, 26-36, 18	ii, 1, 10 (i, 54-6)
	428, 16-429, 4	37, 5-38, 17	ii, 1, 12 (i, 58-60)
411-15	429, 2 v. u. -430, 10	39, 5-21	ii, 1, 14 (i, 61-2)
	430, 11-431, 4	41, 29-44, 1	ii, 2, 3 (i, 66-9)
420-2	436, 21-438, 6	57, 4-60, 9	ii, 3, 7-8 (i, 89-92)
	438, 28-439, 3	62, 8-23	ii, 3, 12 (i, 96)
424-5	440, 17-441, 30	25, 1-28, 12	ii, 1, 1 (i, 40-5)
	443, 22-444, 16 <sup>1</sup>	28, 13-31, 11	ii, 1, 2-4 (i, 45-9)
	444, 17-445, 22	40, 1-41, 10	ii, 2, 1 (i, 63-5)
	445, 23-454, 15	46, 5-57, 3	ii, 2, 6-ii, 3, 6 (i, 71- 89)
	454, 18-35	71, 30-72, 18	iii, 5, 6-7 (i, 111-12)
427-440	454, 36-455, 26 <sup>2</sup>	86, 17-87, 19	iii, 7, 15-16 (i, 132-4)
	455, 26-35 <sup>3</sup>	63, 13-64, 10	(i, 97-8)
	455, 36-456, 2	39, 22-32	ii, 1, 15 (i, 62)
	456, 3-13	77, 8-22	iii, 6, 9 (i, 120)
	456, 14-28	71, 16-29	iii, 5, 5 (i, 111)
	456, 29-457, 8	82, 29-83, 20	iii, 7, 5 (i, 127-8)
	460, 33-461, 23	258, 27-261, 12	iv, 6, 54-8 (ii, 85-9)

<sup>1</sup> Stark gekürzt.<sup>2</sup> Hardy gibt M. 86, 17-87, 2 etwas ausführlicher; ebenso Hinatikumburè, vgl. Q. (i, 132, n. 2).<sup>3</sup> Diesen Vergleich, den Hardy's Vorlage unmittelbar an den vorhergehenden anschliesst, bringt M. an anderer Stelle.

<i>Spence Hardy</i>		<i>Trenckner</i>	<i>Rhys Davids'</i>
1. Aufl.	2. Neudr.		Übersetzung
1853	1880		
448	464, 20-8	72, 19-32	iii 5, 8 (i, 112-13)
451-2	468, 6-469, 32	290, 5-294, 8	iv, 8, 24-8 (ii, 144-151)
453-4	470, 13-36	45, 8-24	(i, 70-1)
455	472, 10-22	200, 16-205, 8	iv, 4, 17-41 (i, 283-293)
455-6	472, 23-473, 14	188, 8-189, 31	iv, 4, 2-3 (i, 261-3)
458-9	475, 6-476, 34	294, 9-297, 26	iv, 8, 29-33 (ii, 151-157)
461	478, 26-31	?	
463-5	{ 480, 38-481, 12	{ ? <sup>1</sup>	
	{ 481, 13-482, 13 <sup>2</sup>	195, 1-197, 29	iv, 4, 13-15 (i, 273-8)
469-470	486-8 <sup>3</sup>	192, 15-193, 21	iv, 4, 9-10 (i, 268-270)

Im „Appendix“ werden auf pp. 532-8 der Ausg. v. 1880 eine allgemeine Beschreibung des M., ein Referat über die Bāhirakathā, ein Exkurs über Nāgasena = Nāgārjuna und einige Bemerkungen über die singhales. Übersetzung des M. gegeben.

WERKE, AUFSÄTZE ODER KAPITEL, DIE SICH MIT DEM M. ALS GANZEM BEFASSEN.<sup>4</sup>

103. Copleston, Reginald Stephen: *Buddhism, primitive and present, in Magadha and in Ceylon*, by R. St. C., Bishop of Colombo. London: Longmans, 1892. 8°, xv, 501 pp.

Beschäftigt sich pp. 366-374 mit dem M. Auf pp. 371-4 ein Abschnitt „Questions of Milinda“, der Herkunft, Inhalt, Stil des M. behandelt. Weitere Erwähnungen des M.: pp. 353, 368-371, 419, n. 2.

104. Davids, Mrs. Rhys: *The Milinda Questions*. An inquiry into its place in the history of Buddhism with a theory as to its author.

<sup>1</sup> Vielleicht eine erklärende Geschichte zu M. 158,17-159,5, die in Hardy's Vorlage stand?

<sup>2</sup> Bei Hardy Fortlassung der ganzen dukkha-Serie (M. 196-7), dafür Hinzufügung eines Beispiels zur Illustration der Buddha-Aussprüche.

<sup>3</sup> Der grösste Teil von p. 487 fehlt in M., vgl. aber Q. (i, 269, n. 2).

<sup>4</sup> Hier hätte auch ein Aufsatz von Burnouf, den er über den M. schreiben wollte (s. seine *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, p. 621 = p. 580 des Neudrucks von 1876), seinen Platz gefunden. Leider hat er diesen Plan nicht zur Ausführung gebracht; in L. Feer's *Papiers d'Eugène Burnouf conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1890) ist, wie mir Professor Pelliot, der die Freundlichkeit hatte, dieses mir nicht zugängliche Werk daraufhin durchzusehen, mitteilt, der M. garnicht erwähnt. Nach einer frdl. Mitteilung von Prof. Sylvain Lévi geht das von Specht und Lévi *Bibl.* 26, p. 520 n., erwähnte *Mémoire malheureusement resté inédit* von Burnouf auch nur auf die eingangs dieser Anm. erwähnte Bemerkung Burnouf's in der „Introduction“ zurück.

London: Routledge, 1930. 8°, xvi, 169 pp. + 2 Tafeln. (= Trübner's Oriental Series).<sup>1</sup>

Sieht im M. das Werk eines Verfassers (von Frau Rhys Davids Mānava genannt), der im Laufe seines Lebens die verschiedenen Bücher geschrieben hat — der Kern ist M. 25–89 —, aus denen das Werk heute besteht. Eine Zusammenfassung der Gedanken dieser, soweit mir bekannt, einzigen etwas umfangreicheren M.-Monographie findet sich im Schlusswort, pp. 161–6.

105. Davids, Mrs. Rhys: *Buddhist Psychology*. An inquiry into the analysis and theory of mind in Pāli literature. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1914. kl. 8°, 212 pp. (= The Quest Series).

Enthält (auch in der 2. Aufl., London 1924) ein Kapitel: „Psychological Developments in the Milinda“ (pp. 156–172). Weitere Erwähnungen des M.: pp. 27, 92 n. 2, 184, 192. Ausserdem in den zusätzlichen Kapiteln der 2. Aufl.: pp. 223–4, 250, 265–6, 271 n. 2.

106. Davids, T. W. Rhys: Artikel „Milinda“ in *ERE.*, Band viii (1915), pp. 631–3.

Handelt zum grössten Teil vom M., seinem Inhalt und seinen Problemen.

107. Farquhar, J(ohn) N(icol): *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*. Oxford: University Press, 1920. 8°, xxviii, 451 pp. (= The Religious Quest of India.)

Der § 115 (pp. 104–5) ist dem M. gewidmet. In der Bibliographie unter iii, iii, 1 (p. 393) Hinweise auf *Bibl.* 74, 106, 108, 73, 88. p. 115 wird die chines. Übersetzung des M. erwähnt.

108. Carbe, Richard: *Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte*. Berlin<sup>2</sup>: Gebr. Paetel, 1903. 8°, 268 pp.

Der 3. Aufsatz (pp. 95–140) dieser Sammlung ist betitelt: „Der Milindapañha. Ein kulturhistorischer Roman aus Altindien.“

Er ist im Vergleich zu seiner ursprünglichen Fassung, „Ein historischer Roman aus Altindien“, erschienen im Augustheft 1902 der Zeitschrift *Deutsche Rundschau* (Band 112, pp. 261–281), nur unwesentlich, hauptsächlich um einige Fussnoten, erweitert worden.

109. Geiger, Wilhelm: *Pāli. Literatur und Sprache*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1916. 4°, iv, 181 pp. (= Grundriss d. indo-iran. Philologie u. Altertumskunde, 1. Band, 7. Heft).

<sup>1</sup> Angezeigt von J. Przyluski in *BB.*, fasc. 2, Nr. 101.

<sup>2</sup> So ist auch *Bibl.* 104, p. xii, statt Tübingen zu lesen.

Der M. (oder, wie G. das Werk nennt, „die Milindapañhā“) wird im Abschnitt 20 behandelt (pp. 18–19).

110. v. Glasenapp, Helmuth: *Die Literaturen Indiens von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. In Verbindung mit Dr. Barnarsi Das Jain, Dr. Wilhelm Geiger, Dr. Friedrich Rosen, D. Hilko Wiardo Schomerus von Dr. H. v. G. Wildpark-Potsdam: Athenaion o.J. (1929). 4°, 339 pp. (= Handbuch d. Literaturwissenschaft, hrsg. v. Dr. Oskar Walzel).<sup>1</sup>

Auf pp. 138–9 eine kurze Charakteristik des M. An Übersetzungen sind auf p. 140 verzeichnet: *Bibl.* 72–5.

111. Keith, Arthur Berriedale: *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. 8°, 339 pp.

Bringt im Kapitel „The Psychology of Consciousness“ einen Abschnitt *The Milindapañhā* (pp. 191–5). Ferner finden sich in diesem Werk, im Text wie in den Noten, zahlreiche Hinweise auf den M. (ich habe mir 58 Stellen notiert; der Index ist unvollständig).

112. Pavolini, Paolo Emilio: *Buddismo* per P. E. P., professore nel R. Istituto di Studi superiori di Firenze. Milano: Hoepli, 1898. kl. 8°, xv, 163 pp. + 64 pp. Katalog der Manuali Hoepli (= *Manuali Hoepli* 264).

Dem M. sind die Abschnitte 42 und 43 gewidmet (pp. 97–101)<sup>2</sup>; 42 handelt im allgemeinen von diesem Werk, 43 bringt Übersetzungen daraus nach Warren (*Bibl.* 88), §§ 28a, 31, 90.

113. Pfungst, Arthur: *Die Fragen des Königs Milinda*. In: *Gesammelte Werke*, hrsg. in Gemeinschaft mit Dr. Franz Angermann u. Emil Doctor von Marie Pfungst. Frankfurt a. Main: Neuer Frankfurter Verlag, 8°. Band ii (1926), pp. 105–120.<sup>3</sup>

114. Walleser, Max: *Die philosophische Grundlage des älteren Buddhismus*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1904. 8°, xi, 148 pp. (= *Die buddhistische Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* 1.)

<sup>1</sup> Angezeigt *BB.*, fasc. 2, Nr. 13.

<sup>2</sup> p. 97 braucht P. die Namensform Milindra ohne Quellenangabe; diese Form des Namens ist m. W. nur in Ksemendra's *Bodhisattvāradānakalpātā* belegt.

<sup>3</sup> Der Aufsatz, ursprünglich im Feuilleton der *Frankfurter Zeitung*, I. Morgenblatt vom 23. Jan. 1894, veröffentlicht (nach einer frdl. Mitteilung der Redaktion dieser Zeitung), war schon in den 1904 erschienenen Sammelband Pfungst'scher Arbeiten *Aus der indischen Kulturwelt* (Stuttgart, Fromann) aufgenommen worden, vgl. Held, No. 1497.

Enthält einen Abschnitt „Die philosophische Grundlage des Milindapañha“ (pp. 111–13).

115. Winternitz, M(oriz): *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*. 4 Bände. Leipzig: Amelang 1908–1922. 8°. I: 1908, xii, 505 pp. II, 1: 1913, vi, 238 pp. II, 2: 1920, x, 117 pp. (pp. 289–405). III: O.J. (1922), xii, 697 pp.

Dem M. sind die pp. 139–146 des 2. Bandes gewidmet. Weitere Erwähnung des M.: Band 1, pp. 26, 297 n. 2; Band 2, pp. 9 n., 14 und n. 1, 15 n. 1, 45 n. 2, 61 n. 1, 91 n. 5, 97 n. 2.

#### NACHTRAG

Einer brieflichen Mitteilung (v. 1. Juli 1934) von Prof. H. Ui vom Seminar für Indische Philosophie an der Kaiserlichen Universität Tokyo verdanke ich folgende Ergänzungen zum Abschnitt C des 1. Teils meiner „Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie“ (p. 341 ff. dieser Zeitschrift):

Nachtrag 1. Ikeda, Chōtatsu 池田澄達: Über das Nāgaseua-Sūtra (那光比丘經に就いて) in der Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Tokiwa (常盤博士還暦記念佛教論叢), pp. 23–34.

„Discusses some special points contained in the work.“

Nachtrag 2. Yamamoto, Chikyō 山本智教: Über den Milindapañha (ミリンダパンハ書史私考) in: Mikkyōkenkyū (密教研究) 1932, No. 47, pp. 105–123.

„Tries to explain what appears to be the original part of the work“.

Ferner hatte Prof. Ui die Freundlichkeit, mich auf folgende Druckfehler aufmerksam zu machen:

p. 337, l. 33, muss es 北 statt 比 heissen.

p. 341, l. 13, ist Hori, Kentoku statt: Kanenori, Hari zu lesen.

p. 341, l. 19, lies: Kimura, T(aiken) statt: Kimura, J.

p. 342, letzte Zeile, lies: Oda statt: Ōda.

Nach Korrektur der Fehler und Einsetzen der Ergänzungen würden sich folgende Umstellungen ergeben:

p. 341, 13. Genshin . . . (wie bisher).

14. Hori, Kentoku . . . (bisherige No. 15).

14a. Ikeda, Chōtatsu . . . (s. oben Nachtrag 1).

15. Ivanovski . . . (bisherige No. 14).

15a. Kimura, T(aiken) . . . (weiter wie bisher).

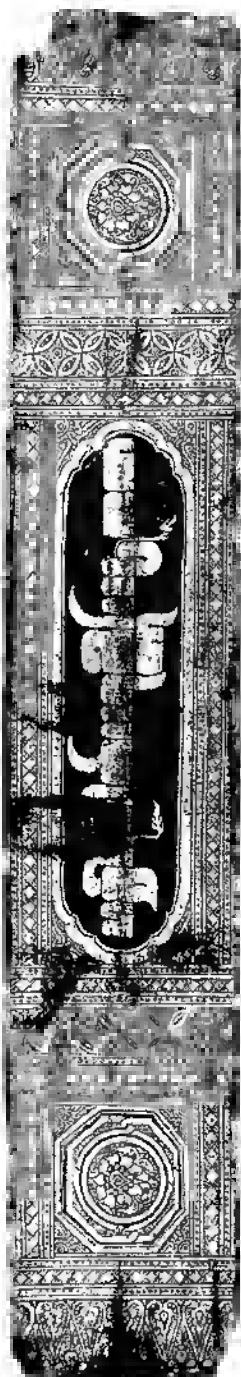
p. 346, wäre vor II. einzuschieben:

32a. Yamamoto, Chikyō . . . (s. oben Nachtrag 2).

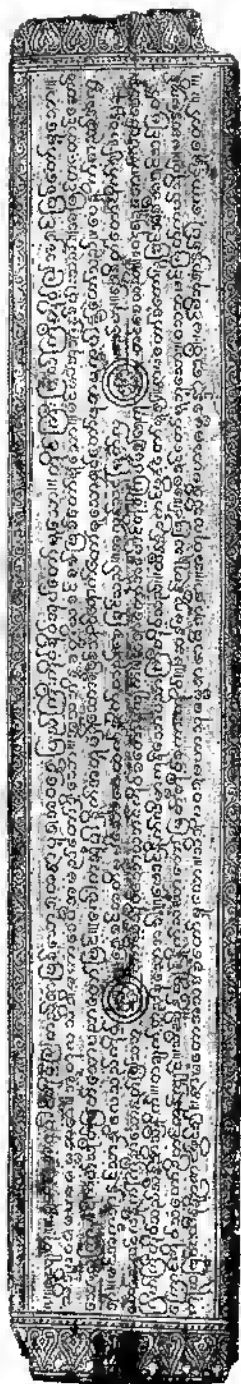




(Obverse)



BURMESE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION (REVERSE)



## Burmese Dedicatory Inscription of A.D. 1683

By J. A. STEWART

(PLATE IV)

THE inscription here reproduced appears on the covering leaf of a gilt palm-leaf manuscript, 21.1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. by 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in., in the possession of the Java Head Bookshop, Great Russell Street, the proprietors of which have kindly agreed to its publication.

### TEXT

*Obverse* (square gilt letters on red lacquer)

ပဉ္စမါ[နိပ]တ် အ ဂုတ္တိရ် အဋ္ဌကထာ

*Reverse* (cursive writing in black lacquer on gilt)

Line 1. ဇယုတု။။ ရတနာ အပေါင် တိုဉ် ဇာ် တည်ရာ ဖြစ်သော ရတနာပူရ အဝ  
ရှေ့ပြည်ကြီးကိုခိုင်အပ်တော် မူသော။။ တိုင်ကြီးပြည်ကြီး တိုဉ် ဇာ် အရှင်ဖြစ်တော် မူသော။။

Line 2. သိရိပဇေယျာဓိရာဇာ။။ အတုလသိရိ မဟာဒေဝီ အမည်တော်ရှိသော။။  
အသံဘိန္န ခတ္တိယ စင်စစ် ဖြစ်တော်မူသော။။ မင်မိဘုရား နှစ်ပါးသည်။။ အမြင်တကောင်း  
ဆောင်

Line 3. သောသကြားမင်ကယ့် သိုဉ် မြတ်သော ပညာတော်ဖြင့်။။ လောကသုံးပါး  
နှိုက်အတူ မရှိသော အဖြစ် သိုဉ် ရောက်တော်မူသော ရှင်တော် ဖုရ မုက္ခပါဌ်တော်သည်။။  
ပေနှိုက်ကညစ်အကွ

Line 4. ရာ။။ မင်အကွရာ နှင့်သာ ရှိလေသည်ကိုဉ်။။ ရှေ့စင်အတိမ္မင်သော ပေ  
ယက်နှိုက်တည်စေခြင်သည်။။ အလွန်သင့်မြတ်လှမည်ဟု။။ ရှေ့စိတ်တော်ပိုက်၍။။  
၁၀၄၂ ခု

Line 5. တော်သလင်လ နှိုက်ကြီး၍ သောနတ်၏သဘင်ကယ့် သိုဉ် သောသဘင်ကိုဉ်  
ခံတော်မူလျက်။။ ဆရာတော်အပေါင် တိုဉ် ကြပ်မ၍ ရေကုတင်စေသည်။။ ၁၀၄၂ ခု  
ရောက်လတ်သော်။။

Line 6. ပြုတ်ကြို တိုဉ်သည် သိန်ရာသီနှိုက်။။ တချက်တည်စုသော အခါ။။ မေဗင်  
နှိုက်လိမ္မာကုန်သော ပညာကြီး တိုဉ်သည်။။ ထိန်နံ ဥကင် ဖွင့်တော်မူ၍။။ နာမံတော်ခံ  
တော်မူခြင် အစီအရင်သင့်မြတ်

Line 7. ကြောင်ကိုဉ် သံတော်ဦးတင်ကုန်လျှင်။။ သိစဉ် ကျွန်နှိုက်သံသီတော်  
ပြတ်တိုဉ် စကားကိုဉ်။။ မဆန်မလွန်ကျသဖြင့်။။ စီရင်တော်မူဘူသော။။ ဝသဘ  
မင်မြတ်ကယ့်သိုဉ်။။ မဆန်မလွန်

Line 8. ကျသဖြင့်။။ ထိန်နံ ဥကင် ဖွင့်၍။။ နှိမံတောအသစ်ခံတော်မူသော။။  
သိရိပဇေယျာဓိရာဇာဓိရာဇာ။။ အတုလသိရိ မဟာဓမ္မစန္ဒာဒေဝီ။။ မင်မိဘုရားနှစ်ပါး  
ကောင်းမှုတော်။။

## TRANSLATION

*Obverse.* Commentary on the five-fold Anguttara Nipata.

*Reverse.* May he be victorious. Of Ratanapura Ava the great golden country where all precious things abide, ruler, of great realms and great countries lord : Siripavaramahadhammaraja and Atulasirimahadevi, of the pure unmixed race of the Khattiyas, king and queen, resembling Indra of the thousand-fold vision in excellent wisdom, having conceived in their golden minds that the sacred word of Lord Buddha, who reached a state incomparable in the three worlds, which exists only on palm-leaf in stilus-writing and in ink-writing, would very fittingly be inscribed on palm-leaf overlaid with purest gold ; in the month Tawthalin of the year 1042 holding a great festival like a festival of the Devas, caused the copying to be done under the supervision of all the Royal Teachers. In the year 1045 when the great planets were together in the sign of the lion, as the great wise men skilled in the Vedas reported that it would be fitting to appoint the opening of the throne-door of the palace and the taking of royal names ; even as in the island of Ceylon, not contravening or transgressing the words of the excellent order, the excellent King Vasabha appointed ; of the royal pair who likewise not contravening or transgressing opened the throne-door and took new royal names, Siripavaramahasudhammarajadhiraja and Atulasirimahadhammacandadevi, this is the meritorious deed.

## NOTES

*Historical Setting*

Phayre's account of the reign of this king, commonly known as Minyèkyawdin, is as follows :—

“ The nobles then consulted . . . and, passing over several elder princes, selected the youngest son of the prince of Prome, who was proclaimed king, with the title of Sri Pawara Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ. His elder brothers and other members of the royal family showed signs of active opposition to the young king, and many of them were secretly put to death by the party in power.

“ The king reigned for twenty-six years [1673–1698]. From the absence of powerful enemies, internal and external, the kingdom, under vigorous rule, might have been restored to the position it had under Ngyaung Ram Meng and his son. But the young king, as years passed, showed no qualities fitted to rule an empire. Though the

monarchy suffered no great disaster, its power gradually declined. The chief of Manipur occupied the Kubo valley without any real effort being made to check the encroachment. Other outlying districts were lost. The king, devoid of energy, failed to assert the power of the kingdom, and dying, was succeeded by his son, who did nothing to retrieve the losses which had occurred." (p. 140.)

It would appear, however, that the kings of Ava even in the late seventeenth century still enjoyed considerable prestige. The dynasty had started with Tabin Shwe Hti in A.D. 1538, and it claimed descent from the old kings of Pagan. Guns mounted on its walls secured the inviolability of the capital, and the Glass Palace Chronicle shows that attention was devoted to the maintenance of kingly pomp—in which, from the frequent mention of courts and conferment of titles, Minyèkyawdin seems to have been particularly interested. A point more germane to the subject of the inscription is brought out in Mrs. Mabel Bode's *Pali Literature of Burma*, namely, the new tendency which manifested itself in the seventeenth century, to abandon the study of Pali grammar in favour of study of the Pitakas, particularly the Abhidhamma. The kings encouraged these studies not only in the interests of the religion but in the hope of thereby conjuring the secular ills of the kingdom. Minyèkyawdin's *thera* was Devacakkobhasa, whose system of Abhidhamma teaching was recommended to the Order by the king. This *thera's* influence with the king is said to have been based on his learning in the Vedasatthas (chapter iv). In this connection it may be noted that in lines 6 and 7 of the inscription "men skilled in the Vedas" and "the members of the excellent order" are identified.

#### *Decipherment*

The square characters of the title, in themselves difficult to read, are somewhat rubbed. The MS. itself is in Pali and from the labial letters used to indicate the order of the leaves, it appears to be one of the later volumes of some work, which I have not been able to identify. *Pañcaka*, here represented by *pañcā*, is ordinarily contracted to *pañcā* in Burma. The Rangoon Bernard Free Library Catalogue lists MSS. with the title *Pañca anguttorañhakatha*, but none in which *nipat* and *anguttora* both appear. Both words, however, occur in the titles given by Mrs. Bode at p. 103 of her *Pali Literature of Burma*.

*Script*

The great interest of the dedication is that it gives us a specimen of seventeenth century penmanship. Manuscripts in Burma are short-lived, and while palm-leaf MSS. written in the latter half of the eighteenth century are not uncommon, anything earlier is rarely met with.

With the exception of *r* the form of the letters is fairly modern. The omission in most cases to indicate the heavy falling tone is typical of the indifference in these matters which continued till the middle of last century. The creaky tone is indicated by two faint dots below the line instead of by one dot as at present. The long *i* is usually indicated by a dot in the centre of the superscript circle, as in Mon, instead of by the present-day half-moon at the bottom of the circle. The level tone in the *aw* group of sounds is indicated as at present by the *she-do*, or pennant, symbol, except in one case in line 8 where the symbol is omitted. Important divergences from modern spelling are *phura*: (Buddha) and *thighol* (Ceylon) for the modern *bhura*: and *thihol*. In the latter case, *gh* is the regular Mon spelling and is still occasionally found in comparatively modern Burmese books.

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## A Topographical Fragment from Tunhuang

By LIONEL GILES

(PLATES V AND VI)

THE manuscript numbered S. 788 in the Stein Collection at the British Museum is a fragment, only about a foot square, containing on one side of the paper part of two ballads descriptive of fighting in the frontier regions, the second of which is entitled 燕歌行一首 "the Ballad of Yen". Both the writing and the paper point to a date in the late ninth or beginning of the tenth century. On the back, in a more careless hand, some scribe has copied out a topographical text similar in character to the *Tun huang lu*, the *Sha chou chih* (belonging to the Pelliot Collection in Paris), or the treatise of 886 translated in *Bull. SOS.*, VI, pp. 825-846. It describes the same district as the *Tun huang lu*; but whereas the latter works its way methodically round the compass, starting from the north-east and ending up in the north, our present text is merely a fragment of some rough notes thrown together more or less at haphazard. Though very short, it is not without interest, and may serve as a convenient peg on which to hang a discussion of certain points, both historical and geographical, connected with this fascinating region.

[Li Kuang-li] drew the sword suspended at his waist and stabbed the mountain, whereupon a waterfall gushed forth, so that men and horses could drink . . . [its flow] has never been interrupted.

The legend of the Erh-shih (or more correctly, Ni-shih) Spring is related in *Tun huang lu* (*JRAS.*, July, 1914, pp. 705-7), and also in *Sha chou chih*, ff. 2 v°, 3 r°, under the heading 懸泉水 "Waterfall Stream". The latter is quoting from 西涼異物志 *Hsi liang i wu chih*, and the words are nearly identical with those of our present text: 以佩劍刺山飛泉涌出以濟三軍. The spring was 130 li east of Sha-chou, and has been identified by Stein with 綠草溝 *Lü-ts'ao-kou*, "the Nullah of Green Grass", situated 45° 33' long., 40° 20' lat. See "Serindia", pp. 1089 seq.; map SI. c. 3.

*Eastern Salt Lake.* 50 li east of the *hsien* [i.e. the walled city of T'ang times, about a mile to the west of the present Tunhuang]. Salt is got out of the water and forms into natural lumps; men strain

away the water and dry the salt, which is all in crystals. The taste is more insipid than that of the salt in Ho-tung, though it is similar in appearance.

This may be the 黃草泊 Yellow Grass Lake of the *Tun huang lu*. Stein identifies it with the salt marshes near Hsin-t'ien-tzū, about 15 miles E.N.E. of the T'ang city of Tunhuang. See "Serindia", map 81. a. 4. 刑 for 形.

*Western Salt Lake.* 117 li north-west of the *hsien*. It is popularly known as Sha-ch'üan (the Sand Spring). The salt is of the same kind, but it has a nice taste and is of a pink colour.

According to Stein, this is the dry bed of the salt marsh north-west of the spring Chien-chüan-tzū (Yantak-bulak, Shör-bulak), which is referred to below as the Hsing-hu Lake. Position,  $94^{\circ} 23'$  long.,  $40^{\circ} 27'$  lat. See "Serindia", map 78. b. 3.

Next is the *Tang Ch'üan*.

See *Tun huang lu*, p. 708. It is not the same as the Tang River, as there stated, but a smaller stream flowing from the south through the valley in which the Ch'ien-fo-tung grottoes are situated, which finally loses itself through evaporation. See "Serindia", pp. 791-2.

*Northern Salt Lake.* 45 li north-west of the *hsien*. The taste of the salt is not so good as that of the salt from the Western Lake.

Stein would identify this lake with the salt marshes near Yang-chüan, about ten miles north of Tunhuang town, which he passed in March, 1914. Position, about  $94^{\circ} 42'$  long.,  $40^{\circ} 19'$  lat. See "Serindia", map 78. c. 3.

Next are the *San-wei Hills*.

A barren range east of Ch'ien-fo-tung Valley. Cf. *Tun huang lu*, p. 708. A view of these hills will be found in "Serindia", fig. 194.

Story of old ruins. Story of Lo-tsun. Next, the story of the victims thrown to the dragon. In the sand well.

These seem to be memoranda suggested by the locality of the San-wei Hills.—For the first two characters I read 古迹. It is interesting to meet even the bare name of Lo-tsun, the Buddhist priest who is said to have begun the construction of the Ch'ien-fo-tung grottoes in A.D. 366; for I have found no other reference to him in the Stein MSS. All we know of him is derived from an inscription of A.D. 698 preserved in *Hsi yü shui tao chi*, iii, 12 seq., and translated by Chavannes, "Dix Inscriptions," p. 59. 投龍事 is evidently the story of the dragon recounted below, and more at length in *Tun*



*huang lu*, pp. 718-720. The "sand well" may be the mysterious spring on the Hill of Sounding Sand (*ibid.*, p. 711). Miss E. F. French, who has visited the spot, informs me that there still exists here a sheet of water, about a mile in circumference and apparently fed by a hidden spring, which resists all encroachments of the desert sand. Cf. 太平寰宇記 *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, cliii, 4 r°: 又山之陽有一泉云是沙井綿歷古今沙填不滿 "On the southern slope of the Sand Hill there is a spring. This sand-well has been here continuously from ancient times until now, for the sand is never able to fill it up."

An earth-dyke surrounds the *chou* territory on all sides.

土河, literally, "earth-river"; but 河 is possibly a mistake for 阿, one meaning of which is "embankment". From *Sha chou chih*, f. 14 v°, we learn that "on the east it stretches to the 磧口亭 Chi-k'ou Station, 500 *li*, 100 paces, from the *chou*; on the west, to the 白山烽 Pai-shan Beacon, 30 *li* from the *chou*; on the south, 7 *li* to the Sand Hill; on the north, to the 神威烽 Shên-wei Beacon, 37 *li* from the *chou*. 爲 evidently stands for 圍.

It was built by Wu Ti of the Han in the sixth year of *Yüan-ting* [111 B.C.] as a barrier to keep out the Hsiung-nu.

This sentence also occurs in *Sha chou chih* (*loc. cit.*), which then continues: "In the 11th year of *Chien-ch'ü* [A.D. 415], Li Kao, king of Western Liang, built up the dyke once more as a protection against marauders. In the 16th year of *K'ai-huang* of the Sui dynasty [596] it was abandoned." 111 B.C. was the year in which Chiu-ch'üan Chün was extended so as to include the Tunhuang district.

*The two Hsing-hu Lakes.* 110 *li* north-west of the *hsien*. All the other water [in the vicinity] is bitter; this water alone is drinkable. Foreign traders on their journey to or from the Jade Gate Barrier all stop here.

The word 涼 is inexplicable here unless it be taken as a homophone for 兩 "two". What renders this emendation more probable is the fact that there are actually two small lakes in the required position as shown on Stein's map 78. b. 3. in "Serindia". It is true that the *Sha chou chih*, f. 7 r°, mentions only one lake, and gives its dimensions as follows: 19 *li* east and west, 9 *li* north and south. Depth, 5 feet. Then it continues: "The water is brackish; only the spring is fit for drinking. Foreign traders (*shang hu*) going and returning along the road of the Jade Gate Barrier make this a halting-place,

hence its name." (It would appear that 興 was pronounced more or less like 商 at that time, and this is confirmed by Karlgren's Analytic Dictionary.) Cf. "Desert Cathay", p. 7. The Jade Gate of the T'ang dynasty, of course, was east of Tunhuang. Chien-chüan-tzū, or Shōr-bulak, marked on Stein's map 38. a. 4 in "Innermost Asia", is still a regular halting-place for travellers from the Lop side.—The twelve characters that follow are out of place; they recur in the next column.

*The Tomb of K'an.* 20 li east of the *hsien*. This is the tomb of Liang, grandfather of K'an Yin.

From the *Sha chou chih*, f. 13 v°, which gives the correct reading 涼 instead of 涼, we get the following particulars: "According to the 後魏書 *Hou wei shu*, [K'an] Yin's *tzū* was 玄陰 Hsüan-yin. He was a native of Tunhuang, and his grandfather Liang had a great reputation in the West. His father 玫 Mei was a man of culture in his day, who as an official rose to be magistrate of Kuei-chi (in Chekiang). The tomb is 35 feet high and 35 paces in circumference." The reference in the *Wei shu* is chüan 52, f. 11 v°. We learn from it, further, that K'an Yin was very studious, and after a single perusal of the Three Histories [*Shih chi*, *Han shu*, and *Hou han shu*] he was able to repeat them word for word. Thus he acquired the nickname of 宿讀 "All-night reader". He wrote a commentary on 王朗 Wang Lang's 易傳 *I chuan*, and compiled gazetteers for thirteen *chou*, which had a wide circulation. The king of Northern Liang, Chü-ch'ü Mêng-hsün, thought very highly of him, and his successor Mu-chien promoted him to be Minister of State. When 丕 P'ei, Prince of Lo-p'ing, became Governor of Liang-chou, he took K'an with him as his lieutenant, but after his death the latter returned to the capital. In spite of his high rank, his family was very poor, suffering even from hunger and cold. He was a heavy eater, consuming as much as three *shêng* (about four pounds) of food at a single meal. He died without issue.

Next, the *Spring of the Jade [i.e. Beautiful] Maiden*. 70 li north-west of the *hsien*. A water dragon had its lair here.

*Tun huang lu* places the spring 85 li west of the city. Stein thinks it may possibly be one of the spring-fed lagoons near Camp cxix of 1914, about 16 miles N.N.W. of the T'ang town of Tunhuang. 校 is a mistake for 蛟. What this ancient counterpart of our Loch Ness monster can have been must be something of a puzzle to zoologists. A 蛟 *chiao* is a scaly dragon, so one would expect some species of

saurian reptile. But it does not appear that any such creature has been observed in that region; and we are told in 敦煌耆舊記 *Tun huang ch'i chiu chi* (quoted in *I t'ung chih*, clxx, 3 r°) that "in its streams there are no venomous reptiles, in its jungles there are no rhinoceros or tigers" (川無蛇虺, 澤無咒虎).

In the *Chêng-kuan* period of the T'ang [627-650], the prefect Chang Hsiao-kung offered up prayer and sacrificial meats to the dragon, which then came forth. Grasping his sword, he cut off its head and bequeathed it to his posterity. The dragon's tongue is still preserved at Ch'ang-an, being on exhibition in the temple of his descendants there.

The text of the above passage is somewhat confused, and appears to be corrupt. I read: 唐貞觀刺史張孝恭鑄 (for 禱) 織 (for 旨?) 饒之龍乃出手劍斬賜子孫今長安有龍舌 [伐見?] 存今有子孫宮在言 (for 焉). "Chang Hsiao-kung" is a mistake for Chang Hsiao-sung (嵩). In the *Chiu t'ang shu*, ciii, 2 v°, he is called Chang Sung, and it is stated that he succeeded 郭虔瓘 Kuo Ch'ien-kuan as Protector of An-hsi. Tall and of a commanding presence, he devoted his life to the frontier regions, and when he was at An-hsi fostered agriculture and carried out a bold military policy, so that the granaries were full to overflowing. Finally, he was made Governor of T'ai-yüan, and died in office, being succeeded as Protector of An-hsi by 杜暹 Tu Hsien. That he was a man of note appears from the statement in *Hsin t'ang shu*, ccxxi A, 15 r°: 都護以政績稱華狄者 田揚名郭元振張孝嵩杜暹云 "The Protectors who gained renown among Chinese and barbarians alike for the merits of their administration were T'ien Yang-ming, Kuo Yüan-chên, Chang Hsiao-sung, and Tu Hsien".

It is rather surprising that he should not have been deemed worthy of a separate biography in the dynastic histories. As things are, only a few scattered notices can be pieced together. In the first place, of course, our present text is wrong in assigning him to the *Chêng-kuan* period. According to the *Tun huang lu*, he was made prefect of the dragon-infested region in 705-6, and we do not hear of him again until 715, in which year a resounding feat of arms against the Pretender to the throne of Ferghana is recounted in *Tzû chih t'ung chien*, ch. cxxi, f. 19, as a result of which "his prestige put fear into the western kingdoms, and eight of them sent in their submission". (Cf. Chavannes, "Tou-kiue Occidentaux," p. 148, note 3.) In 722 Chang Hsiao-sung,

now holding the high position of Governor of Pei-t'ing, appears as the champion of the State of 小 勃 犂 Little Po-lü (Gilgit), which was being attacked by the Tibetans. He said: "Po-lü is the western gate of China; if Po-lü is lost, then all the Western Regions will become Tibetan." Thanks to his energy, a great victory was gained over the Tibetans: myriads of their troops were slain, and the nine towns they had seized were recaptured. (*T'ung chien*, cxxii, 20; *Hsin t'ang shu*, cccxi B, 6 v°.) We get a last glimpse of Chang Hsiao-sung as Protector of An-hsi, when he was promoted to be Governor of T'ai-yüan. This seems to have been in 724; at any rate, that was the year in which Tu Hsien succeeded him as Protector. Cf. *Hsin t'ang shu*, cxxvi, 6 v°, and *Kang mu*, xliii, 63 v°.

The story of the dragon is told more fully in *Tun huang lu* (*JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 718-20; 1915, pp. 45-6). I have also found a version of it in *T'ai p'ing huang chi* (printed in 981), cccxx, 6 v°, for which see Appendix A.

*Shou-ch'ang Hsien.* *Hsien* of the third class. 120 *li* south-west of the *chou*. Houses built by the Government, 195. Households, 359. Country districts, 1.

For Shou-ch'ang Hsien, see *Tun huang lu*, p. 712, note. It was situated in the present Nan-hu Oasis: see "Serindia", pp. 620 seq. The distance here given would seem to be under-estimated. For 解 and 干, see *Bull.SOS.*, VI, pp. 831-2. It has occurred to me that 干 may have some connection with the Tibetan *ston-sde*, a "thousand-district", itself rather an obscure term. See Prof. Thomas' translation of Tibetan documents, *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 563.

The above is the Lung-lo Hsien of the Han dynasty. In the sixth year of *Chêng-kuang* [A.D. 525] its name was changed to Shou-ch'ang Chün. In the second year of *Wu-tê* [619] it became Shou-ch'ang Hsien. In the sixth year of *Yung-hui* [655] it was abandoned. In the second year of *Ch'ien-fêng* [667] it was again established as Shou-ch'ang. At the beginning of the *Chien-chung* period [780-4] it was conquered by the Tibetans. In the second year of *Ta-chung* [848] Chang I-ch'ao recovered it.

These details agree roughly with *I t'ung chih*, clxx, 8 v°, which says: "West of the military station of Sha-chou. Founded under the Han dynasty and made subordinate to Tunhuang Chün, an arrangement which was continued under the Later Han and the Chin. The Later Wei established Shou-ch'ang Chün. In the Later [i.e. Northern]

Chou period, both *chün* and *hsien* were incorporated in Ming-sha. Under the T'ang it was re-established as Shou-ch'ang Hsien, subordinate to Sha-chou, but later was abandoned." According to *T'ang shu*, xl, 10 v°, Shou-ch'ang Hsien was established independently of Tunhuang in 619, then abolished in 650, but in 667 again established. In 738 it was once more abolished, but afterwards re-established. For the date of the Tibetan conquest of the Tunhuang region and its recovery by Chang I-ch'ao, see Appendix B. It should be noted that the second character in Chang I-ch'ao's name is given as 議, which agrees with the geographical text S. 367 (see *Bull. SOS.*, VI, 834). I must call attention, however, to another text in the Stein Collection (S. 5835, a brief explanation of the 大乘稻芊經 *Ta shêng tao kan ching*) which bears the following signature: 清信佛弟子張義朝書 "Copied by the Buddhist disciple of pure faith, Chang I-ch'ao". In all probability this is the famous leader's autograph, written in his youth when he was a lay-student in a monastery. That it was customary for boys of good families to obtain their schooling in this way appears from the similar case of Ts'ao Yüan-shên, another future *chieh-tu-shih*, mentioned in *Bull. SOS.*, VI, 836. A reproduction of both autographs will be found on an accompanying plate.

Buddhist monasteries, 1: Yung-an (Perennial Peace).

We learn from S. 2729 v° (1) that this monastery contained eleven monks in A.D. 800. It is frequently mentioned in the Stein MSS.

Chên (market towns), 2: Lung-lo.

The second town is omitted. Lung-lo is one of the twelve *hsiang* or country districts of Tun-huang Hsien enumerated in S. 2669. The other eleven are: (1) 燉煌 Tun-huang; (2) 慈惠 Tz'ü-hui; (3) 平康 P'ing-k'ang; (4) 玉關 Yü-kuan; (5) 洪池 Hung-ch'ih; (6) 効穀 Hsiao-ku; (7) 神沙 Shên-sha; (8) 赤心 Ch'ih-hsin; (9) 莫高 Mo-kao; (10) 洪潤 Hung-jun; (11) 青水 Ch'ing-shui. In addition, 西宕 Hsi-tang is mentioned in S. 113, 懸泉 Hsüan-ch'üan in S. 514, and 龍泉 Lung-ch'üan in S. 6014.

Forts, 5: Western Shou-ch'ang; Western Barrier.

With regard to the number, it looks as if 二 had been written originally, and afterwards changed into 五.

Frontier garrisons, 3: Ta-shui (Great Flood); Hsi-tz'ü-t'ing (Station of Hsi Tz'ü); Tz'ü-chin (Purple and Gold).

Beacons, 34. Stockades, 2. Chên, 3.

I understand neither the repetition of this item nor the discrepancy in the number.

*City Hsien.* 25 *li* west. Established in the eighth year of Wu-tê [625].

Stein thinks that this may perhaps be identified with one of the villages near Camp 159, about five miles west of the T'ang town of Tunhuang.

*P'o-ch'iang T'ing* (Defeat Ch'iang tribe Station). 65 [*li*] east of the *hsien*. The Historical Record says: "The P'o-ch'iang General Hsin Wu-hsien of the Han defeated the Ch'iang and the Jung at this spot." The station that was built here was therefore called P'o-ch'iang.

On Hsin Wu-hsien, the *Chung kuo jên ming ta tz'ü tien*, p. 510, has the following: "A native of 狄道 Ti-tao (south of Lanchow). Governor of Chiu-ch'üan (Su-chow in Kansu) in the reign of Hsüan Ti (73-49 B.C.). Distinguished for his martial daring. He asked permission to smite the Han and Ch'ien tribes. The Emperor received his despatches with admiration, and bestowed on him the title of General, Vanquisher of the Ch'iang. He was cashiered in consequence of a memorial from 趙充國 Chao Ch'ung-kuo, and returned to Chiu-ch'üan. Afterwards, he again received the title, and was sent to attack the Wu-sun, but got no further than Tunhuang, where he died of disease." See *Han shu*, xcvi B, 4 r°; also lxix, 4 v°, and elsewhere in the biography of Chao Ch'ung-kuo. 記 is not the *Shih chi* of Ssü-ma Ch'ien, for the campaign referred to was in 61-60 B.C.

*Yü-mên (Jade Gate) Barrier.* 160 *li* north of the *hsien*. The *Ti li chih* (Topography) says: "Established by Wu Ti in the Hou-yüan and Yüan-k'ang periods [88-87 and 65-62 B.C.]."

後元康 seems to be an instance of haplography. But *Hou-yüan* was Wu Ti's last nien-hao, and *Yüan-k'ang* was in the reign of Hsüan Ti. Stein's excavations have made it practically certain that the Jade Gate which he locates at T. XIV was established about 100 B.C. It was really situated north-west of the Nan-hu Oasis, but the distance agrees fairly well with Stein's estimate of 36 miles. The *Ti li chih* is not that of the *Han shu*. The following passage occurs in xcvi A, 1 v° of that work: 驃騎將軍 . . . 初置酒泉郡後稍發徙民充實之分置武威張掖敦煌列四郡據兩關焉 "The Light Horse General [Ho Ch'ü-ping] . . . began by founding Chiu-ch'üan Chün (Su-chow), and then gradually

brought colonists to people this territory. He separately established Wu-wei (Liang-chou), Chang-i (Kan-chou), and Tunhuang, thus making four *chün* side by side, and maintained two Barriers there".

Ho Ch'ü-ping died in 117 B.C., before the extension of the Great Wall, so that it is hardly possible that the Yü-mên Kuan located at T. XIV should have then been in existence. But the passage must not be understood so literally as to imply that these measures were all taken by Ho Ch'ü-ping himself. In fact, from another passage of the *Han shu* (ch. vi, f. 12 v°), we know that Tunhuang did not become a separate *chün* until 111. Nor can we suppose that the two barriers were erected simultaneously. All we can say is that at a somewhat later date both barriers were in existence, but there is no reliable evidence to fix the exact date of their erection. One of them, however, must have been earlier than the other, and there is little doubt that this earlier one was the Yang Kuan. It was situated in the Nan-hu Oasis, some 30 to 40 miles W.S.W. of Tunhuang, and is likely to have been established about the time that this city was made into a *chün*, i.e. 111 B.C. It would then have been known as the Yü-mên or Jade Gate Barrier. The later Jade Gate at T. XIV, on the line of the extension of the Great Wall, 50 to 60 miles west of Tunhuang, would certainly not have been established until the Wall had reached that point in the desert; and that, according to Stein, cannot have been until after 103, and perhaps as late as 96 B.C. But meanwhile we know that there was a Jade Gate somewhere; and on the strength of a passage in the *Shih chi*, discussed by Chavannes in "Documents Chinois", Introduction p. vi, by Stein in "Serindia", p. 726, and myself in *Tun huang lu*, pp. 715-16, Chavannes assumes that it must have been situated east of Tunhuang; Stein, following him, is inclined to place it in a defile between Bulungir and An-hsi. Seeing, however, that its purpose was to serve as a frontier gate, and that Tunhuang was at that time being colonized by the Chinese, this does not appear to me at all likely. Moreover, the theory takes no account of Yang Kuan and its relation to the other barrier. On the whole, then, I am inclined to accept the statement in *Tun huang lu* that Yang Kuan was really the ancient Yü-mên Kuan. In other words, the furthest outpost of the Chinese Empire from about 111 until about 100 B.C. was the Barrier in the Nan-hu Oasis, and only later was it the Barrier on the limes at T. XIV. Stein does not accept this view, but I cannot understand the reasons given in "Serindia", p. 624: "In view of what combined geographical and archaeological facts conclusively

prove as to the quite distinct original purposes and positions of the two 'barriers' of Yang and Yü-mên . . ." This seems to be merely begging the question; for no one denies their distinct positions after the end of the second century B.C. But that their original purposes were also "quite distinct" is a surprising assertion, unsupported by any evidence; one would like to know what other purpose was served by the Yang Kuan than that of frontier gate and fortress to guard the oasis against external enemies. The strength of my argument lies in the fact that between 111 and about 100 B.C. the frontier lay not east but west of Tunhuang. Ssü-ma Ch'ien's statement (*Shih chi*, cxxiii, 6 r°) that (in 108 according to the *T'ung chien*) "a line of posts and small forts was established from Chiu-ch'üan as far as the Jade Gate" cannot, I think, as Stein assumes (p. 725), refer to the extension of the Great Wall; for a similar statement is made about a line of posts to Lopnor, where there was no wall (*ibid.*, f. 10 r°). The Jade Gate in this case would be the Yang Kuan.

The Account of the Western Regions says: "In the east, they border on China at the Yü-mên and Yang Barriers." This is the barrier in question.

See *Han shu*, xcvi A, 1 r°.

The *Li-pi Mountain* is 50 *li* south-west of the *hsien*.

Reading the character after 西 as 南.

*Lien-yen* . . .

A flick of the pen shows that the two characters are to be transposed, as above.

## APPENDIX A

### 沙州黑河 THE BLACK RIVER AT SHA-CHOU

At Sha-chou in the north-west of Pei-t'ing [*Note*.—In Han times, the territory occupied by the Northern Hsiung-nu was called Pei-t'ing, by which the Western Regions are meant. Under the T'ang, Pei-t'ing became the seat of a Protector-General] there is the Black River, which is deep enough to float a boat. The river used to be constantly in flood, sweeping away houses and turning the plain into a marsh. On this account crops entirely disappeared from the north-west, and the land remained wild and uncultivated. The inhabitants, too, migrated to a distance in order to escape the danger of being overwhelmed and drowned. The officials at Sha-chou would only venture



to attend to the administration after having prepared sacrificial victims and liquor for libation which they offered up on the banks of the river. Unless this was done, there would be torrents of rain lasting for months, or great inundations destroying whole cities and towns, so that the villagers of the neighbourhood one and all joined the funny tribe.<sup>1</sup>

In the K'ai-yüan period of the T'ang, 張嵩 Chang Sung of Nanyang was appointed Protector of Pei-t'ing, and no sooner had he arrived in the district with his seals of office than he convened a meeting of his subordinates in order to acquaint himself with the facts. He was told that there was a huge dragon in the river which was fond of devouring lambs, horses, dogs, and pigs, and was perpetually rising to the surface and swimming among the waves in its craving for the sacrificial victims offered by the burghers on the river banks. "Only too long," said they, "have we known this affliction." Thereupon Chang Sung gave orders for a feast to be spread, with sacrificial animals and wine, but secretly instructed his followers to be ready near at hand with bows and arrows. He then led a party of officials to the river, wearing a high hat and holding a ceremonial tablet, bending his body with reverent mien. All of a sudden the dragon appeared; it was a hundred feet long, and it leaped out of the waves, finally landing on the bank. Its eyes flashed fire, and it was only thirty or forty paces away when Sung ordered his men to draw their bows and have their shafts in readiness. Soon the monster had actually reached the banqueting-table, when its body began to diminish in length until it was only three or four feet long. Then it made as though to eat, but before it could do so Sung shot his arrow, which was the signal for a general discharge, and the dragon, unable to put forth its strength, was destroyed. As soon as it was dead, all the people from the countryside came to gaze upon it, and there was all the noise and commotion of a market-day.

Sung was so pleased at having rid the people of this pest that he formally presented it to the Emperor. The Emperor, admiring his courage and resolution, gave orders that the tongue should be cut out and presented to Sung, and, moreover, decreed that the governorship of Sha-chou should become an hereditary office for his descendants. Thus down to the present day he is known as "Mr. Chang of the Dragon's Tongue". [*T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, ccccx, 6 v°.]

<sup>1</sup> For this apt rendering of 則里中民盡魚其族也 I am indebted to my friend Mr. L. C. Hopkins.

## APPENDIX B

## HISTORY OF THE TUNHUANG REGION FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

An Lu-shan's rebellion, which broke out in 755, dislocated the Chinese administrative system in the Western Regions and, by opening a door to Tibetan aggression, finally led to their severance from the Empire. The general trend of events may be gathered from the following extract: "In the flourishing period of the T'ang, Ho-hsi and Lung-yu comprised 33 *chou*, of which Liang-chou was the largest. The soil was fertile and produce abundant, and the inhabitants well-off and happy. The country was suitable for horse-breeding, and the T'ang established eight centres for the tending of 300,000 horses. The An-hsi Protectorate was responsible for the control of thirty-six kingdoms in the Western Regions, and T'ang troops acted as protection for over 300 cities, which were constantly garrisoned by Chinese soldiers, the centre of administration being at Liang-chou.

"During An Lu-shan's rebellion, when the Emperor Su Tsung took up his residence at Ling-wu,<sup>1</sup> he recalled all the troops in Ho-hsi to deal with the emergency. Taking advantage of this, the Tibetans attacked and subdued the million Chinese inhabitants of Ho-hsi and Lung-yu, who thus came under the barbarian yoke. In the reign of Wên Tsung [827-840],<sup>2</sup> envoys were sent to the Western Regions in order to visit Kan, Liang, Kua, and Sha-chou. The towns were still there, and the people, who had been enslaved by the barbarians, on seeing the Chinese envoys, lined the streets and welcomed them with acclamation. Shedding tears they said: 'Does our Emperor still bethink him of us poor souls who are now under Tibetan rule?' These people were the descendants of those who were subjugated by the barbarians in the T'ien-pao period [742-755]. Their speech had been slightly modified, but the fashion of their clothes had undergone no change.

"By the time of the Five Dynasties, the Tibetans had become weaker, and various barbarian tribes, including the Uighurs and the Tang-hsiang, invaded different parts of the country without, however, interfering with the population. At that time China was in a state of decadence and disorder, and was unable to extend a helping hand. Only the four *chou* of Kan, Liang, Kua, and Sha remained in regular

<sup>1</sup> Near Ning-hsia, Kansu, in A.D. 756.

<sup>2</sup> *Chiu wu tai shih* narrows the margin to 836-840.

communication with China. Kan-chou became the official centre of the Uighurs, but in the other three *chou* the military and civil officials still regarded themselves as in the service of the T'ang, and several embassies were sent to do homage at the Chinese Court. From the time of Tai Tsu of the Liang [907-914], the *chieh-tu-shih* of Ling-wu also held the governorship of Ho-hsi and the Inspectorship of the *chou* Kan, Su, and Wei. But though this was nominally so, Liang-chou appointed its own military rulers.

"In the fourth year of Ch'ang-hsing of the [Later] T'ang [933], Sun Ch'ao, the *liu-hou* of Liang-chou, despatched the generalissimo Chih-pa Ch'eng-chien and the Buddhist and Taoist elders Yang Tung-hsin and others to the capital with a request for official insignia. Ming Tsung asked about the pedigree of Sun Ch'ao and his people, and Ch'eng-chien replied: 'After the Tibetans had conquered Liang-chou, Chang I-ch'ao, a native of Chang-yi, levied troops, smote the Tibetans, and drove them out. In requital of his services, the T'ang made him *chieh-tu-shih* and sent 2,500 soldiers from Yün-chou for garrison duty. At the downfall of the T'ang the Empire fell a prey to revolution, and the country from Liang-chou eastwards was cut off by the T'u-chieh and the Tang-hsiang. Thus the Yün-chou soldiers had to remain, being unable to get home; and now the Chinese population of Liang-chou are all descendants of those garrison troops.' Ming Tsung then appointed Sun Ch'ao *chieh-tu-shih*." (*Hsin wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 4-5; cf. *Chiu wu tai shih*, cxxxviii, 1-2.)

It would appear from the above, and from other passages in the standard histories, that Stein has some justification for saying ("Serindia," p. 816) that the territory of Tunhuang was conquered by the Tibetans about 759, and that by 766 they had definitely established their power over the whole of Kansu. Yet there is good ground for believing that these accounts are by no means strictly accurate. In his Appendix to "Ancient Khotan", vol. i, p. 536, Chavannes, indeed, concludes that by the year 766 or thereabouts the Tibetans had succeeded in isolating Eastern Turkestan, that is to say, in cutting it off from China; but it is clear, as we shall see, that Chinese rule was still maintained in most of the important places, Sha-chou included, for several years after that date. The *Shui tao chi*, iii, 19, is quite definite on the subject: "The name Sha-chou originated with Chang Chün of the Former Liang.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the T'ang, Kua-chou

<sup>1</sup> Reigned 324-343. The actual year when Sha-chou is first mentioned is 335.

was divided off from it . . . In the second year of *Chien-chung* [781] it was conquered by the Tibetans. According to Yen Lu-kung's note on the memorial tablet of Sung Kuang-p'ing, his sixth son, Hêng, having been exiled to Sha-chou, became an assistant counsellor at military headquarters. When control was lost over the provinces of Ho-hsi and Lung-yn, he acted as intermediary with the Tibetans, and for his numerous services was made *lang-chung* of the Board of Works and also *yü-shih*, *chieh-tu* of Ho-hsi, and *hsing-chün ssü-mu*. In conjunction with the *chieh-tu* 周鼎 Chou Ting he defended Tun-huang for just over ten years, and was honoured with the title of *chung-ch'êng ch'ang-shih*. But before the Emperor's gracious decree reached him the Tibetans had invested the city, and after soldiers and ammunition were exhausted it was taken by the rebels. This is the story of Sha-chou's conquest by the Tibetans."

Now, this is certainly the same siege that is described at greater length in *T'ang shu*, cxxvi B, 8 v°, but assigned to the year 819: "In the beginning the prefect of Sha-chou, Chou Ting, held the city resolutely for the T'ang. The Gialbo shifted his tent to the Nan Shan, and sent Shang Ch'i-hsin-êrh to attack the place. Ting appealed to the Uighurs for help, but a year went by and they did not come. A plan was discussed for burning the city and suburbs, and fleeing eastwards with the whole population; but all agreed that it was not feasible.

"Ting sent the cavalry officer 閼朝 Yen Chao with a picked force in search of water and fodder. In the early morning this officer came in for a farewell visit, and engaged in a shooting-match with Ting's confidential attendant Chou Sha-nu. After the usual ceremonious salutation, he drew his bow to the full and shot Sha-nu, who fell dead on the spot. Then he seized Ting and put him to death by strangling, and himself took over the administration of the *chou*.

"In the eighth year of the siege the defenders of the city brought out a quantity of silk cloth, and offered each roll of it (18 Chinese feet in length) in exchange for a *lou* (10 catties) of wheat. So many responded to the offer that Yen Chao was delighted and exclaimed: 'Now that the people have enough to eat, we can hold out to the last man!'

"Two years later, both arms and provisions were exhausted, so Chao mounted the city wall and shouted: 'I will surrender the city on condition we are not sent away to other lands.' Ch'i-hsin-êrh consented to this, so he came out and surrendered. This was in the





eleventh year after the beginning of the siege. Ch'i-hsin-érh was appointed by the Gialbo to succeed to the governorship; and later on, suspecting that Yen Chao was plotting a *coup d'état*, he had him removed by putting poison in his boots.

"After their enslavement, all the inhabitants of the *chou* adopted the barbarian costume; but every year at the ancestral sacrifices they wore Chinese clothes, and wept bitterly when they put them away again."

If the *T'ang shu*'s dating is correct, this passage would seem to show that Tunhuang remained practically autonomous until 819, but that in or about 809, for reasons which are obscure, the Tibetans found it necessary to reduce the place to submission, an object which they achieved only after an eleven years' siege. This conclusion is so surprising, not to say improbable, that it cannot be accepted without further investigation.

It is obvious that Chinese historians could know little or nothing of what was happening in Tunhuang during the period of Tibetan rule, and that avenue of information is therefore closed. But the MSS. recovered from Ch'ien-fo-tung, and now distributed among the national libraries of London, Paris, and Peking, form a possible source of enlightenment which has yet to be thoroughly explored. In the Stein Collection alone the number of dated rolls, ranging from A.D. 406 to 995, runs into hundreds. Between 803 and 851, however, there comes a very remarkable gap during which no exact dates occur. It is all the more noticeable because in the fifty years preceding there are over thirty dated MSS., and in the half-century following as many as fifty. This points almost unmistakably to a period of repression, during which the normal activities of Buddhist monks were perforce suspended, or at any rate diminished.

Nine rolls in the Stein Collection have notes or colophons mentioning the Great Tibetan Kingdom or Dynasty (大蕃國), and eight of these contain cyclical dates, at least two of which can be fixed with practical certainty. Let us take them in order:

(1) On the back of S. 779 there are two scribbled notes, one of which reads: 大蕃沙州釋門教口和尚洪誓修功德 "Meritorious work accomplished by the Buddhist priest Hung-pien of Sha-chou in the Great Tibetan Kingdom". This personage is the Bishop of Ho-hsi to whom is addressed an edict on a stone tablet dated 851, transcribed in "Serindia", p. 1332, and translated by Chavannes. His names should be read Hung-pien, not Hung-jên, as

the latter has it. It was largely owing to his co-operation that Chang I-ch'ao was able to carry out his memorable revolution. We may take it that this note was penned shortly before that event.

(2) In S. 796, there is a colophon inside the roll referring to a text on the outside, the relevant portion of which runs: 乙巳年三月廿一日於大蕃國沙州永壽寺僧法原寫畢 "Copying completed by the monk Fa-yüan of the Yung-shou Monastery at Sha-chou in the Great Tibetan Kingdom on the 21st of the 3rd moon of the *i-sü* year." This is more likely to be 825 than 765, the only possible alternative.

(3) The colophon of S. 1520 is dated 蕃中末年三月十一日 "the 11th day of the 3rd moon of the *wei* year of the Tibetan dynasty". A *wei* year recurs every twelve years, so this is of little value as a date. It might be 767, 779, 791, 803, 815, 827, or 839.

(4) S. 1686 opens with the date 大蕃歲次辛丑五月丙申朔二日丁未 "the 2nd day, *ting-wei*, of the 5th moon, of which the first day was *ping-shên*, of the *hsin-ch'ou* year of the Great Tibetan Dynasty". This is almost certainly 821, as 761 is too early.

(5) The fragmentary colophon of S. 2729, a treatise on divination, reads: 大蕃國庚辰年五月廿三日沙州口 "[Copied by] . . . of Sha-chou on the 23rd of the 5th moon of the *kêng-ch'ên* year in the Great Tibetan Dynasty". This date can be fixed positively as the 18th June, 800.

(6) S. 3475 yields some interesting data. Here we find two colophons, from which we may extract the following: 巨唐大曆七年三月廿八日沙門體清於號州開元寺。寫此經。又至辰年九月十六日俗弟子索遊巖於大蕃管沙州。轉寫此卷訖 "On the 28th day of the 3rd moon of the 7th year of *Ta-li* in the Great T'ang Dynasty [5th May, 772] the priest T'i-ch'ing made a copy of this commentary at the K'ai-yüan Monastery in Kuo-chou [Honan] . . .

"Again, on the 16th day of the 9th moon of the *ch'ên* year, the lay disciple So Yu-yen finished copying out this roll afresh at Sha-chou, a dependency of the Great Tibetan Kingdom." This second date might be either 776 or 836. So far as I can judge, the handwriting of both colophons and of the text itself (a commentary on the first four chapters of the Vimalakīrti-sūtra) is the same. This would be rather puzzling did we not know from another MS. of the same commentary (S. 2496) that T'i-ch'ing composed this work in 767. It would appear,



then, that the whole roll, including T'ich'ing's colophon, was copied by So Yu-yen from a draft made by the author himself.

(7) The short colophon to S. 3485 is worth transcribing in full: 大番歲次己巳年七月十一日王土渾爲合家平善國下 [for 家?] 投亂敬寫 "On the 11th of the 7th moon of the *chi-ssü* year of the Great Tibetan [Dynasty], reverently copied by Wang T'u-hun to secure the blessing of peace for his whole family, the country having fallen into turmoil". This date might be the 11th August, 789, as the next *chi-ssü* year fell in 849, when the Tibetan power had already collapsed in Tunhuang and elsewhere. On the other hand, we do not know of any particular "turmoil" that took place in 789.

(8) S. 3966, colophon: 壬寅年六月大蕃國有讚普印信并此十善經本傳流諸州流行誦誦後八月十六日寫畢記 "In the 6th moon of the *jên-yin* year a letter was issued with the seal of the Gialbo, to be circulated throughout the departments of the Great Tibetan Kingdom with copies of the present *Shih shan ching*, for widespread recitation. On the 16th day of the following 8th moon [5th September, 822], this note was written after the completion of the copying". Here the only possible alternative to 822 is 762, which again seems to be too early.

(9) S. 6503, colophon: 時蕃中歲次乙酉冬末月下旬二日於報恩寺寫訖比丘神應記 "Copying completed in the Pao-ên Monastery on the 2nd day of the third decade of the last moon of winter in the *i-yu* year of the Tibetan dynasty. Note by the bhikshu Shên-ying". This is the 15th January, 806.

To sum up: the two certain dates we arrive at are 800 and 806, while those that are fairly certain range from 789 to 825. This agrees well enough with the supposition that Tunhuang remained virtually independent until 781, and regained its liberty about 848; it is hardly consistent with the theory that Tunhuang did not finally surrender until 819. S. 514 v<sup>c</sup> records a census of 宜禾里 I-ho Li in Tunhuang Hsien, that is to say, a register of the Chinese population with their holdings in land, which was compiled in 769. That such an undertaking should have been carried out except under stable Chinese rule is unlikely. In 781, the Gialbo of Tibet claimed practical equality of status with China, as well as a revision of the frontier. Both claims were conceded. Such arrogance may well have been prompted by a military success like the capture of Tunhuang. In the following year, a sworn covenant between the two nations was signed. In 787, Sha-

chou reappears in the news under the name 鳴沙 Ming-sha (Sounding Sand), where a Tibetan leader is said to have encamped after a raiding expedition.

Though it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Sha-chou fell into the hands of the Tibetans in or about 781, a remarkable laxity in their government is shown by the fact that some of our MSS. continue to bear Chinese *nien-hao* for over twenty years longer: the dates are 781, 782, 787, 790, 793, and 803. After that comes the long gap of forty-eight years which we have previously noted. Evidently the Chinese population suffered a severe restriction of their liberty during the first half of the ninth century. If the somewhat doubtful Tibetan date of 789 be disregarded, we find that Chinese and Tibetan dates overlap only to a slight extent, for the latest Chinese date is 803, while the earliest Tibetan date would then be 800. But in any case there can be little doubt that the *T'ang shu* is wrong in placing the capture of Sha-chou as late as 819. Apart from the positive statement to the contrary in *Shui tao chi*, it is significant that the 歷代紀事年表 *Li tai chi shih nien piao*, usually so full, omits the whole episode. Moreover, in 819 the Tibetans were merrily raiding the province of Shansi; can it be supposed that they would leave Sha-chou, still untaken, so far in their rear?

Passing now to Chang I-ch'ao, we may note that he bears the same surname as the doughty Governor Chang Hsiao-sung, whose descendants, according to the *T'ai ping kuang chi* (a rather dubious authority, it is true) were to inherit the governorship of Sha-chou. 850 is the earliest year in which Chang I-ch'ao figures in the Histories, so that the statement in our present text (see p. 550) that Shou-ch'ang was recovered by him in 848 is of no small interest; for it implies that, contrary to the hitherto accepted belief, Tunhuang itself must also have been reconquered in that year, or perhaps even earlier. Confirmation is afforded by a passage in S. 3329, one of the very few historical texts in the Collection: 燉煌晉昌收復已訖時當大中二載。。。沙州既破吐蕃大中二年遂善押牙高進達等馳表函入長安城以獻天子 "After the reconquest of Tunhuang and Chin-ch'ang<sup>1</sup> was completed, it was the second year of Ta-chung [848] . . . In that year, accordingly, when Sha-chou had defeated the Tibetans, the *ya-ya* Shan, Kao Chin-ta, and others hastened to the city of Ch'ang-an with despatches which they presented to the Son of Heaven".

<sup>1</sup> Part of the Kua-chou district.

For the next two centuries, Tunhuang remained in a state of *quasi-independence*, owning a nominal allegiance to China, but really governed by rulers drawn from two powerful families. Of this period we possess four somewhat scanty accounts by different historians, none of them wholly accurate. The first and second, from the *T'ang shu*, cccvi B, 13 v°, and *Wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 5 v°, were translated by me in *Bull.SOS.*, VI, 834-6. The third, from the *Sung shih*, cccxc, 15 v°, has been translated into French by Chavannes (see "*Serindia*", pp. 1338-9), but its importance is such that it will bear re-translating here:—

"Sha-chou was formerly the ancient territory of Tunhuang under the Han. At the close of the *T'ien-pao* period of the T'ang [755] it was conquered by the Western Jung. In the fifth year of Ta-chung [851] <sup>1</sup> Chang I-ch'ao brought the *chou* back to allegiance, and an edict was promulgated conferring upon Sha-chou the title of Military District of Kuei-i, and upon I-ch'ao that of *chieh-tu-shih*, with authority over the departments (*chou*) of Ho, Sha, Kan, Su, I, and Hsi, Inspector, Commissioner of Settlements, and Legal Commissioner. When I-ch'ao visited the Chinese Court, he left his nephew Wei-shên in charge of the *chou*.

"In the time of the Liang dynasty founded by Chu, the Chang line came to an end, and the inhabitants of the *chou* elected the *chang-shih* Ts'ao I-chin as their chieftain. When I-chin died, he was succeeded by his son Yüan-chung. In the second year of Hsien-tê of the Chou [955] he came to render homage to the Court, and was appointed *chieh-tu-shih* of his district, Controller, Commandant, Associate of the *chung-shu mên-hsia*, and *p'ing-chang-shih*. A seal of office was cast and presented to him. In the third year of Chien-lung [962] his honours were increased by the rank of *chung-shu-ling*, and his son Yen-kung was made *fang-yü-shih* of Kua-chou. In the fifth year of Hsing-kuo [980] Yüan-chung died, and his son Yen-lu sent an embassy with tribute. On Yüan-chung was conferred the posthumous title of Prince of Tun-huang Chün, on Yen-lu that of *chieh-tu-shih* of his district, while his younger brother 延晨 Yen-shêng was made Prefect of Kua-chou, and another younger brother, 延瑞 Yen-jui, *tu-yü-hou* [Superintendent] in the Yamên. In the fourth year of Hsien-p'ing [1001] Yen-lu was made 譙郡王 Prince of Ch'iao Chün. In the fifth year [1002] Yen-lu and Yen-jui were murdered by their nephew Tsung-shou. The latter took provisional command as *liu-hou*, and

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes gives the year wrongly as 852.

appointed his younger brother 宗允 Tsung-yün to take provisional charge of Kua-chou. Then he made formal application to the Court for the insignia of office, with flag, whereupon Tsung-shou was made *chieh-tu-shih* and Tsung-yün was made Controller, *shang-shu tso-p'u-yeh*, and Governor of Kua-chou. Tsung-shou's son Hsien-shun was made Chief of the Staff within the Yamên. At the close of the *Ta-chung Hsiang-fu* period [ca. 1016] Tsung-shou died, and Hsien-shun was made *chieh-tu-shih* of his district, while his younger brother Yen-hui became Controller, President of the Ministry of Justice, and Governor of Kua-chou. Hsien-shun sent up a memorial to the Throne, begging for a copy of the Buddhist Canon in gold characters, as well as tea, drugs, and gold-leaf. An Imperial decree sanctioned these gifts. At the beginning of the *T'ien-shêng* period [1023] he sent an embassy to express his thanks, and bearing tribute of frankincense, sal ammoniac, and lumps of jade. From the *Ching-yu* [1034-7] to the *Huang-yu* period [1049-1053], this country sent seven lots of tribute consisting of local produce."

There are at least two errors in the above account: (1) Ts'ao Yüan-chung is named as his father's immediate successor, whereas two other brothers, Yüan-tê and Yüan-shên, intervened; (2) Ts'ao Yen-kung is not mentioned as *chieh-tu-shih*, which we now know him to have been. A few sentences may be added from the chapter on the kingdom of Hsia in *Sung shih*, cccclxxxv: "In the sixth year of *T'ien-shêng* [1028] Tê-ming sent his son Yüan-hao to attack Kan-chou, which he captured. In the eighth year [1030] the King of Kua-chou with a thousand horsemen surrendered to Hsia." In the tenth moon of the following year Tê-ming died, and was succeeded on the throne by Li Yüan-hao (f. 8 v<sup>o</sup>). In 1035, Yüan-hao was attacking certain Tibetan cities when his return was intercepted by the general An Tzû-lo. Yüan-hao waged a desperate battle on two flanks, fighting night and day; at the end of a period of over 300 days Tzû-lo was defeated, whereupon he took possession of Kua-chou, Sha-chou, and Su-chou (f. 10 r<sup>o</sup>).

The fourth account is a continuation of what has already been quoted from *Shui tao chi*, iii, 19: "Seventy years after its fall, the Prefect of Sha-chou, Chang I-ch'ao, sent his elder brother 義潭 I-t'an<sup>1</sup> to announce the return of Kua, Sha, and nine other *chou* to their allegiance to the T'ang; whereupon the Court changed the name

<sup>1</sup> 義澤 I-tsé in *T'ung chien*, 義渭 I-wei in *T'ai ping kuan yü chi*.

Sha-chou into 'Military District of Kuei-i'; and the Chang and Ts'ao families acted for generations as protectors of the region. In the eighth year of *Hsien-t'ung* [867] Chang I-ch'ao went to Court, making Chang Huai-shên *liu-hou* (Resident). In the thirteenth year of *Hsien-t'ung* [872] Huai-shên died, [Note.—This according to the 方鎮 Fang-chên Tables in the *T'ang shu*<sup>1</sup>; according to the stone tablet commemorating the meritorious act of [the prefect] Li [Ming-chên] in repairing a building, which was engraved in the first year of *Ch'ien-ning* [894], Chang Huai-shên was then still alive and credited with several titles of rank. I suspect a mistake in the Tables] and Ts'ao I-chin became *liu-hou*, afterwards receiving the title of *chieh-tu-shih*. In the second year of *Hsien-tê* in the reign of Shih Tsung of the [Later] Chou dynasty [955], I-chin died, and was succeeded by his son Yüan-chung. In the fifth year of *T'ai-p'ing Hsing-kuo* in the reign of T'ai Tsung of the Sung [980] Yüan-chung died, and was succeeded by his son Yen-lu.<sup>2</sup> In the fifth year of *Hsien-p'ing* in the reign of Chên Tsung [1002] Yen-lu was slain by his nephew Tsung-shou, who succeeded him as *chieh-tu-shih*. In the seventh year of *Ta-chung Hsiang-fu* [1014] Tsung-shou died and was succeeded by his son Hsien-shun. After the ninth year of *T'ien-shêng* in the reign of Jên Tsung [1031] the family does not appear again in history, so presumably the line died out with Hsien-shun.

"At the beginning of the *Ching-yu* period of the Sung [1034-7] Sha-chou was absorbed in the Hsi-hsia Empire. Li Tao says in his 通鑑長編 *T'ung chien chi'ang pien*: 'In the 12th moon of the 2nd year of *Ching-yu* [January, 1036] Yüan-hao attacked Chia-lo-ssü-lai. In the 12th moon of the 3rd year [December, 1036-January, 1037] he again raised an army, attacked the Uighurs, and took Kua-chou, Sha-chou, and Su-chou.' But the *Hsia kuo chuan* of the Sung *shih* puts the capture of these *chou* in the second year—a mistake which is corrected in the *Ch'ang pien*. According to the *Ch'ang pien*, however, in the 12th moon of the 4th year of *T'ien-shêng* [January-February, 1027] the Khitans sent the Inspector of Sha-chou, 石宇 Shih Yü, to offer congratulations on the New Year [to the Chinese Court]; so it would seem that before the State was absorbed by Hsi Hsia the Ts'ao family had entered into intimate relations with

<sup>1</sup> The passage in *T'ang shu* is really cexvi B, 14 r<sup>2</sup>, and it is I-ch'ao's death that is chronicled, though a careless reader might take the words to refer to Huai-shên. Correct also Chavannes, "Dix Inscriptions," p. 80, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Again we see that the reigns of Yuan-tê, Yuan-shên, and Yen-kung are omitted.

the Khitans, and the latter had set up an Inspector in the land. By the time of the *Huang-yü* period [beginning in 1049] Sha-chou had long been incorporated in Hsi Hsia, yet in the 4th moon of the 2nd year of *Huang-yü* [1050] and in the 10th moon of the 4th year [1052] we again find Sha-chou sending tribute [to China]. Whether at that time Hsia was already submitting to the Sung or allowed Sha-chou to send in tribute, we cannot say."

So much for our historical sources. I will conclude by drawing up a tentative list of the successive rulers of Tunhuang, with a concise statement of the facts it has been possible to ascertain about each, and with particular reference to MSS. in the Stein Collection. It can only be regarded as a skeleton account, to be supplemented and corrected by future discoveries.

張 議 潮 CHANG I-CH'AO: 848-867

Native of 張掖 Chang-i (the modern Kan-chou). Lay-student in a monastery. Re-conquered Tunhuang and Chin-ch'ang, 848 (S. 788, 3329). Presented to the Throne maps of eleven *chou*, 850. Made *fang-yü-shih* of Sha-chou after sending in his allegiance to China, and subsequently *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün, 851. Re-conquered Liang-chou, 861. (This statement in the *T'ang shu* is confirmed by the official report, S. 6342.) Migrated to Ch'ang-an, 867, and died there, 872.

張 淮 深 CHANG HUAI-SHÊN: 867-886 (?)

Nephew or cousin of the preceding. Called 張 維 深 Chang Wei-shên in *Sung shih* and *T'ung chien*. Appointed *liu-hou* or Deputy Governor in Chang I-ch'ao's absence, but it is doubtful whether he became *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün. In the mutilated inscription of 894 (*Sha lu*, p. 27 v°; "Dix Inscriptions," p. 96) he is referred to as *chieh-tu-shih* of I, Hsi, and other *chou*, and also, it would seem, as former *chieh-tu-shih* of Sha, Kua, I, and Hsi. Professor Pelliot speaks of a short epitaph to this personage among the documents he found at Ch'ien-fo-tung, according to which he died on the 22nd of the 2nd moon of the first year of *Ta-shun* [16th March, 890]: see *BEFEO*, viii, 522. The inscription of 894 alludes to the outbreak of disturbances in Ho-hsi (河 右 塵 戈) more than twenty years after Chang I-ch'ao's son-in-law Li Ming-chên had his interview with the Emperor Hsüan Tsung, who reigned 847-859. The interview cannot

very well have taken place before 852, so the trouble must have occurred after Chang I-ch'ao's death in 872. It is quite possible that other unknown rulers may have followed Chang Huai-shên.

索勳 So Hsün: 886 (?)–893 (?)

Literary name, 封侯 Fêng-hou. Member of a respected Tunhuang family, and son-in-law of Chang I-ch'ao. One of the Tunhuang documents in Paris (*Sha lu*, f. 30) records his appointment as prefect of Kua-chou. He is there given the title of 中丞 *Chung-ch'êng*, and his martial prowess is enlarged upon. He is not mentioned in the standard histories, and what else we know of him is derived from an inscription of 892, reproduced in *Shui tao chi*, iii, 20, where he is entitled *chieh-tu* of Kuei-i Chün. The author of that work, 徐松 Hsü Sung, decides that he must have succeeded Chang Huai-shên in 872, when the latter was transferred to the post of *chieh-tu-shih* of I-chou and Hsi-chou. The author of the *Sha chi*, on the other hand, thinks 892 a more likely date. I have adopted neither conjecture, but would suggest the year 886 on the strength of a Stein MS. (S. 1156), unfortunately incomplete, which records the sending of a special commission to the Chinese Court in 887 in order to sue for the insignia of *chieh-tu-shih*; for we know that it was customary for a ruler to do this soon after his accession to power. So Hsün may also be referred to in the colophon to a prayer, with confession, dated 20th June, 888 (S. 1824): 。。。於城東索使君佛堂頭寫記 "Written in the family oratory of His Excellence So, east of the city".

張承奉 CHANG CH'ENG-FENG: 893 (?)–910 (?)

Hitherto only known as 張奉 "Chang Fêng" from a passage in *Wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 5 v°, quoted in my previous article, where he is said to have called himself "The White-robed Son of Heaven of Chin Shan". This person is evidently identical with the 金山白衣王 *Chin shan po i wang* whose edict is reproduced in *Sha lu*, f. 28 v°. Chin-shan is another name for 交河郡 Chiao-ho Chün in Hsi-chou. In addition, he is mentioned in at least four of the Stein MSS., from which we learn the proper form of his personal name. (1) S. 4470 v° is the record of a donation dated the 10th day of the 3rd moon of the 2nd year of *Ch'ien-ning* [8th April, 895], made by the *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün, Chang Ch'êng-fêng, and the Assistant Commissioner 李弘願 Li Hung-yüan. (2) S. 2263 v°, "Notes on Sepulture" by 張忠賢 Chang Chung-hsien, mentions "the *chieh-*

*tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün, Chang of Nan-yang, whose personal name is Ch'êng-fêng". Another short piece just before this bears the date 896. Chang Chung-hsien was *chieh-tu ya-ya* at the same place, and probably a relative of the Governor. (3) S. 1604 is a letter from the [*chieh-tu*] *shih* of Sha-chou to the Buddhist Bishop of that district, with his reply. It bears three impressions of a seal reading 沙州節度使印 *sha chou chieh tu shih yin*, and is dated the 30th May, 902. (4) S. 5747 is a fragment of a letter from the Kuei-i Chün *chieh-tu-shih* Chang, dated the 10th February, 905. There can be no doubt that all these texts denote the same person—the Chang Fêng of the *Wu tai shih*. He is said to have been reigning in the *K'ai-p'ing* period of the Liang [907–910], but we do not know when he died. Possibly the downfall of the T'ang had its repercussion in Tunhuang, and led to the disappearance of the Changs and the instalment of the Ts'ao family in their place.

曹義金 Ts'AO I-CHIN: 910 (?)–940

Raised to power through election: see *T'ang shu*, ccxvi B, 13 v°. *Wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 5 v°, says that Ts'ao I-chin, *lin-hou* of Sha-chou, sent envoys to China in the time of Chuang Tsung of the Later T'ang, who made him *chieh-tu-shih* and died shortly afterwards. According to the same work, v, 5, this happened in the first moon of 926. That was the beginning of intercourse between the Ts'ao dynasty and China. Previously, I-chin appears to have been known as 府主 "Lord of the Prefecture"; for S. 4240, a Buddha-nāma sūtra, has a colophon dated the 15th of the 5th moon of K'eng-ch'ên, the 6th year of *Ch'êng-ming* of the Great Liang dynasty [4th June, 920], in which 曹公 "Ts'ao Kung" (who is almost certainly I-chin) is given that title. In S. 3875 r° and v°, containing forms of prayer, there is a string of titles and the date "11th day of the 11th moon of the 3rd year of Ch'ing-t'ai", from which it appears that there was a "*chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i and other military districts in Ho-hsi" on the 27th November, 936. Again, on the 10th of the 2nd moon of the 5th year of *Ch'ing-t'ai* [13th March, 938] we find the Governor Ts'ao writing an official letter (S. 4291). There is a character after the surname which I have not been able to decipher. Finally, S. 6255 contains two fragments of a colophon to a Buddha-nāma sūtra in which there is a prayer for 府主太保曹公 *fu chu t'ai pao Ts'ao kung*. This may be I-chin before he received the title of *chieh-tu-shih*. He died in the 2nd moon of the 5th year of *T'ien-fu* [940] and received



the posthumous title of 太師 *T'ai-shih* (*Chiu wu tai shih*, lxxix, 1 v°).

曹元德 TS'AO YÜAN-TÊ: 940-942

Son of the preceding. We know practically nothing of this ruler except the date of his accession (*Hsin wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 5 v°). S. 4363 is an official order from the Kuei-i Chün *chieh-tu-shih* Ts'ao, dated 4th September, 942; this is probably Yuan-tê, unless his successor was anticipating the title which he actually received a few months later. But his authority was apparently contested, for we are told (*ibid.*) that in 942 both Ts'ao Yüan-chung of Sha-chou and Ts'ao Yüan-shên of Kua-chou sent envoys to China.

曹元深 TS'AO YÜAN-SHÊN: 942-946

Brother of the preceding. According to *Chiu wu tai shih*, lxxxi, 6 v°, in the first moon of the 8th year of *T'ien-fu* [943] the *liu-hou* of Sha-chou, Ts'ao Yüan-shên, was appointed *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i; and in the 3rd year of *K'ai-yün* [946] the prefect of Kua-chou, Ts'ao Yüan-chung, was made *liu-hou* of Sha-chou. So it seems that Ts'ao Yüan-shên, like his brother Yüan-chung after him, was prefect of Kua-chou, then *liu-hou* of Sha-chou, and finally *chieh-tu-shih*; and I was therefore wrong in saying on p. 836 of my previous article that he never became *chieh-tu-shih* or Governor of Sha-chou.

曹元忠 TS'AO YÜAN-CHUNG: 946-974

Brother of the preceding. He seems to have been, first, prefect of Sha-chou, then of Kua-chou, and in 946 *liu-hou* of Sha-chou. According to the *Sung shih* he was made *chieh-tu-shih* in 955, when he visited the Chinese Court, and a seal of office was then cast and presented to him. Cf. also 太平寰宇記 *T'ai ping huan yü chi*, cliii, 2 r°. Yet among the printed documents in the Stein Collection there are two prayer-sheets, both dated the 15th of the 7th moon of the 4th year of the *K'ai-yün* period in the Great Chin dynasty [4th August, 947],<sup>1</sup> in which he is styled *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün. And S. 518 is a short edict in which the title 河西歸義軍節度瓜沙等州 *Ho hsi kuei i chün chieh tu kua sha têng chou* is conferred upon him; it is dated the 22nd of the 8th moon of *ping-wu*, the 14th year of *T'ien-fu* of the Great Han dynasty. Though the

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the change of dynasty which took place in the 6th moon of this year had not yet been reported in Tunhuang.

cyclical date does not agree, and indicates 946, this must be the 17th September, 949, as the Hou Han dynasty did not begin until 947. More interesting still, we have in S. 4398 a letter from Ts'ao Yüan-chung dated in the 5th moon of the 14th year of T'ien-fu [June, 949], in which he is described as "newly created (新授) *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün". What is one to make of these facts? I think the only way to reconcile them is to suppose that he received the same title three times over from successive dynasties, namely, the Chin, Han, and Chou. It is possible that the title was again confirmed by the first emperor of the Sung, since we find on S. 4632, a prayer dated May, 968, a large red seal reading 歸義軍節度使新鑄印 "Newly cast seal of the *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün". It should be noted that in this document he assumes the title 燉煌王 "Prince of Tunhuang", which also appears in the roll S. 5973. This last MS. is important historically because it proves the interposition of another ruler, unknown to the standard histories, immediately after Yüan-chung. It contains copies of four letters accompanying donations to a temple. The first two, dated in the first and second moon of 974, are from the *chieh-tu-shih* Ts'ao Yüan-chung; the other two, dated in the first and second moon of 975, are from his son Ts'ao Yen-kung, who is also entitled *chieh-tu-shih*. This points unmistakably to his having abdicated in favour of his son some time in 974. He died in the intercalary third moon of the 5th year of T'ai-p'ing *hsing-kuo* [980].

曹延恭 Ts'AO YEN-KUNG: 974-980

Son of the preceding. According to *Ch'ang pien*, quoted in *Sha chi*, 6 v°, his original name 延敬 Yen-ching was formally changed to Yen-kung. Only mentioned in the Histories as *fang-yü-shih* of Kua-chou in 962; but, as we have seen, he certainly succeeded his father as *chieh-tu-shih*, and may have held the office until 980, when his brother Yen-lu seems to have taken the opportunity of his father's death to seize power. What became of Yen-kung we do not know.

曹延祿 Ts'AO YEN-LU: 980-1002

Brother of the preceding, and son-in-law of the King of Khotan. Probably the 皇太子 Crown Prince of S. 6178 (the end of a letter dated July-August, 979). The *Ch'ang pien* (*Sha chi*, 3 v°) says that on his father's death Yen-lu assumed the title of 權節度兵馬留後 provisional *chieh-tu ping-ma liu-hou*. He sent envoys with

tribute to the Sung Court, and in the 4th moon an imperial edict bestowed on him the title of Kuei-i *chieh-tu-shih*, while his father, as a posthumous honour, received that of Prince of Tun-huang Chün. Author of a prayer dated 984 in S. 4400 (2), where he figures as "Ts'ao, Prince of Tunhuang"; and he also appears as 西平王 Hsi-p'ing Wang in the heading of a letter preserved in S. 5917. S. 4453, dated 991, is stamped with the seal of the "*chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün". In 1001 he was made 譙郡王 "Prince of Ch'iao Chün" (already in 949 Yüan-chung was styled 譙郡開國侯 Ch'iao chün k'ai kuo hou: see S. 518). Murdered in 1002 by his nephew (從子 *tsung tzü* in *Sung shih*, 族子 *tsu tzü* in *Shui tao chi*) Tsung-shou.

曹宗壽 Ts'AO TSUNG-SHOU: 1002-1014

Nephew of the preceding. Took provisional command of Sha-chou as *liu-hou*, and appointed his younger brother 宗允 Tsung-yün to take provisional charge of Kua-chou. In the 8th moon he sent envoys to the Sung Court with tribute, and made formal application for the insignia of office, whereupon he was made *chieh-tu-shih*. (*Sung shih*, vi, 11r°.) The *Liao shih*, xiv, 5 v°, says that "in the 8th moon of the 24th year of T'ung-ho [1006] Ts'ao Shou [*sic*], Prince of Tun-huang in Sha-chou, sent envoys with Arab horses and fine jade". It appears, then, that he wisely paid court to the Khitans, who were then occupying the north of China, as well as to the Sung. The year of his death was 1014, according to the *Shui tao chi*.

曹賢順 Ts'AO HSIEN-SHUN: 1014-1035 (?)

Son of the preceding. Neither he nor Tsung-shou is mentioned, so far as I know, in the Stein MSS. According to *Ch'ang pien*, in the 4th moon of the 7th year of Huang-fu [May, 1014] he was made *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i. He had previously sent tribute, notifying the Court that on the death of his father, his mother and others of his countrymen wished him to succeed to the throne. There are three entries about him in the *Liao shih*, xvi, 2 v°, 4 r°: in 1019, "Ts'ao Shun [*sic*], *chieh-tu-shih* of Sha-chou, was created Prince of Tun-huang Chün." In the 7th moon of 1020, "envoys were sent with gifts of clothing to Ts'ao Shun, Prince of Tun-huang Chün and the Uighurs in Sha-chou." In the 9th moon of the same year, "Ts'ao Shun sent envoys with tribute." According to the *Sung shih*, he sent tribute again about 1023, but after this we hear no more of him.

With regard to the subsequent history of Sha-chou, though historians agree in saying that it was annexed by Hsi Hsia, the process of annexation seems to have been much more gradual than one would have expected. The date given in the *Sung shih* is 1035, in the *Ch'ang pien* 1037; but, as Hsü Sung observes, it is hard to reconcile either of these statements with the record of tribute sent by Sha-chou to the Sung Court in 1050 and 1052. The explanation may be that, although Yüan-hao took Sha-chou, he was unable to hold it, and the Chinese official system continued to function there. After 1053 all communication with China ceased; yet from a casual reference in 文昌雜錄 *Wên ch'ang tsa lu* (quoted in *Sha chi*) we can infer that as late as the *Yüan-fêng* period [1078-1085] Sha-chou still existed as a separate political entity. In fact, it was not until the *Shao-shêng* period [1094-7] that, as we learn from *Sung shih*, cccxc, 5 v°, the three *chou* of Kan, Sha, and Su were attacked, overwhelmed, and finally incorporated in Hsi Hsia.

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## The Verb "to say" as an Auxiliary in Africa and China

By A. WALEY and C. H. ARMBRUSTER

IT is well known that the verb *yen* 言 "to say" has some very peculiar usages in early Chinese. In about forty instances in the *Book of Odes* it obviously has not its normal meaning "to say" (or "what is said", i.e. words). For example (Legge's edition, p. 62), 公言錫爵 does not mean "The duke says he bestows a goblet", but simply "The duke bestows a goblet". 駕言出遊 (p. 64) does not mean "we will drive and talk about wandering forth", but "we will drive and wander forth". The example on p. 87 does not mean "I drove my steeds on and on, talking about reaching Ts'ao", but "I drove my steeds on and on all the way to Ts'ao".

The old commentators tell us that *yen* 言 means "I". Where the sentence happens to be in the first person this works well enough. But frequently that is not the case, and the commentators fall back on the explanation that *yen* is "a particle", which is merely a way of saying that they do not know what it means.

In an article<sup>1</sup> written a good many years ago Hu Shih pointed out the inadequacy of the current explanations and suggested that *yen* had three separate usages: (1) as a conjunction, similar to *érh* 而; (2) as a conjunction, similar to *nai* 乃 (so, therefore); (3) as a pronoun "him", "it", similar to 之. He made, however, no attempt to explain why a character meaning "to speak" should have these three usages. His argument assumes that the character 言 is in these usages a phonetic substitute for particles of identical sound. Such a theory is rendered most unlikely by the fact that not merely one word for "to speak" but all the ordinary words for "to speak" are used in this way. For example (p. 418), 道之云遠 "The way is distant"; literally "The way, it *says* it is distant". Or, again (p. 155), 既曰歸. Here we have a third word for "to speak" used in just the same way; for the phrase does not mean "now that she *says* she has gone to be married", but "now that she has gone", etc. It looks, indeed, as though all three words for "to say", "to speak" were capable of functioning simply as verbal auxiliaries. Such a usage would be hard

<sup>1</sup> *Hu Shih Wen Tsun*, vol. ii, p. 1. See also Wu Shih-ch'ang, "A new interpretation of the word *yen* in the Shih Ching," *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, No. 13 (June, 1933), pp. 153-170.

to explain did it not exist in numerous living languages. The extent to which this is so is well illustrated by an extract which Mr. C. H. Armbruster has made from his forthcoming Nubian grammar, and which he has kindly allowed me to print here. Further examples will be found in Miss Alice Werner's *The Language-families of Africa*.<sup>1</sup>

I take the first stage of the idiom to be purely onomatopœic statements, such as "the kettle says phizz", i.e. the kettle is boiling. Hence (as in the example quoted above) "the way, it says far", i.e. the way is far.

*yiin* 云 is particularly used in questions, and this use has survived in literary Chinese. For example, "Saying what, does he go?" i.e. "why does he go?"

There are in the Odes nearly a hundred examples of the verb "to say" (expressed by 言, 云 or 曰) used in this auxiliary way. I only know of one case which is difficult to explain on my hypothesis that the idiom grew up exactly as in the African languages. 願言則嚏 (Legge, p. 47) is usually interpreted "I think of him and thereupon snivel".<sup>2</sup> Upon this and one other very doubtful passage Hu Shih builds his theory that 言 can stand for 之. It is true that "my longing says 'therefore sniff'" is a very strange way of saying "Such is my longing that I sniff". But it is no odder than many of the examples quoted by Mr. Armbruster, who writes as follows:—

After describing animism (the attribution of personality to inanimate objects and natural phenomena) in Nubian:

This animism, as a salient and constantly recurring characteristic of the language, is well illustrated by the uses of the two verbs *dn* "say" and *é* "say". These two verbs are widely and variously used; each appears originally to have signified "tendency", "inclination", or "intention", from which their other present meanings have apparently developed thus:—

*dn* ("have a tendency, intend", and so)

(a) Express an intention, i.e. "say".

(b) Communicate, direct or permit a tendency, i.e. "say to", "tell", "bid", "let".

<sup>1</sup> 2nd ed., 1925, p. 71: "He broke a stick so that it said *pogo*," i.e. snapped. Also the same writer's *The Bantu Languages*, 1919, p. 158: "The cloth which says red," i.e. red cloth.

<sup>2</sup> A sign of grief. Legge says, "We must cast about surely for some other meaning." But there is no getting round the fact that people who have been crying do snivel.

(c) Develop a tendency or quality, i.e. "become", "get", "go", "turn".

(d) Exhibit a tendency or quality, i.e. "be".

(e) Follow a particular tendency, i.e. "move along towards", "go to".

E.g. (a) *nóg\_ándi* "I say 'go'".

(b) *tékk\_nogándi* "I tell him to go" ("I let him go").

*álug\_íngi\_nál-an* "let Ali see this", lit. "to Ali 'this see'-say".

(c) *dúl* "great", "old".

*dúl-an-* "(to) become great", "grow old".

This combination provides numerous adverbs: *sér-an-túrbi*! "sleep well!", lit. "good'-saying sleep!".

(d) *-tar-an* "it is", "that is".

(e) *hartám-an-* "(to) go to Khartoum".

Similarly é- (a) "say" = *án* (a).

(b) "be" = *án* (d).

(c) behave according to a tendency or intention, i.e. "act".

E.g. (a) *ígg\_éran* "they say this".

(b) *índ\_éran* "they are here".

(c) in composition, verbs in -*ε*, -*ē*—

*úff-ε* lit. "say *úff* to" = "blow" (t.).

*gúrr-ε* lit. "say *gúrr*" = "rejoice"; (*gúrr-* ? < *قَرَّ* in

Ar. *قَرَّة* "joy").

*kítt-ε* lit. "say *kítt*" = "be silent".

(*úff*-, *gúrr*-, *kítt*- have no separate existence.)

And verbs from Arabic (very nearly) all in -*ē*—

*íngu\_fadl\_éran* "these remain (over, behind)", lit. "these say *fádl*"; *fádl*- < Ar. *فَضْل* "remainder".

*íngi\_wazn\_égori* "I have weighed this", lit. "I have said *wázn* to this"; *wázn*- < Ar. *وَزَنَ* "weight".

*é-gi*, the adverbial form (objective case) of *é-*, provides a subordinating conjunction "in order to"—

*kobidku\_kúsín\_náll\_égi* "he opens the door in order to see", lit. "he opens the door saying 'I'll see'".

A causative of *é-* in sense (c) is *ég-rr t.* "ride" (animal), lit. "cause (animal) to act on its tendency" (which is to run).

I then quote similar uses of the Cushitic verb from "Über die hamitischen Sprachen Ostafrikas", von Franz Praetorius, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii Band, Heft 2, pp. 329, 330 (Leipzig, 1892), and of the Galla verb, ib., p. 330.

Again of Galla from § 96 of *Zur Grammatik der Gallasprache*, von F. Praetorius (Berlin, 1893). Other instances in Karl Tutschek, *Lexicon der Galla Sprache* (Munich, 1844), s.v. *djed'a*. In Bilin: *Reinisch, Wörterbuch der Bilin-Sprache* (Vienna, 1887), s.v. *y* (1) "sagen", (2) "sein", "esse". In Qwära: *Reinisch, Die Quarasprache in Abessinien* (Vienna, 1885), § 44, *y* "sagen":

*gedd y* "zwingen"; *kaff y* "hoch sein"; *zem y* "schweigen"; *bē* "sagen":

*fī bē* "ausgehen"; *tuw bē* "eintreten"; *wās bē* "hören".

So in Xamir, Káfa, and 'Áfar, from Reinisch's grammars; and in Bédauye (*Béǵa*) *án* = (a) "say", (b) "be".

Turning to the Semitic languages of Abyssinia we find the same phenomenon, in the older language (Ethiopic) only occasionally, but in the modern ones at every turn. And I go on to illustrate this from Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigriñña, and then from Sudan Arabic, which, like the other Semitic languages, derived this feature from the Cushitic languages it met with in Africa. See Marcel Cohen, "Du verbe sidama (dans le groupe couchitique)" in *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, No. 83 (Paris, 1927), pp. 175/6.



## Notes on Some Poets and Poetry of the T'ang Dynasty

By E. EDWARDS

AFTER the fall of the Han dynasty in A.D. 220, owing to the weakness and tyranny of its last representatives, China was divided by a long internal struggle into three parts. The Later Hans held Shu (Ssü-ch'uan), the remainder of the south became the kingdom of Wu, and the north, with its capital at Ho-nan Fu, or Lo-yang, was known as Wei. This "Three Kingdoms" period was brought to an end by the establishment in A.D. 265 of the Tartar Chin dynasty in the north. Thereafter a number of small and feeble houses succeeded one another in rapid succession. For the most part Tartar conquerors ruled in the north and mere shadows of Chinese dynasties in the south. None of these uneasy houses survived much more than a generation, however, and it was not until the establishment of the Sui dynasty in A.D. 589 that China was reunited and restored to something resembling her old dignity and power.

The new China was very different from the old empire of the Hans. The infusion and absorption into the population of many Tartar elements, the spread of Buddhism, and the gradual modifying of language which occupied the three centuries after the Han period had greatly changed and developed both country and people. The Sui emperors were not unaware of these changes and the need to meet the situation by measures of reform; nor were they unwilling, on the whole, to adapt their government to new conditions. Under the emperor Wên Ti<sup>1</sup> laws were reformed and internal administration improved. Cultural progress was evident in many directions; comfort, and even luxury, became the portion of the better classes, and the common people were relieved at least of the burden of civil war. Buddhism was so prevalent that with one exception all the Confucian schools throughout the land were closed. During the reign of Wên Ti's successor, Yang Ti,<sup>2</sup> education received a decided impetus, for Yang Ti, in spite of the vicious extravagance of which he is accused, seems to have had many good points. He was a patron of the arts, ardent in planning public improvements and not wanting in military achievements. He prided himself upon his literary attainments, and ordered

<sup>1</sup> Kao Tsu Wên Ti (A.D. 589-605).

<sup>2</sup> 605-617.

a commission of scholars to edit a collection of classical, medical, and other treatises. He did much for education, restoring the schools which had been closed in the previous reign, and instituting in 606 the *chin-shih*<sup>1</sup> or doctorate, the highest degree awarded in the competitive examinations. The Sui dynasty, having favoured Buddhism, has been unduly decried by Confucian historians, but there is no doubt that general discontent was caused by the intolerable exactions of Yang Ti, whose extravagant zeal for public works involved a severe drain on the time and labour of the peasants. The house of Sui, though capable of recognizing the need to reorganize the new China, was too soft to bear the burden of carrying into effect the reforms which it had inaugurated. Had it not been so, the T'ang dynasty would not have come into existence, nor would the Sui have been so soon removed from the headship of a reunited China.

At the moment when the smouldering discontent against Yang Ti was ready to burst into flame, the little dukedom of T'ang, on the western border of China, was ruled over by the peace-loving and unenterprising Li Yüan, who most unwillingly took the field against the emperor, partly because he had fallen without reason under suspicion as a rebel, and partly in response to the persuasions of his ambitious son, Li Shih-min. In 617 the duke rose in revolt, seized Ch'ang-an, the western capital, deserted by Yang Ti in favour of Lo-yang, and declared himself king of T'ang. The destruction of the magnificent imperial palace at Lo-yang followed, and, the emperor having been assassinated by certain of his own officers, Li Yüan assumed in 618 the title of Kao Tsu, emperor of the new T'ang dynasty. From the first, however, Kao Tsu was overshadowed by his son. The child of a Tartar mother, Li Shih-min was endowed with courage, administrative ability, magnanimity, intelligence and all the qualities of leadership. Not only was he the moving spirit of the original revolt against Yang Ti, but he was also the conquering hero who overthrew the many rivals of his house and pacified the country. The admixture of Tartar blood may explain several features which characterize the T'ang rulers at their best. The understanding with which they governed their mixed subjects, their energy, and their interest in various cultural elements introduced from Central Asia, may have been due to the blending of the vigour of their nomad forbears with the intellectual keenness of their Chinese ancestry.

<sup>1</sup> 進士.

The new era opened well, with reduction of taxes and a general amnesty. The capital was restored to Ch'ang-an, a sign that all was well with the empire and that expansion of territory might be looked for. As the pacification of the country advanced, Li Shih-min's popularity increased, and in 627 Kao Tsu, weary of a position which he had never coveted, resigned the throne to his son, who assumed the title of T'ai Tsung, claiming lordship over a large part of Central Asia as well as over the whole of China. The twenty-two years of T'ai Tsung's reign are still regarded as the golden age of the T'ang dynasty. "Ch'ang-an," says a Japanese writer in a monograph on the poet, Li Po,<sup>1</sup> "became not only the centre of religious proselytism but also a great cosmopolitan city where Syrians, Arabs, Persians, Tartars, Koreans, Japanese, Tonkinese and other peoples of widely divergent races and faiths lived side by side." A suggestion of movement, of ceaseless activity, characterizes the whole of the T'ang period—soldiers marching to the endless border wars which swallowed up men by thousands; imperial progresses for business or for pleasure; the court journeying from capital to capital or flying from the enemy at the gates; the sound of galloping couriers, and messengers travelling day and night to bring perishable luxuries from distant provinces for favoured imperial concubines; musicians from the schools of music travelling on leave, and everywhere fêted by the way; scholars proceeding to the literary examinations full of high hopes, or returning, too often with their hopes shattered, seeking their homes by unfrequented byways, defeated but still dreaming of success and weaving imaginary compensating adventures into the romantic prose tales which are as characteristic of T'ang literature as its poetry; a great Chinese traveller<sup>2</sup> making his secret way towards the west in search of Buddhist scriptures, to return after many years and leave for posterity a record of Indian civilization; and from the west endless caravans and groups of strangers seeking in China the freedom of worship denied to them elsewhere. Religious tolerance and mental activity; cultured ease and extravagant pleasures; political and cultural contacts with the west, particularly through the new

<sup>1</sup> Shigeyoshi Obata, *The Works of Li Po, the Chinese Poet, Done into English Verse* (New York, 1922).

<sup>2</sup> Hsüan Tsang . . . set out in A.D. 629 on his tour through India, travelling by way of Turkestan. Sixteen years later he returned with 657 new Sanscrit works. He wrote an account of his travels under the title *Hsi yü chi* 西域記, and spent the remainder of his life in translating the books which he had brought back.

dominion in Central Asia<sup>1</sup>—these represent the brighter side of the early T'ang period and something of it is reflected in contemporary literature. But the glory was soon dimmed by the disturbances attending the usurpation of the empress Wu<sup>2</sup> and by the weakness of her successors, and it was not until the accession of the emperor Ming Huang in 713 that the greatness of the house of T'ang was restored for the last time. Until he fell under the influence of the beautiful Yang Kuei-fei and self-seeking politicians like Li Lin-fu, Ming Huang was regarded as the ideal prince. A statesman of considerable capacity, a master as well as a patron of the arts, and of a temper even more complaisant than that of T'ai Tsung, his court was thronged with poets, artists, and scholars. Though it failed to last, the brilliance of the first years of this reign gave a powerful impetus to literature. Classical scholarship and philosophy owe little to the T'ang period, but thanks to the fact that (chiefly under the influence of a woman) a facility for writing poetry became the final test of intellectual capacity, poetry reached its highest point of development. Every man with any pretensions to scholarship had to be proficient in at least the mechanics of versifying, and when the poetry of the T'ang dynasty was collected and published early in the eighteenth century, some forty-nine thousand poems by more than two thousand three hundred poets were found to be, and still remain, extant.

Against this background of intellectual activity the tragedy of border warfare continued throughout the whole period, and the Chinese armies suffered many reverses at the hands of fierce Turkic tribes, while on the north a new and formidable enemy appeared in the Kitans. It is estimated that nearly thirty thousand men perished in the Gobi Desert in the year 751, while four years later the rebellion of Ming Huang's adopted son, An Lu-shan, the Tartar general in command of the imperial forces on the border, swept like a tornado through the land and forced the emperor to flee into Ssü-ch'uan. Such a period, with its strong contrast of magnificence and misery, could not but stir the imagination of poets. Peace and prosperity, culture, luxury, great development in communications and knowledge of the world, combine to make a brilliant picture, the reverse of which is a no less striking presentation of intrigue, bloodshed, and wholesale catastrophe.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. F. Hudson, *Europe and China*, pp. 129 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Wu Hou (684-705).

The religious tolerance of the early T'ang emperors was not shared by their people as a whole. While strangers were permitted, subject to certain restrictions, to propagate their doctrines at will, they found active and zealous rivals among Buddhists, Taoists, and even Confucianists. The official dynastic cult remained Confucian, but Taoism was fast winning favour both at court and among the people, and the Taoists enjoyed their greatest popularity and political power under the T'ang dynasty. For this there were several reasons. The ruling house was supposed to be descended from Lao Tzú, and the amazing hold which Buddhism had had on the whole empire during the period preceding the T'ang caused many scholars to react in favour of Taoism, which had at least the merit of not being a foreign importation. In the stress of the troubled centuries between Han and T'ang men had sought some ground of personal hope, and Buddhism, in a world which had little to give, seemed to open a way to future happiness. Even the literary class, though accepting the Confucian teaching as the guiding principle of the state, felt the need for a more personal, less coldly ethical, faith, and those who rejected Buddhism were more ready than at any period since Confucius to accept Taoism. Propaganda was rife, and thousands of prose tales remain to prove the bitterness of the struggle for religious supremacy and the earnestness of the rival attempts to win popular favour.

Only two paths lay open to the Chinese scholar under the T'ang dynasty. One led to official position and responsibility to the state; the other to a retired life and the practice of Buddhism or Taoism according to individual fancy. Criticism has been levelled at Li Po because in his poetry he does not appear to concern himself with human relationships as do Po Chü-i, Tu Fu, and others. But Confucius had laid it down as a principle that if one were not the holder of an office one must refrain from concerning oneself with the duties of that office.<sup>1</sup> The basis of government in China has always been society, and, though the practice of addressing memorials to the emperor was as old as Chinese tradition, the pen as an instrument of reform was but slowly coming into its own. For the most part men not in office closed their eyes to evils which they could do nothing to remedy<sup>2</sup> and retired to contemplate the beauties of nature or to cultivate their

<sup>1</sup> *Analekts*, Book viii, chap. xiv. "The Master said, 'He who is not in any particular office, has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties'." (Legge.)

<sup>2</sup> *Analekts*, Book vii, chap. x, "When called to office, to undertake its duties; when not so called, to lie retired . . ." (Legge.)

own talents. Moreover to the unsuccessful scholar the whole Confucian outlook was obnoxious, and that is why many men like Li Po turned to Taoism, and devoted themselves to seeking immortality. The orthodox have always tried to minimize Li's interest in Taoism, but his poems give the lie to this view, and the *Lung ch'êng lu*<sup>1</sup> contains a story of his becoming an immortal, which indicates that by many his pursuit of immortality was regarded as earnest and sincere.

"Reviewing certain happenings," says the story, "one finds a general impression that Li T'ai-po attained immortality. Early in the ninth century<sup>2</sup> a certain man who hailed from the north saw Li talking and laughing with a Taoist upon a mountain. Presently the Taoist went off in a green mist astride a young red dragon. Li rose and followed him with long strides. Soon he came up with the Taoist, mounted the dragon with him and together they disappeared in the mist." The narrative concludes with the naïve remark, "It is a startling legend."

It is inconceivable that T'ai Tsung could have achieved all that makes his name famous but for the long preparatory period of gradual progress by which the soil had been made ready for the crop that he was able in a few short years to sow and harvest. One of the results of his early training was that he knew the value of concentration, whether of men or minds. In order to mobilize the intellectual strength of the empire he instituted a college in which the finest scholars of the time became instructors and to which the most promising youth of the empire came to learn. He founded also a vast library, and to further the movement of centralizing the best brains of the country in order that he might have capable men at hand to assist him in the tasks he had set himself, he elaborated the examination system set up by the Sui. Formerly it had been customary to select men for government posts by a process of local election. This method, which brought to the fore the sons of the wealthy and noble whose position and means enabled them to prepare for such offices, had concentrated in the hands of the aristocracy the administrative power of the state, and it was to combat this tendency that the Sui dynasty

<sup>1</sup> 龍城錄 (*Dragon City Records*), the authorship of which is credited to Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819). Liu was an ardent Buddhist as well as a brilliant writer. It was said of him that "only one with the discernment of Han Yü should abuse Buddhism, and only one with the discernment of Liu Tsung-yüan should defend it."

<sup>2</sup> Li Po died A.D. 762.

organized the examination system. Under the new régime intellectual capacity was substituted for social position, and it became possible for any man of sufficient ability to pass the tests and obtain office. Originally the examinations included such subjects as mathematics, history, jurisprudence, and calligraphy, but soon preference was given to the *chin shih* examination, which was based on the classics and, for a time, on the *Li chi*<sup>1</sup> and the *Tso chuan*.<sup>2</sup> Although the emperor retained the right to appoint to even the highest offices men of special attainments, the practice was regarded with disfavour and before long the monopoly of administrative posts fell into the hands of a new intellectual class, independent of social position.

With the T'ang period begins modern China, and it is interesting that this new method of government, a democratically recruited bureaucracy, should replace the old aristocratic bureaucracy at this juncture. The principal drawbacks to the examination system were the tendency to study, as Confucius' disciples had done, "with a view to emolument," the inevitable stereotyping of the examinations and an increasing superficiality and formalism. But whatever disadvantages were incurred by the employment of poets as administrators, the training of the Chinese scholar instilled in him a sense of form and a love of order which served as substitutes for more practical qualifications. From the point of view of the ruling house the system had advantages, for it did not leave a mass of young intellectuals outside the government to keep a critical and discontented eye upon it. The unsuccessful student might return as often as he wished to try his fortune, and though many were turned away disappointed, they generally consoled themselves with matters less inflammable than politics, turning to the retired life of the recluse or to the more amusing and no less idle existence of the drinking poet-wanderer. It was these disappointed candidates who were chiefly responsible for the growth in the T'ang period of a new form of literature. Weary of the stereotyped essay which had caused their defeat in the examination-hall, they began to write in new styles, to introduce new matter into their compositions and to infuse into literary prose a certain admixture of colloquial language, which resulted in the creation of the earliest form of conscious fiction known in China, the tales of romance, heroism, and the supernatural for which the period is famous.

"T'ang prose," says Professor Wilhelm,<sup>3</sup> "represented a new

<sup>1</sup> 禮記.

<sup>2</sup> 左傳.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm, *History of Chinese Civilization*, p. 122.

beginning. At the first glance it seems extraordinary, because the movement leading in this direction assumed the form of a renaissance, a revival of antiquity. We must not be misled by this, however. Every vital renaissance is something more than a revival. So it was in the T'ang period. The more ancient Chinese prose is remarkable for its concise, semi-rhythmical style, in which parallelism is used for the development of the thought. During the time of the Six Dynasties, literature had been growing more superficial and verbose, and in the Sui and early part of the T'ang period appreciation was confined to the stylistic tricks of the prose essay. The cultivation of this artificial style still continued, chiefly as a Court accomplishment. But, at the same time, a new movement was set on foot at the beginning of the T'ang period, under the banner of the 'old' style, which strove to promote a freer and more natural method of prose composition. This movement culminated in Han Yü, an exponent of Confucianism and a zealous opponent of what he called Taoist and Buddhist superstitions, but also something of an eccentric in his taste for the antique. He was an honest and sincere representative of the old literary style. The style originated by Han Yü and adopted by his disciples has survived to the present day, though the artificial style continued to flourish alongside it."

Parallel with this movement in prose compositions is the division of poetry into the new "regulated" style and the old "free" style. In both cases the separation was the result of an effort to break through traditional forms and regain contact with the spoken language. This is clearly shown in the verses of poets like Po Chü-i, and in the prose of the story-tellers, among whom were many well-known scholars, including Liu Tsung-yüan, Li Shang-yin and Yüan Chên. Dr. Wilhelm, with considerable insight, finds in the movement a parallel to the modern *pai-hua* movement in China. There can be no doubt that the formalism of the examination style was detrimental to cultural progress, even though it had the merit of turning the thoughts of every family in the land towards study as a step in the direction of higher social position and responsibility to the State.

That the T'ang period was intellectually and culturally brilliant is an axiom with the Chinese. This view has been adopted without question by many western scholars, while others dismiss the works of T'ang writers as scarcely worthy of consideration. We know that during the centuries of disruption which followed the Han dynasty the foundations of the splendour of the T'ang empire were being laid.



It is true also that its glory shines the more brightly because of the darkness which preceded it. But its literary eminence cannot be estimated by the number of its scholars, the magnitude of their output, or the size of the imperial libraries. And yet it is evident that some standards must be adopted and applied. Are its productions to be judged upon their individual merits, or by comparing them with those of other periods in the history of Chinese literature? Are we to take into consideration the fact that we are dealing with a period in itself early as compared with other countries, or to maintain the isolation of Chinese culture and refrain from comparison with other literatures? The case of art is comparatively simple; questions relating to line, form, and colour are the basis of a study of any art expression. Advance in technique, development along new lines owing to special influences and similar factors make it relatively easy to decide the place of a period in relation to other art periods in China or elsewhere. But literature, and especially Chinese literature, presents a very different problem, and a satisfactory method of approach is difficult to find. Until it has been decided whether or not it is to be judged by linguistic standards alone, that is to say, by form without regard to content, the true worth of T'ang literature cannot be estimated, and the opinions of western scholars will continue to conflict.<sup>1</sup>

"Song," says an old Chinese writer,<sup>2</sup> "is the voice of music . . . dance is the embodiment of music . . ." and poetry is surely the spirit of music and its other self.<sup>3</sup> The qualities most commonly found in western poetry—imagination, fancy, mysticism and suggestion—often appear in Chinese verse in a guise which renders them unrecognizable. Whereas in the west the power and beauty of a poem

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. G. Margouliès, *Le Kou-wên Chinois*, "L'époque des T'ang, au point de vue littéraire, est peut-être la plus glorieuse et la plus brillante de toute l'histoire de la Chine." Cf., on the other hand, the caustic comments of P. L. Wieger, *China throughout the Ages* (Hsien-hsien, 1928), p. 197. "I have not found a single piece worth translating in the voluminous works of Sung Chih-wên, Wang Wei, Li Shang-yin, and others." See also pp. 202-3. These opposing views suggest that Dr. Margouliès being, like the Chinese scholars themselves for the most part, interested in form and oblivious of content, finds T'ang literature "glorious" and "brilliant", while P. Wieger views it from the opposite angle, and so condemns it out of hand.

<sup>2</sup> Tuan An-chieh 段安節, *Fuêh fu tsai lu* 樂府雜錄, a treatise on music written at the end of the tenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Yao Hsin-nung, "The Spirit of Chinese Poetry" (*North China Herald*, 28th March, 1934): "Every Chinese poem is a composition in music, determined by the tonal arrangement of characters and the caesura beat."

are largely proportionate to the intuition of the poet, in China they are almost entirely dependent on the intuition of the reader. Imagination, the power of seeing life as a unity, and so of finding resemblances where none apparently exist, is seldom found in its highest form—revelation. The phrase, "the morning stars" might crowd the mind of a Chinese with every appropriate line in the poetry of past ages, filling it with delicate images of stars reflected in the glass-smooth surface of a lake at dawn, or sinking over a mountain half hidden in mist; but "the morning stars shouted for joy" is a perception beyond the grasp of Chinese poet or reader. Reason and tradition make it doubly difficult for him to penetrate the outward form and touch the divine. It is, perhaps, in suggestion that Chinese poets excel. It is of the essence of Chinese poetry to suggest by a word or a phrase a train of ideas limited only by the perceptive and imaginative powers of the reader. This highly specialized kind of imagination was developed by reason of the forms to which Chinese poems were restricted. The poet usually contents himself with describing what he sees, knowing that his reader, singing his poem—aloud or silently—will fill in the bare outlines from the storehouse of his own mind.

For the understanding of T'ang poetry more is required than a brief outline of the historical and cultural aspects of the period. It is essential to know something of the way in which Chinese poetry developed if one is to appreciate the reasons why, by the general consent of Chinese scholars, the T'ang period is given the palm for the writing of poetry. To state the matter as briefly as possible, Chinese poetry developed along two main lines, literary and popular. Both have their origin in the poetry of the *Shih ching*<sup>1</sup> (*Book of Poetry*) and of the *Ch'u tz'ü*<sup>2</sup> (*Elegies of Ch'u*), the former belonging to the north of China and the latter to the south. The *Kuo-feng*,<sup>3</sup> or "Songs of the States" in the *Book of Poetry* and the *Chiu-ko*<sup>4</sup> or "Nine Songs" in the *Elegies* were of popular origin, while other parts of both books became models for highly stylized literary forms. Before the Han dynasty almost all poetry was written in lines of four words. But the ancient poets were able to use the line of irregular length, appreciating, even if they did not understand, the relief which such interpolations afforded in the monotony of short lines all containing the same number of characters. Thus,

<sup>1</sup> 詩經.<sup>2</sup> 楚辭.<sup>3</sup> 國風.<sup>4</sup> 九歌.

in the *Shih ching* lay the seed of the five and the seven-word line. Under the Han emperors rites and music were reorganized; the *Elegies of Ch'u* were given a place with the *Odes* as literary monuments of the past, and by degrees lines of the new lengths gradually evolved. The rhythm and lilt of these lines, with the pause no longer in the middle of the line, must have been extremely pleasing to their originators. The popular verse of the Han period was collected and edited, just as the early collections of odes were edited by Confucius. It was stored in the Bureau of Music, or *Yüeh-fu*,<sup>1</sup> and for that reason poetry of this type became known as *yüeh-fu*, a term which has been defined as meaning verses set to music, or intended to be set to music. During the Han period and that following it, literature was much influenced by the popular song, from which it gained considerably in vitality. But the power of classical literature proved superior to that of its unorganized, unsystematic rival, and from about the third century of our era there was a gradual reversion to the copying of old models, though many poets wrote in both styles.

The fact which emerges from a study of the period between Han and T'ang is that two distinct classes of poets had grown up side by side. There were "free" poets, and poets bound by classical and traditional rules. Both wrote *yüeh-fu* (folk-songs) and *ku-shih* (poetry in the old style), but whereas the former class was creative and spontaneous, the latter group modelled their verses slavishly on the masterpieces of earlier poets. As the period advanced and Buddhism spread, the translation of Buddhist literature resulted in the introduction of the Indian phonetic system. Interest in the tones of the Chinese language was sponsored by Shên Yüeh,<sup>2</sup> a famous poet of the fifth century, and author of a *Handbook of the Four Tones*, and under the influence of the new study poetry approximated more and more nearly to the style which finally blossomed in the T'ang period into "ruled" or "regulated" modern verse. The revolution brought about by the study of tones was not confined to the poetry of the north, but in the south its effect was to cause the old spontaneous elegies and songs to deteriorate into purely artificial imitations of the elegy (*tz'ü*)<sup>3</sup> and the equally degenerate and stylized form

<sup>1</sup> 樂府.

<sup>2</sup> Shên Yüeh 沈約, scholar and high functionary under the Liang dynasty (502-556). In 488 he completed the drawing up of the *Sung shu*; author of the *Ssu shêng p'u* 四聲譜, based on the Indian *fan-ch'ieh* 反切 system. Died 513.

<sup>3</sup> 辭.

known as "rhymed prose" (*fu*).<sup>1</sup> The prose of the later Han period had already been coloured by the *fu* and the *tz'ü*, and by degrees there was developed a style of composition known as *p'ien t'ü*,<sup>2</sup> in which all sentences were arranged in pairs. By the period of the Six Dynasties almost everything was written in this form both in prose and in poetry, with the exception of popular songs and ballads, which were sung without reference to particular styles, the common people being concerned to give expression to their emotions and not to compose verses in this or that manner. This balance or parallelism is a feature of "ruled" poetry. Lines run in pairs, noun for noun, verb for verb, and the balance of words goes so far as to demand colour adjective for colour adjective, animal noun for animal noun, and so on. Even more important than balance of characters, however, is balance of tones. This is the essence of regulated verse. The written language employs five tones. The first two, the upper and lower even tones form group 1; and the third, fourth and fifth, generally distinguished as upper, departing and entering, represent group 2, the uneven tones. In any couplet of a regulated poem even and uneven tones are arranged in accordance with a particular "tone-pattern," of which great numbers exist. Other rules for modern poetry are that a poem shall consist of four, eight, or twelve lines, with five or seven words to a line; that words shall be parallel in each couplet, with the possible exception of the first and last couplets; that a single rhyme from the even tones shall fall on the last character of the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth, and often the first, lines; and that repetition of characters must be avoided, unless for special emphasis or effect.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 賦.

<sup>2</sup> 駢體.

<sup>3</sup> These rules apply only to *shih* 詩. "Modern" (近體) poetry, under the T'angs, consisted of the "regulated" style (*lü shih* 律詩) and a form known as *chüeh chü* (絕句), which follows the rules for regulated verse and like it has five or seven-word lines. The phrase means "detached lines" and it is in fact a short poem in the modern style whose character suggests that it is part of a longer poem. Its origin, however, remains obscure, the most probable explanation being that T'ang poets were given to building up poems as a kind of round game and that when the works of an individual poet were compiled his contribution was detached from the whole poem and included with his complete works. Ancient poetry (古體) also had two divisions, the *yüeh-fu* (樂府), or verses for music, and the *ku shih* (古詩), or ancient poems. From the *yüeh-fu*, which had as their prototype the songs of a primitive community and were therefore not restricted as to the number of words to a line, was developed

At the close of the seventh century regulated poetry was introduced into the syllabus of the literary examinations. Its chief exponents were thus the candidates for the civil service. To men who had given up hope of obtaining, or had no desire for, official employment it offered no attractions. On the contrary they preferred the complete freedom of the *yüeh-fu* or the ancient style with its simple rules which allowed any number of lines, with four, five, or seven words to the line, the number being variable in a single poem, and rhymes on alternate lines.<sup>1</sup> Many scholars with Buddhist and Taoist sympathies brought to the composition of their poetry this independent spirit. The way of the scholar in office was not their way, and their free, untrammelled life fostered in them a contempt for regulations. Orthodox scholars also reverted to the *yüeh-fu* and the ancient style as a relief from the restrictions of modern verse, though it is generally said by Chinese critics that, difficult as is the ruled style with its elaborate tone-patterns, once learned it is easier to write well than the apparently simple ancient style.

The poetry of the T'ang dynasty is divided into four periods named after the seasons of the year.<sup>2</sup> The Early period, representing spring, is no more than a transition from the style of the Six Dynasties to that of the T'ang at its best, and many of its poets belong, in the spirit and style of their writings, to the earlier age. To this period belong the two ministers, Chang Yüeh (667-730) and Chang Chiu-liang (673-740), Ch'ên Tzū-ang (656-698), and, among lesser poets, the "four heroes", Wang Po, Yang Chiung, Lu Chao-lin and Lo Pin-wang. The most notable "survival", however, was Wei Chêng,<sup>3</sup> great general, great councillor, historian, and poet, but representative of the Sui rather than the T'ang period.

To the second and third periods, which coincide with the reign of Ming Huang (713-756) and the restoration of the T'angs after

the poem with lines of irregular length which, under the T'ang, was called "*ch'ang t'uan chü*" (長短句), or "long and short lines". It may have been this form which resulted in the *tz'ü* (詞) or *tz'ü ch'ü* (詞曲), songs of irregular lines which were the chief glory of Sung poetry.

<sup>1</sup> The seven-word line ancient poem may have irregular lines, and every line may rhyme.

<sup>2</sup> The dates of these periods are variously stated; Kiang Kang-hu (*Jade Mountain*, Introduction) gives them as Early, 620-700; Glorious, 700-780; Middle, 780-850; Late, 850-900.

<sup>3</sup> (581-643.) Author of the biographical section of the *Sui shu* (*History of the Sui Dynasty*), which was drawn up under his direction. See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2264.

the revolution of An Lu-shan, belong Li Po,<sup>1</sup> Tu Fu,<sup>2</sup> Po Chü-i,<sup>3</sup> and their successors, Han Yü,<sup>4</sup> Liu Tsung-yüan,<sup>5</sup> and Yüan Chên,<sup>6</sup> each with his particular gifts and his special outlook revealing in his poetry a different aspect of contemporary life and thought. Throughout this period it is clear that the two distinct forms already mentioned were in use: the first, described by Mr. Waley<sup>7</sup> as the "clothing of old themes in new forms", highly polished but lifeless, comprised imitations of early poetry and the "modern", regulated form; the other was the descendant of the old folk-song or *yieh-fu* in new garb. The reign of Ming Huang was famous for elaborate court entertainments with song, dance, and some form of dramatic representation. To supply performers the Pear Garden and other training-schools were instituted and placed under the control of the emperor himself. The songs sung at these festivities varied considerably in character; the old type of folk-song still survived; poems in Chinese were probably composed to suit the rhythm of the music of Central Asia which was becoming increasingly popular; and "new folk-songs", or poems written in the style of the old songs but lacking their spontaneous character, all provided material for palace and other musicians throughout the empire. Thus if T'ang poets were bound on the one hand by the restrictions of the examination-hall, where conformity to rigid rules of prosody was exacted, on the other hand they enjoyed considerable freedom in the writing of songs and lyrics, and by using both means they were able both to display their attainments in the hope of official position and to advertise them in the hope of popularity. To the same end they cultivated the society of all classes, gathering material for their writings and introducing into both prose and poetry current topics, long disused by orthodox scholars as subjects of composition. Among exponents of the "new folk-song" were Kao Shih,<sup>8</sup> who wrote what are vaguely termed "operatic pieces" for the troupe of actors with whom he travelled in order to enjoy the company of an actress to whom he was devoted, and Wang Wei,<sup>9</sup> famous as artist and musician who, though he later gained recognition as a serious poet, was better known in his lifetime as a writer of lyrics, which were set to music and sung

<sup>1</sup> Dd. 762.<sup>2</sup> 712-770.<sup>3</sup> Dd. 846.<sup>4</sup> Dd. 824.<sup>5</sup> 778-819.<sup>6</sup> 779-831.<sup>7</sup> 170 *Chinese Poems*, p. 15.<sup>8</sup> 高適 (7-765).<sup>9</sup> 王維 (699-759).

throughout the empire. The singing of the lyrics of living poets created another class of compositions in prose or poetry—narratives relating to the poets themselves and the musicians who sang their verses.<sup>1</sup>

The popularity of the "new folk-song", the movement towards freedom fostered by Taoist hermits and Buddhist devotees who could not be coerced by the requirements of the educational system nor bound by the strict etiquette of the Confucian code, and the natural animosity of disappointed candidates at the public examinations, were factors which tended to separate poetry from life and reality. But a few poets there were who, seeking neither the salvation of their own souls nor forgetfulness in the contemplation of nature, hoped by their writings to benefit the world and cure contemporary evils. Chief among these were Tu Fu,<sup>2</sup> Yüan Chên,<sup>3</sup> Po Chü-i,<sup>4</sup> Han Yü<sup>5</sup> and Liu Tsung-yüan,<sup>6</sup> all serious men with a sense of responsibility in regard to their talents. To the same group of literary would-be reformers belonged also Yü T'î,<sup>7</sup> and perhaps also the satirical Li Pi,<sup>8</sup> although his satire often had its origin in personal grievance rather than in indignation over social evils. To the best writers of the latter half of the eighth and the early part of the ninth centuries it was the mantle of Tu Fu and not the gaily-coloured cloak of the frivolous Li T'ai-po that was bequeathed. To world-reform ideals they added new conceptions of literature. Earlier changes had for the most part come about in the natural course of progress, but this group of authors seems to have determined deliberately to create a new style of writing based upon the principle that literature ought not to be a means of personal glorification, but an instrument of service to mankind, by which men might be persuaded, if not governed. This idealism is not merely the mantle of Tu Fu; it is a reflection of the growing influence of religious enthusiasm of serious Buddhist and Taoist propagandists on the one hand, and the earnest endeavour of ardent Confucianists on the other to maintain their supremacy in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Chên niang mu shih*, a series of poems about a famous singing-girl written by Chang Yu 張祐, Li Shang-yin 李商隱, Po Chü-i 白居易, and T'an Shu 譚舒.

<sup>2</sup> 712-770.

<sup>3</sup> 779-831.

<sup>4</sup> Dd. 846.

<sup>5</sup> Dd. 824.

<sup>6</sup> 773-819.

<sup>7</sup> 于逖, author of *Wên ch'i lu* (聞奇錄) and *Ling ying lu* (靈應錄).

<sup>8</sup> 李泌, author of *Chên chung chi* 枕中記. See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1180.

the administration and in public opinion by coming into line with the new movement. The leaders of reform were Po Chü-i and Yüan Chên.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately neither has left any writings that bear witness to their enthusiasm for the cause. Of Po Mr. Waley says, "Content . . . he valued far above form; and it was part of his theory, though certainly not of his practice, that this content ought to be definitely moral. He aimed at raising poetry from the triviality into which it had sunk and restoring it to its proper intellectual level. It is an irony that he should be chiefly known to posterity, in China, Japan, and the West as the author of *The Everlasting Wrong*".<sup>2</sup> In the case of Yüan Chên almost all his poems which survive are in the styles which he deplores and have no relation to the social amelioration which he desired. A modern Chinese critic suggests, reasonably enough, that the existing collections of Yüan's works may be incomplete, but whether this is so, or whether his practice, like that of Po, fell short of his principles, cannot be determined.

To the first half of the ninth century belong also Li Shang-yin<sup>3</sup> and Tu Mu,<sup>4</sup> the former a close and accurate observer of the foibles of his fellows, and the latter an ardent seeker after beauty and a champion of the weak. With the name of Li is coupled that of Wên T'ing-yün.<sup>5</sup> Their style is similar and they share the distinction of having created a type of poetry known as *Hsi-k'un*.<sup>6</sup>

The fourth period is represented by Han Wn,<sup>7</sup> who himself records that the emperor's verdict, after reading several of his compositions, was "Talent mediocre"; Lu Kuei-mêng,<sup>8</sup> who also wrote an essay on the Plough<sup>9</sup>; and the "Three Lo"<sup>10</sup>—Lo Yin, Lo Yeh and Lo

<sup>1</sup> For the story of the friendship of these two poets see A. Waley, *170 Chinese Poems*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> A. Waley, *170 Chinese Poems*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> 李商隱 (b. 813). See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1188.

<sup>4</sup> 杜牧 (803-852). See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2070.

<sup>5</sup> 溫庭筠.

<sup>6</sup> So called from the fact that a group of poets of the Sung dynasty made a collection of their poems which were written in the style of Li Shang-yin, and published it under the title, *Hsi K'un ch'ang ch'ou chi* (西崑唱酬集).

<sup>7</sup> 韓偓, "the last of the T'angs" (844-923).

<sup>8</sup> 陸龜蒙. See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1420, and Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 93.

<sup>9</sup> *Lei sai ching* (耒耜經).

<sup>10</sup> The "Three Lo" (羅隱, 羅鄴, and 羅虬) belong to the later T'ang period.



Ch'iu. These all lived during the progress of the "reform" movement, but none of them appears to have contributed to it. The dynasty was nearing its end under a series of ineffective and superstitious rulers. In 845 Buddhism was proscribed by the Taoist emperor, Wên Ti, the same blow exterminating Nestorianism and Mazdeism; everywhere revolt broke out, and from 876 onwards the country was ravaged from south to north by brigands, under the leadership of the notorious Huang Ch'ao. In the capital the eunuchs were all powerful, and, in 900, they confined the emperor and for a time ruled absolutely. Finally, in 906, the dynasty was overthrown and the second Liang dynasty established in its place. During this disturbed time scholarship lacked both patronage and organization, and reformers, social or literary, could do little. But the T'ang period had played its part and made its contribution to the progress of literature. Although one branch of their writings had maintained the traditional "classical" style, T'ang scholars had encouraged in another branch the use of simpler forms, approximating, probably, to the spoken language, and when under the Sung dynasty printing made possible a wide-spread interest in literature and brought into being a public whose ignorance of characters required that books should be read aloud, it was only a short step to the writing of novels and stories in colloquial language. Herein lies the historical significance of the T'ang period in the development of Chinese literature.

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## The place of *n* in forming Semitic roots

By A. S. TRITTON

IN Semitic languages a root containing *n* often agrees in meaning, wholly or partially, with some weak root. Brockelmann (*Grundriss*, i, 536) suggests that the Syriac *nḥp* "barefooted", corresponding to the Arabic *ḥfy*, shows that Aramaic once possessed a reflexive in *n*. This explanation will not serve when *n* comes at the end of the root. The evidence does not prove, though it may support, the theory that Semitic roots were once biliteral; all that can be said is that *n* was used to turn weak roots into strong ones.

In the list that follows, the words with initial *n* come first and then those with final *n*.<sup>1</sup>

### *Initial n.*

- ḥfy* barefooted; S. *nḥp* (H. *yḥp*). (B.)  
*ḥbb* be awake; *nḥb*.  
*fuḥ* be fragrant; *nḥ*.  
*ḥdḏ* urge; *nḥḏ* ask importunately, H. *nāḥūs*, urgent.  
*jdd* exert oneself; *njd* be bold.  
*jzz* cut; *njz* finish.  
*dll* be weak; *nḏl* be worthless.  
*šwl* raise the tail; *nšl* lift (out of the pot).  
*ḥtt* fall, put down; S. *nḥt* go down.  
*ḥff* hold back; *nḥf* be cut off, stopped.  
     S. *nkp* be chaste.  
*šbb* blow (wind); S.H. *nšb* (but *nsm* and S.H. *nšm*).  
*jff* be dry; *njf* milk dry.  
     S.H. *ngb* be dry.  
*šll* clarify; S. *nsl* pour through.  
*šrr* creak; S. *nšr* whistle. (B.)  
*qfw* follow; S. *nqp*.  
*jrr* pull; S. *ngr* be long. (B.)  
*jlw* H. *glw* go into exile; S. *ngl* emigrate.  
*šll* take out; *nsl* unravel and let fall.  
     H. *nšl* fall off.

<sup>1</sup> H. Hebrew; S. Syriac; Arabic roots unmarked; B. Already noted by Brockelmann.

*qss* cut; *nqs* diminish.

*kbb* overturn; *nbb* pour out (of a pot).

*gys* compare; H. *nqš*.

*sfsf* chirp; S. *nsp* hiss.

H. *skk*, *škk* weave; H. *nsk* (*nsj*).

H. *qbb* curse; H. *nqb*.

H. *šhl* be dazzling; H. *nšh* pre-eminent.

*shh* be true; *nšh* advise.

H. *pwš* scatter; H. *nps*. *nfs* push, pass urine by jerks.

*hll* pour in between; *nhl* sift.

*fwđ* hand over to; *nfd* shake.

*fyđ* flow.

S. *hrr* go to law: (causative) hurt; *nhr* (viii) repulse a suppliant.

#### Final n.

'*sw* (v) imitate; '*sn* (v) resemble one's father.

*h'w* stop in a place; *h'n*.

*dhy* darkness; *dhn* smoke.

*r'w* do properly, make strong; *r'n*.

*z'w* drive; *z'n* push.

*s'w* be untidy (hair); *s'n*.

*š'w* be miserable; *š'n* be little, mean.

*š'y* be miserable; *š'n*.

*qdy* judge; H. *qāšn* (noun).

*zwh*, *zyh* go away; *zhn* (*zhl*).

S. *rīšā* head (✓ *r's*); *r'n* to make chief.

*šff* put in a row; *šfn* plant the feet in a line.

*s'w* be thin; *s'n* have a small head.

*trw* mix (perfumes, etc.); *tyrn*.

*gby* be ignorant; *gbn* fail to understand.

*g'w* strike (? derived sense); *g'n*.

*gdy* close the eyes; *gdn*.

*gmy* cover (with wood or earth); *gmn* (with clothes to cause sweating).

*q'sw* be hard; *q'n* have callosities.

*qfw* hit the back of the neck (? denominative from noun); *qfn* hit.

*qmy* agree with; *qamīn* suitable.

*k'w* lie on the ground; *k'n*.

*k'w* be a coward (*k' '* ); *k'n* be slack.

*kmy* hide (testimony); *knn* hide.

*lby* eat much; *lbn*.

*mtw* stretch; *mtn*.

*mzy* praise; *mzn*.

*hjn* find fault with; *hjn*.

*hd'* be quiet; *hđn*.

*wgy* noise of battle; *wgn* engage in battle.

*why* be weak; *whn*.





## Eine rabbinische Parallele zu سُورَة

VON DAVID KÜNSTLINGER

ÜBER die mutmasslichen Ansichten von der Herkunft des in der Überschrift angeführten arabischen Wortes, welches „Abschnitt, Teil des Kur'āns“ bedeutet, ist Nöldeke-Schwally, Geschichte des Qorāns i, 31 sowie EI. iv, 606–7 u. Verbesserungen u. Nachträge das., Lieferung J., dritte Seite des Umschlags, nachzusehen. Keine der dort angeführten Ansichten vermag hinreichend zu befriedigen. Denn auch die in den „Nachträgen“ erwähnte Ableitung des Wortes سُورَة von R. Bell aus syr. Surṭā (Ṣurṭā, Sūrṭā) „Schriftzeile, Schriftstück“ ist schon deshalb unmöglich, weil bald das *s*, bald das *t* dem *s* und *t* in سُورَة nicht entsprechen kann. Übrigens kommt Sūrṭā — wenn es kein Druckfehler für Ṣurṭā ist — bei Brockelmann, Lex. Syr.<sup>2</sup> nicht vor. S. das. 498, 624, 637. So scheint A. Mingana vielleicht doch Recht zu haben, wenn er sagt: „The Word Sūrah is of unknown origin, and its right etymology is in our judgment still obscure.“<sup>1</sup>

Folgende Zeilen wollen keine neue Etymologie des Wortes سُورَة vorbringen. Sie wollen lediglich auf eine Parallele hinweisen, welche vielleicht dazu beitragen wird die Entstehung des Wortes in der Bedeutung „Abschnitt, Teil eines Buches“ zu erklären.

Ḳ. 38, 20 **تَسَوَّرَ**, steigen, hinaufkommen = **צַעַר** öfter im AT. Siehe die Stellen in den hebr. Wörterbb. zur Bibel. Vgl. Levy, Targ. WB. ii, 463; Brockelm. das. 766.

Ḳ. 18, 30; 22, 23; 35, 30; 76, 21 **أَسَاوَر**; 43, 53 **أَسُورَة**, Schmuckgegenstände, Fuss-Armbänder = **אֲצַעֲדָה** Num. 31, 50; 2 Sam. 1, 10; **צַעֲדוּהָ** Jes. 3, 20.—Vgl. die Targumim z. St.; Levy das. 477; Brockelm. das. 749. Nun kommt im Ḳ. ausser 57, 13 **سَوَّرَ** im Sinne von Ring-Mauer, Levy das. 464; Brockelm. das. 766; das Wort سُورَة in der Bedeutung „Kur'ānabschnitt“ in 10, 39 (dritte Periode Makkas) sowie 47, 22; 24, 1; 9, 65, 87, 125, 128 (madinisch) und 2, 21 (viell. Makk. (?) Nöldeke-Schwally das. 173) und der Plural **سَوَر** 11, 16 (dritte Periode Makkas) vor. Im Midraš rabba 98, 18 zu Gen. 49, 22 ist zu lesen: **אמר לו' [ליוסף] הקב"ה אתה** . . .

<sup>1</sup> Syriac influence on the style of the Kur'ān, 13. Reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. ii, No. 1, January, 1927.

לֹא תִלִּית אֶת עֵינְךָ וְהִבַּטְתָּ בָּהֶן חֵיִךְ שֶׁאַתָּה נוֹתֵן לְבִנְיָוֶיךָ  
 צִעִידָה בְּתוֹרָה. כִּדְּרֵי צִעִידָה פְּרִשָּׁה<sup>1</sup>

D.h. Als Josef (Gen. 41, 41 f.) über Ägypten zu herrschen begann und in seinem Prunkwagen ausfuhr, guckten die Töchter der Könige (der Adelligen) durch ihre Fenstergitter ihn (Josef) an, bei welcher Gelegenheit sie verschiedene Schmuckgegenstände über ihn warfen, damit er seine Augen erhebe und auch sie (die Töchter) anschauet. Er jedoch unterliess aus Bescheidenheit dies zu tun. „Da sprach zu ihm der Heilige, gelobt sei er (Gott): du erhobst deine Augen nicht um sie anzuschauen, so wahr du lebst, einst wirst du deine Töchter (Nachkommen) mit einer צִעִידָה in der Tora beschenken. Was bedeutet צִעִידָה? Eine פְּרִשָּׁה, Bibelabschnitt.“<sup>2</sup> Gemeint ist — wie die Kommentatoren richtig bemerken — Num. 27, 1–11, wo von dem Landbesitz der Erbtöchter vom Stamme Josefs verhandelt wird.<sup>3</sup> Aus dieser Agada erfährt man nun, dass צִעִידָה einen „Abschnitt“ des Pentateuchs bedeutet, was durch פְּרִשָּׁה glossiert wird. Mag diese Glosse älteren oder jüngeren Datums sein, sie beweist immerhin, dass das Wort צִעִידָה, wenn auch hier nur einmalig gebraucht wird, einen „Bibelabschnitt“ bedeutete und infolge des später gebräuchlichen Wortes פְּרִשָּׁה verdrängt wurde. سورة „Kur’ānabschnitt“ entspricht nun wieder dem Ausdruck צִעִידָה „Bibelabschnitt“. Der Zusammenhang oder richtiger der Bedeutungsübergang dieser Stämme צִעִידָה—سورة „steigen, Ring, Abschnitt“ muss noch besonders untersucht werden. Dies ist jedoch nicht der Zweck dieses Aufsatzes; er begnügt sich auf die bemerkenswerte Parallele hinzuweisen.

<sup>1</sup> Im *Midrash Hag-gadol*, ed. Schechter 747 lautet die Stelle: אָמַר לוֹ הַקֹּב"ה: אַתָּה לֹא הִבַּטְתָּ בָּהֶן אֲנִי נוֹתֵן לְבִנְיָוֶיךָ צִעִידָה בְּתוֹרָה כְּלוֹמַר פְּרִשָּׁה.

<sup>2</sup> S. Bacher, *Exeg. Terminol.* i, 160–2; ii, 169–170. Den Terminus צִעִידָה führt Bacher nicht an.

<sup>3</sup> S. *Sifre z. St.*, ed. Horowitz, 177.



## A Grammar of the Language of Longgu, Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands

By W. G. IVENS

THIS grammar has been prepared from a study of a small prayer book in the Longgu language published by the Melanesian Mission Press in 1916. The book contains a translation of some of the services of the Book of Common Prayer, viz. Mattins and Evensong, the Litany, certain prayers, seven liturgical collects, twenty-four psalms, and nineteen hymns.

Longgu itself is situated on the south-east coast of the island of Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands, in the neighbourhood of Kaukau Bay and Paupau, about where the coast begins to trend southwards towards Marau Sound.

The name "Longgu" means "indentation, bay". It is the equivalent of the Mala *loku* "to bend, a bay".

The language has many peculiarities when one remembers its position; its vocabulary contains many words which hitherto have been considered as peculiar to the Mala or Ulawa languages: e.g. *anoa* "soul", Lau *ano*; *lou* "again", Sa'a *lo'u*; *beina* "big", Ulawa *paina*; *ere, dunga* "fire", Lau *ere*, Ulawa *dunga*; *ae* "leg, trunk, source", Ulawa *'a'ae*; *toi* "to do", Marau Sound *toi*; *una* "thus", Marau Sound *una*; *taa* "bad", Ulawa *taa*; *valisi* "year", Ulawa *halisi*; *ia* "fish", Lau *ia*; *thada, thadanga* "to be fitting, in agreement with", Sa'a *sada, sadanga*; *thai* "to know", Sa'a *saai*, Lau *hai*; *anggalu* "ghost", Sa'a *akalo*; *la, lae* "to go", Sa'a *la, lae*; *inoni* "man", Sa'a *inoni*; *mwela* "child", Sa'a *mwela*; *vanua* "people", Ulawa *hanua*; *luma* "house", Sa'a *nume*.

In the texts there are two instances (in a hymn) of the occurrence of two typical Sa'a and Ulawa words (*i*)*siiri*, (*i*)*siirini* "to-day"; and it looks as if these words were borrowed, since the ordinary Longgu word for "to-day" is *i nene*; but it is hard to see how the borrowing could have been effected, unless through e.g. the medium of a Sa'a hymn book, and this is very unlikely. Mr. F. R. Isom, of the Melanesian Mission Press, Guadalcanal, has kindly prosecuted certain inquiries about Longgu words, at my request, and his verdict is that the two words *siiri*, *siirini* (the prefixed locative *i* is general in the neighbourhood) are Longgu words.

The article *mani* found in Longgu is regularly used in the Mala

language of Marau Sound, and is found also in Ulawa and San Cristoval. It has not been recorded elsewhere on Guadalcanal, and seems to point to a Mala source. The presence of *w* in Longgu words would also seem to be an indication of a Mala or San Cristoval connection, the letter *w* not occurring otherwise in the Guadalcanal languages (except in the Mala language spoken at Marau Sound). However, it is doubtful whether the *w* in Longgu occurs otherwise than in the compounds *bw*, *mw*, *vw*, which are written in the texts as *buw*, *muw*, *vuw*. The translators of the Longgu Prayer Book which has furnished the material for this grammar were natives of Florida, and thus were unacquainted in their own language with the letter *w*. The spelling *vuw* seems to indicate that where *w* occurs in Longgu, apart from the nasal *mw*, or from *bw* which can be shown to be a variant of *q* (*kw*), the *w* is not purely *w* but *vw*. Four Longgu words in the texts which begin with *vuw* (*vw*), viz. *vuwalia* "morning", *vuwai* "water", *vuwala* "word", *vuwate* "to give", appear in Sa'a as *wa'alie*, *wai*, *wala*, *wate*. The Longgu words *alawuwa* "youth", *vuwai* "to strike", appear in Lau, Mala, as *alakwa*, *kwei*.

There are two other words in the Longgu texts in which *vuw* occurs: *vuwa* "to", dative preposition, *vuwini* "to, for". Since Lau has *vua* "to", and Sa'a has *humi* "to", it would seem as if the *w* in *vuwa* and the *wi* in *vuwini* were mistakes on the part of the translator, there being also a word *vua* "in order that, to", of purpose.

In one case an initial *w* in Sa'a appears in the Longgu texts as *vu*: Sa'a *wasi* "wild", Longgu *vuasi*. One suspects that the word is *wasi*. Also the Sa'a *tewa* "tall" appears in the Longgu texts as *tevowa*, where *tevwa* is probably correct.

Four words in the Longgu texts beginning with *buw* are represented in Ulawa by words beginning with *pw*, viz. *buwala*, negative, "no, not", *buwaru* "head", *buwela* "stage", *buweu* "foolish", which appear in Ulawa as *pwale*, *pwau*, *pwela*, *pwau*. The *u* in the Longgu words is probably due to the translator.

Four words also beginning with *muw* in the Longgu texts are represented in Ulawa by words beginning with *mw*, viz. *muwaemuwae* "to rejoice", *muwane* "man, male", *muwasi* "to laugh", *muwela* "child", which appear in Ulawa as *mwaeemuwae*, *mwane*, *mwasi*, *mwela*. The translator is probably responsible here also for the inclusion of the *u* in the Longgu words.

In two words in the texts *muw* appears in Longgu where Sa'a and Ulawa have *m*: *muwango* "breath", *muwatara* "sea", Sa'a *mango*,

*matawa*. The nasalizing of *m* to *mw* in certain words occurs also in the Mala languages, e.g. *Mala*, *Mwala*, the names of the island; the *ma* of *matawa* is a prefix, and *mwa* is a variant of it in Sa'a and Ulawa. The Sa'a and Ulawa *mwaani* "from" appears in the Longgu texts as *biwani*, which is represented in San Cristoval by *bani*.

The Longgu pronouns are rather akin to those of Sa'a and Ulawa than to the Vaturanga or Inakona forms; though the short forms *u*, *a*, of the first persons, and *ara* of the 3rd pers. pl., are the Guadalcanal and not the Mala forms. The Longgu use of *ani* as a transitive suffix is found also in Lau, Mala. The Longgu gerundive *la* is the form of the gerundive used also in Sa'a and Lau and Ulawa, as against the infixed gerundive *ra* of Bugotu. The Longgu verbal particles are not compounded with the pronouns after the Vaturanga, Inakona, Florida, and Bugotu uses.

In reduplication Longgu rather favours the method of doubling the whole word; and the method of dropping the middle consonant in reduplication, which is favoured by the Florida and Bugotu languages, or of doubling the first syllable, which is the Vaturanga use, are not regular uses in Longgu.

Though Mala peoples have been present in Marau Sound, close to Longgu, for several centuries, yet the presumed Mala element in the Longgu language is rather that of the Sa'a, Little Mala, type, than of the Marau Sound type which derives ultimately from the Areare<sup>1</sup> speaking peoples of Big Mala. A reference to the Marau Sound grammar and vocabulary<sup>2</sup> will confirm this statement.

That intercourse took place in the far past between the peoples of Guadalcanal, in the neighbourhood of Longgu, and Sa'a and Ulawa cannot be doubted. That particular portion of the Guadalcanal coast was to the mind of the Sa'a and Ulawa peoples the home of the bonito fish. According to the Sa'a and Ulawa folk-lore the bonito fishers returned every night to these parts of the Guadalcanal coasts during the season, the "bonito maidens" tending them and bringing them forth every morning. Bonito hooks that were lost had to be searched for in that neighbourhood, where the maidens had collected them from the mouths of their fishes. A certain amount of this lore doubtless came to Sa'a and Ulawa through the medium of the Mala peoples of Marau Sound, but men from Sa'a accompanied the parties from Mala that visited Guadalcanal in the summer time during the bonito

<sup>1</sup> Ivens, *BSOS.*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Pt. 4, 1932.

season; and there are folk-lore stories of men from Ulawa going to this part of the Guadalcanal coast. One hesitates to say that peoples from Little Mala settled at Longgu, as peoples from Big Mala settled at Marau Sound, but it came under one's personal observation that Sa'a men calling in at Longgu were able to understand the Longgu speech, and were themselves understood.

Mr. Isom informs me that whereas years ago the Longgu language was general in the district round about the actual Longgu itself, to-day it is being replaced by the Florida language owing to the presence of Florida teachers in the schools of the Melanesian Mission.

A vocabulary of the Longgu language is to be published later in *BSOS*.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- adj.*, adjective.
- adv.*, adverb.
- excl.*, exclusive, i.e. excluding the person addressed.
- incl.*, inclusive, i.e. including the person addressed.
- pers.*, person, personal.
- pl.*, plural number.
- pron.*, pronoun.
- sing.*, singular number.

For references to the language of Inakona, which is spoken on the south-west coast of Guadalcanal, see "The Language of Inakona, Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands," by the Rev. A. Capell, B.A., *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, No. 154, June, 1930.

For Vaturanga, see Ivens, "A Grammar of the Language of Vaturanga, Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands," *BSOS*, Vol. VII, p. 349.

#### I. ALPHABET

1. Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u*. These have the ordinary Solomon Island values. According to the usual custom in the languages of Guadalcanal the vowels are sounded separately.

2. Consonants: *b, d, g, ngg, l, m, mu, n, ng, p, bw, r, s, t, th, v, vw*. The *b* and *d* are both nasalized after the Guadalcanal fashion, *mb* and *nd*. The sound of *g* is hard, and the "Melanesian *g*", i.e. the *g* of Florida and Bugotu, does not occur. It is omitted in certain words: *iia* "fish", Florida *iga*; *malaai* "champion", Florida *malagai*; but there is no "break" in the pronunciation where the *g* is omitted. The *ngg* is for *k*, as in Florida and Vaturanga: *longgu* = *loku* in Sa'a. In the texts the *ngg* sound is printed as italic *g*; it is the same sound as *ng* in English "finger".

The sounds represented as *mw*, *bw*, *vw* in the list of consonants are spelt *muw*, *buw*, *vuw* respectively in the texts; but since (as shown above) *muw* and *buw* of Longgu stand for *mw* and *pw* (*kw*) of Sa'a and Ulawa, it seems better to class these two sounds as *mw* and *bw*; and there seems to be no doubt that the *vuw* of the texts is properly *vw*. An *l* is omitted in certain words: *ngao* "to desire", Inakona *ngalo*; *poo* "secret", Florida *polo*; *vui* "to wash", Florida *vuli*. The *ng* is *ng* of English "sing"; initial *t* is omitted in certain words: *ivi* "cloth", Florida *tivi*; *ura* "to distribute food", Bugotu *tura*; *inoni* "man", Florida *tinoni*; also medial *t*: *reu* "star" for *vetu*; *mae* "to die" for *mate*; *mae* "because", Vaturanga *mate*. The *th* of Longgu usually represents an *s* in Sa'a or Vaturanga, but at times it is a change from *l*, as in Bugotu: *vutha* "to reach", Ulawa *hula*, Bugotu *vula*. There is an interchange of *th* and *t*: *thathi* "to err" (Vaturanga *sasi*), *thati*; *ruta*, *vutha* "to be born, to become"; *uthua* "true" is a variant of *utuni*, which is *utu* + *ni*. There is probably a "break" in the sound of certain words, for the word for "gong", Sa'a 'o'o, is printed as *o-o*; the words *iaa* "fish", *aae* "leg" show a lengthening of the initial vowel owing to the dropping of *g*, as happens in the case of the Lau word *iaa*; also the Sa'a *i'o* "to stay, live, be" is *i'o* in Longgu, a *k* having been lost.

The letter *h* appears only in the texts in *kaka* "ship", which is doubtless an introduced word.

The word *tangonama* "to be able", Florida *tangomana*, shows the metathetic form *nama* for *mana*; *nanama* "to be powerful" is a reduplicated form of *nama*, similar to the Ulawa *nanama*.

## II. ARTICLES

3. Demonstratives: Singular *na*; *mani*; *na*.

Plural *ara*; *inggira*, *nggira*; *aratei*; *molai*.

The article *na* is in general use as denoting both "a" and "the", and also as marking a word as a noun. All words used as nouns are preceded by the article *na*: *na inoni* "a man", *na luma* "a house", *na ma* "a thing", *na utuni* "the truth". The article *na* is used with the pronoun *taa* "what?" also with the possessive forms, *na ana* "his food", and with the ordinal numbers, *na ruana* "the second"; it is used following the plural articles *inggira*, *nggira*, and with *molai*: *nggira na molai komu* "all the lands", *inggira na nggeni* "the women". *Na* has a gerundival content, and is used with gerundival forms as in Florida, Vaturanga, and Bugotu. It is used thus with

a transitive verb only: *na manatainio* "to know thee, the knowledge of thee"; and with *tangonama* "to be able": *ara go se tangonama na idumi* "they cannot number them", *na idumiana* "the counting of it, to count it", *na sokolana* "its end"; the sentence *na ngge thangao* "to help thee" shows *na* separated from its verb by a conjunction; *na* may express purpose: *na toi vvinio* "to work for thee".

*mani* precedes the noun immediately: *te mani kiboa* "one sin", *na mani kolivuti* "prayer, prayers", *na molai mani bosa* "all the words"; it may be used with a verb: *na mani nai vatani na paku* "the putting away of sin"; or with a gerundive: *na mani voasiana a Lord* "sacrificing to the Lord"; it conveys a notion of "one, single". Marau Sound also uses *moni* as an article: *mani are* "a thing", *mani wara* "a word, a saying"; Ulawa has the phrase *mani wolana* "his word".

The second article *na* is used like the Bugotu article *gna* "belonging to", or the Florida *na* in *na Belaga* "a man of Belaga". The only instance of the use of this *na* in the Longgu texts is in the phrase *inggira na Israel* "they are of Israel".

*ara* is used of the plural of persons only; in itself it is the pronoun of the 3rd pers. pl., see § 13: *ara kiboa* "sinners", *ara vutunga* "the many", *ara vua nggia* "our forefathers".

*inggira*, *nggira* are the personal pronouns, 3rd pers. pl., "they"; both of them are used as plural articles of persons: *inggira na vua amu* "your forefathers", *nggira na kiboa* "sinners", *nggira na mwane* "men". This use of the pronoun 3rd pers. pl. as a plural article is paralleled by the corresponding use of *hira* in Vaturanga.

When *ra*, pers. pron. 3rd pers. pl., is suffixed to a verb or a preposition as object, there is no use of the plural articles: *e naira na vanua vwininggira* "he put the peoples under us".

*aratei* is both interrogative and indefinite; it denotes "who, they who, those who". It is compounded of *ara* and *atei* "who?" "some one".

*molai* denotes properly "all", but it is used of the plural of persons and of things: *na molai mwela kiki* "all the little children", *na molai malaai tana maramana* "the captains of the earth", *na molai ma* "things". It is probable that *molai* is the same as *mola* "ten thousand", with a plural suffix *i* added.

#### 4. Personal article: *a*.

All personal names, male or female, native or foreign, are preceded

by the article *na*. In the texts *na* is used of relationship terms, of specific persons: *na Dule* "the Son", but this is clearly wrong. It is probable that the article *a* preceding a word makes it a personal noun, though in the texts *na* is used in this connection: *na ramaurida* "their saviour".

The personal article *a* may be used with the plural, as in Vaturanga and Bugotu: *na paluda a mama nggira* "the sins of their fathers", *inggira a teei mola* "they three one person only", *e olu a ronu* "three persons".

The word *ronu* "person" is used with the personal article *a*: *a ronu* "the person, so and so". It is the equivalent of the Florida and Bugotu *hanu*, and the Vaturanga *mea*.

### III. NOUNS

5. A word in a verbal form may be used as a noun without any change of form, the article *na* merely preceding: *mauri* "to live", *na mauri* "life"; *matai* "to be ill", *na matai* "sickness". This is the practice of Florida also.

6. The noun endings seen in the texts are *a*, *va*, *na*, *nga*: *rongo* "to be famous", *rongoa* "renown"; *maea* "death"; *iioa* "behaviour"; *va* is seen probably in *suluva* "inheritance" and *taudauva* "overseer"; cf. Sa'a *sulu*, *susulu* "to inherit", Bugotu *tautau vathe* "to keep house".

The ending *na* of the ordinal numbers *rua* "two", *ruana* "second", is a noun ending.

There are several instances in the texts of *nga* used as a noun ending: *mae* "to die", *maemaenga* "danger"; *bobolinga* "stranger" (Florida *boiboli* "to sojourn"); *thadanga* "in agreement with" (*thada* "to be in agreement"); *thadangangu* "in agreement with me"; *sobanga* "each", Bugotu *sopa*.

The ending *raa* seen in *rongoraa* "famous, fame" (*rongo* "to be famous"), which appears as *raga* in Bugotu, would seem to be properly an adjectival ending.

Gerundival endings—*a*, *la*.

These gerundival endings are added to transitive verbs only, after the Vaturanga and Bugotu use; they are shown to be nouns by the fact that the suffixed pronouns of possession are added to them. In the case of *a*, the suffixed pronouns *na*, *da*, 3rd pers. sing. and pl., and *ni*, 3rd pers. pl., denoting things, are added regularly in the texts

as objects of the gerundival form in *a*. The use of the gerundival ending *a* corresponds thus with its use in Vaturanga, but not in Florida. In the case of *la*, the suffixed pronoun *na* is the only one that is added in the texts. Examples are: *na deteana* "to judge him", *na suu vuleana* "to repay him well", *na nai vaoluana* "the renewal of it". The last two examples show the gerundival ending added to the second member of a compound; *na kunusiana na molai paluda* "the remission of their sins" shows the suffixed pronoun *na* used in a collective sense; *na vatapoani* "the concealing of them", *na vamauriada na molai inoni* "to save men", *na dete taboada* "to condemn them for no reason". The only instance in the texts of the use of *la* as a gerundival ending is in the phrase *na sokolana na maramana* "the end of the earth". The gerundival ending *a* would appear to be the same as *la* through the omission of *l*.

7. In the texts the greater number of the nouns take the suffixed pronouns of possession; but the words for "friend, neighbour, enemy, child (*mwela*), man, woman, thing" are not used with the suffixed pronouns, but take the possessive *a*. The vocative *mama* "father" is used of "father" generally, but not with the suffixed pronouns, like the other relationship terms: *a mama nggira* "their father". *Bosa* "word" has the pronoun suffixed and is used also with the possessive *na*: *na bosana*, *nana na bosa* "his word".

8. As in Vaturanga the noun *mate* (*mae*) is used with the suffixed pronoun *na*: *matena* (*maena*) "because"; there is no example of any other pronoun being suffixed.

The noun *aae* "root, cause" has the pronoun *na* suffixed: *aaena*, *na aaena* "because". This is also a Sa'a usage. The noun *ai* "person, thing" (Marau Sound 'ai) is added to numerals: *e rua ai me olu ai* "two or three persons", *e vita ai* "how many things?"

9. Genitive. A genitive relation is shown (1) by the use of the preposition *ni* "of": *tana vua ni thududa* "in the place of their sitting", *i orova ni aaena* "under his feet"; this *ni* may denote purpose: *na samu ni toi* "a maid-servant"; *mamu ngge oli ni la berengia a Lord* "and return ye to go to the Lord"; it also denotes condition: *e iio ni inoni* "he became man", *inggia ngga la ni muga* "let us go with rejoicing"; it is used with *vuta*: *vuta ni* "to become"; (2) by the use of the suffixed pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. or pl.: *na lumana na mwane kama* "the house of the chief", *na kutuda na varua* "the hearts of the people"; (3) by the use of the possessive noun *na* with the possessive pronouns, 3rd pers. sing. or pl., suffixed:



*nana na tasitalaru a God* "the grace of God"; *nada na ma na molai inoni* "the things of all men".

10. Prefix. A possible instrumental prefix *i* is seen in the word *ihaa* "staff".

11. Plural. Plurality is denoted by the use of *inggira*, *nggira*, personal pronouns, 3rd pers. pl., "they," used preceding a noun form, or by the personal pronoun *ara* "they", used with or without the article *na*: *inggira na rua amu* "your forefathers", *ara na kiboa* "sinners"; see § 3; the noun *molai* "all", § 3, is also used to denote plurality. A plural is shown by the doubling of a phrase with the copula *ma*: *na ravata ma na ravata* "generations, from generation to generation". A similar use is found in Vaturanga, Bugotu, and Florida.

The word *sosoko* "finished, all" is added to the noun to denote completion or totality: *namoa na molai ma sosoko* "all thy things", *na molai ravata sosoko* "all the generations". In general the language is not careful always to note plurality.

*vete* "self, sole, alone, different" is a noun, the pronouns of possession being suffixed: *ioe vetemu* "you only, you by yourself"; *inggira veteda* "they alone".

12. Gender. To denote gender *mwane* "male" is added for males, *nggeni* "female" for females.

#### IV. PRONOUNS

##### 13. (1) Personal:—

Sing.	1. <i>inau.</i>	<i>nau, u.</i>
	2. <i>ioe.</i>	<i>o.</i>
	3. <i>ingaia.</i>	<i>ngaia.</i>
Plur.	1 incl. <i>inggia.</i>	<i>nggia, a.</i>
	1 excl. <i>iami.</i>	<i>ami.</i>
	2. <i>iamu.</i>	<i>amu.</i>
	3. <i>inggira.</i>	<i>nggira, ara.</i>
Dual	1 incl. ( <i>inggia rua</i> ).	
	1 excl. ( <i>iami rua</i> ).	
	2. ( <i>iamu rua</i> ).	
	3. <i>inggira rua, ora.</i>	

14. The forms in the 3rd pers. sing. and pl. are used of things as well as of persons.

The forms in the first column may be used by themselves as the subject, or they may be followed by the forms in the second column.

The forms in the first column may be used in addition to the suffixed pronouns of possession attached to nouns, or to the suffixed pronouns of the object, the person and number in each case being the same : *ara aili metao ioe* "they praise thee", *vonosiu inau* "against me", *tana maamu ioe* "before thy face". No special emphasis is conveyed by this doubling of the pronoun. Its frequency of use seems to show that the native mind is not content with the use of a single pronoun as an object.

The forms in the second column are used by themselves as the subject, or they may follow the longer forms of the first column, and *nau* may be followed by *u*, and *nggia* by *a* : *a salunggia vetengga* "we deceive ourselves". In the 1st pers. sing. the form *na* also occurs ; in the texts this *na* appears only as used with *go*, the verbal particle used of the future : *na go eno sivo* "I will lie down". Ulawa also has a similar form *na*.

The forms in the first column may be used as possessive pronouns, "my," etc. ; this is a Sa'a and Ulawa use also ; the plural forms in the second column, except *a* and *ara*, are used also as pronouns of the object with verbs and prepositions. A form *nawi* "my" occurs in the phrases *a mama nawi* "my father", *a tia nawi* "my mother".

The form *a* of the 1st pers. pl. incl. combines with the conjunction *ngge* in the compound *ngga*. This is the *a* of Florida and Vaturanga, and the *a* of Bugotu *ati*, which appear in a similar position. This *a* is for *ta*, *t* having been omitted. Other forms appear in the texts, viz. *amolu*, 2nd pers. pl., used of three persons : *amolu taini vule* "you three (are) equally great" ; also *nggira olu*, 3rd pers. pl., used of three persons. *Oro* of the dual 3rd pers. is paralleled by *oro* of Florida used of all persons, while Bugotu has the forms *oro*, *uru*, *oro*, *ro*. Since *inggira rua* occurs in the texts it seems safe to assume that the forms in brackets in the dual, which are conjectural additions, are the probable forms. This would more or less equate them with the Sa'a and Ulawa dual forms.

*ara*, 3rd pers. pl., is probably composed of *a*, personal article, and *ra*, the ordinary pronoun of the 3rd pers. pl. Vaturanga, Florida, and Bugotu all have a form *ara*, which in Bugotu is used exclusively as a plural article of persons only. When the subject comes last *ara* is used as a kind of anticipatory subject : *ara go taa na kutuda* "their hearts will be sore" ; it also serves as a kind of verbal particle for the 3rd pers. pl. : *nggira na molai vanua ara ngoengoe* "the multitude was disturbed" ; it may follow *inggira*, *nggira* : *mi nggira ara ngge*

*lingea* "and they shall sing (it)"; it also denotes "they who": *nggira ara taraiu* "they who teach me"; *nggira ara la usulia ara go livana* "they that follow him (they) shall be thus"; it may be used alone as the subject: *ara ngge adea una* "they are to do thus". For its use as an article, and for *inggira*, *nggira*, see § 3.

15. (2) Pronouns suffixed to verbs and prepositions as the object:—

Sing.	1. <i>u</i> .
	2. <i>o</i> .
	3. <i>a</i> .
Plur.	3. <i>ra</i> , <i>rarua</i> , <i>raolu</i> .
	<i>ni</i> , <i>i</i> .

In the plural number, 1st and 2nd pers., the personal pronouns *nggia*, *ami*, *amu* are used, and *nggira* may be used as well as *ra*; this latter is also a use of Marau Sound. The form in the 3rd pers. sing., *a*, may be used of a collective plural.

The forms *rarua*, *raolu* are used of two or of three people respectively. The forms *ni*, *i* are used of things and not of persons, the former with the gerundive *a*, and with words which take the suffixed pronouns of possession, the latter is used with verbs: *na bosaani* "to speak of them", *e livani* "like them", *nggo adei na bosa ni nggiduku* "make the words of my mouth". Florida and Sa'a have both of these forms.

16. (3) Pronouns suffixed to nouns to denote possession:—

Sing.	1. <i>nggu</i> .	Plur.	1 incl. <i>ngga</i> .
	2. <i>mu</i> .		1 excl. <i>mami</i> .
	3. <i>na</i> .		2. <i>miu</i> .
			3. <i>da</i> .

These forms are the same as in Sa'a except for the change of *k* and *ngg*. Florida has *da*, *dia* (*dira*), 1st and 3rd pers. pl. respectively. There is no example in the texts of the use of *ni*, 3rd pers. pl., to signify things, as in Florida. For the nouns that do not take these suffixes see § 7.

The suffixing of *na*, *da* to nouns may convey a genitive idea, see § 9.

These pronouns are used as the object, or the anticipatory object, with prepositions: *wana na inoni* "to a man"; and also with certain verbs, e.g. *too* "to hit, lodge, reach", *rataa* "to spoil", *mamaa* "to watch over".

The personal pronouns *inau*, *inggia*, etc., may be added to nouns to which the above pronouns have already been suffixed.

17. (4) Possessives: *a*, *na*.

These possessives are really nouns, since they are used with the suffixed pronouns of possession.

<i>a</i> : Sing.	1. <i>anggu</i> .	Plur.	1 incl. <i>angga</i> .
	2. <i>amu</i> .		1 excl. <i>amami</i> .
	3. <i>ana</i> .		2. ( <i>amiu</i> ).
			3. <i>ada</i> .

The possessive *a* is used of things to eat, also with the words denoting "enemy, friend, neighbour, child, man, woman, thing"; the article *na* precedes the forms with *a*; *na* denotes "belonging to", also "for (my) part". In the former case they precede the noun, in the latter case they follow it: *na ana* "his food", *na ana komu kolu* "his neighbour", *tana limada angga na kana* "from the hands of our enemies", *ada vanga* "their food", *nanggua na aba ni mae* "my enemy", *nanggua* shows *a* added to *nggu*. There are two instances in the texts of *ana* denoting "belonging to" as in Sa'a: *na matai ana na mae* "sickness unto death", *na vua ni muga ana na maramana* "the place of joy of the world".

In the 2nd pers. sing. *namoa*, and not *namua*, is the form that is used; *a* may precede both *namoa* and *nana*: *a namoa* "thy", *a nana*. These are the only examples in the texts, but presumably *a* may be used with all the forms.

The verbs *thagaovi* "to pity", *too* "to hit, succeed" are used in the texts with the forms *anggu*, etc.: *e mani thagaoviada* "they are in misery", *e sobanga tooada* "it happened to each of them". In Sa'a and Ulawa *to'o* is similarly used.

There is a form *ani* used of things, as in Sa'a: *nuti masodo ani* "to make light of them", *e tangonama ani sosoko* "able to do all things".

18. The forms with the possessive noun *a* are used as ordinary possessive pronouns, following the noun; but in the 2nd pers. pl. the form is *amu*, the same as the singular, this is possibly a misprint for *amiu*: *na iio ada* "their behaviour", *na bongi ni mae amami* "the day of our death", *inggira ara vua amu* "your forefathers", *na la amu* "thy going", *na boutara amu* "thy birth", *na vua ni mauru anggu* "my bed-place".

## 19. (5) Demonstratives:—

"This, these, here," *ne*, *nene*, *i nene*, *i nei*; "that, those," *ine*, *nina*, *i nina*, *nggine*. The demonstratives follow the noun or pronoun:

*nggine* may be added to a noun for emphasis or clearness: *ara nggalemu nggine* "thy children".

20. (6) Interrogatives:—

"Who?" *atei?* *ara tei* plural. "What?" *na ta, na tai?* The interrogatives are used also as indefinites: *atei* "some one", *ara tei* "whosoever".

21. There is a distributive *sobanga* (Bugotu *sopa* "each, every"); *nggo la thangara e sobanga tooada na molai aba ni mae* "help them every one whom the enemies have got hold of", *ara ngge sobanga adea* "they each did it", *e sobanga* "separately".

*ovosi* denotes "every, each": *na ovoli inoni* "every man", *na molai ovoli ma* "all things", *e vita ai na ovoli talili* "how many parts in each?"

22. Relatives. There are no relative pronouns. A relative sense is conveyed by the use of the pronoun: *na molai paluda ara suu kutu* "the sins of them they are penitent", i.e. "of those who are penitent"; *nggira sosoko ara iio iei* "they all they dwell there", i.e. "who are dwelling there"; *nggo kutu meta vwiniami ami ili tatei na palumami* "be gracious to us we (who) confess our sins".

## V. ADJECTIVES

23. Words which qualify nouns are used in a verbal form, i.e. they are used with the verbal particle *e*: *na Anoa e Abu* "The Holy Spirit"; this *e* may, however, be omitted; all so-called adjectives, except those with a definite adjectival form, are really verbs.

Adjectival suffixes: *a, la*.

In the texts the suffix *a* is found used with verbs and nouns: *gulua* "heavy", *nggalea* "with child", *ponoa* "completely", *kikia* "little"; it frequently carries an adverbial sense.

The suffix *la* is seen in *aaela* "rooted in, beginning from", *aale* "leg, stem"; *la* occurs in Sa'a as an adjectival suffix, and *a* is for *ga* of Florida, etc.

Adjectival prefixes: *ma, ta, taba*.

The prefix *ma* is seen in *masodo* "lightly, of no account", *sodo* "merely", *maomaoi* "broken"; Sa'a *'o'i* "to break", *mabotati* "to break in pieces" (Sa'a *pota* "to break").

*ta* is seen in *talili* "part"; and *taba* in *tabalili* "to set aside", Sa'a *kili* "to move about".

24. Comparison of adjectives. Comparison is expressed by the use of *vule* "to be big, great, to exceed" (Florida *vule*): *e meta vulea*

*na rongo* "it is better than money", *ara ngge se ngangata rulea* "they will not be stronger than he". The preposition *ita* is also used to denote comparison, as *ta* is in Florida: *ngaria e vule itada* "he is great among them", i.e. "is greater than they".

A word *taa* is used as a superlative: *e meta taa* "it is very good".

An adjective may be repeated with the copula *ma* in order to denote degree: *e tevva me tevva* "deep and deep", i.e. "very deep".

## VI. VERBS

25. Verbal particles. The verb in Longgu is conjugated by means of verbal particles or of pronominal forms; any word used with the verbal particles is a verb, whatever be its form. The verbal particles precede the verb, and may be used without a subject expressed. The particles in use are *e*, *go*, the former being without temporal significance, while the latter is used of the future.

The verbal particle *e* is used of 3rd pers. sing. only, and usually follows a pronoun or a noun used as the subject. Apart from its use with adjectives, § 23, *e* is used without a subject when the meaning is "there is, it is": *e bivala* "it is not, no", *bivala e buala* "whether or not", *e meta* "it is good", *e utuni*, *e uthua* "it is true"; *e* may be used with a subject, or a subject may be understood: *a Lord e mamaangu inau* "the Lord watches over me", *e bosa vaniu* "he spoke to me".

There is a use of the connective *me*, i.e. *ma*, copula, *e*, verbal particle, similar to the Florida and Bugotu use of *me*, when the subject is in the 3rd pers. sing., and having been stated in the previous clause is not repeated.

The numerals from "one" to "ten" are preceded by *e*: *e tanga-vulu* "ten".

The verbal particle *go* is used of a definite future, and with all persons and members; the vowel does not drop or change: *na go eno sivo* "I will lie down", *ara go la vu langi* "they will go up", *go vamanatainia namoa na vanua* "to teach thy people", *ara go se tangonama na idumi* "they will not be able to number them". It is used also of the imperative.

The conjunction *ngge* is frequently preferred to *go* when the future is indicated.

The demonstrative *na* denotes a preterite, and also finality: *ara go iiai na* "they will perish", *nggira kokolu na mai na molai inoni* "the people have all gathered together", *ioe o vivaira na* "thou hast

smitten them", *inau na mai* "here I am", *bwala na te inoni* "there is never a man", *me rule na gou* "and especially". There is a similar use of the demonstrative *na* in Sa'a and Bugotu to denote finality.

26. Imperative. For the imperative the verb is used directly, without a pronominal subject; or else it is used with the pronouns of the second person, either alone or compounded with the conjunction *ngge*: *amu la* "go ye", *nggo vamaomaorau* "cleansc thou me", *amu ngge tapo lima* "clap your hands". For the negative imperative *ngge* is used with the negative *se*: *nggo se beli* "do not steal"; *amu ngge se vangasi na kutumi* may mean either "don't harden your hearts", or "you will not harden your hearts".

27. Negatives. The negative used with a verb is *se*; this may be compared with the negative *sa'a* in Sa'a, and with *su* in Bugotu: *nggira se vula ua* "they were not yet born", *vua ngge se vataamu* "so as not to hurt thee"; the verbal particles *e* and *go* are both used with *se*: *ara go se tangonama na idumi* "they will not be able to number them", *e se oni na kiboa itangga* "no sin dwells in us".

The ordinary negative is *bwala*, which is the Ulawa *puale*.

The verbal particle *e* is used with *bwala*.

28. The conjunction *ngge* is used as an illative, "then, thereupon"; it also serves for the imperative with the pronouns of the second person, and it is used more commonly of the future than *go*; it may denote an optative, and is used following *vua* "in order that"; it also denotes "if". The vowel of *ngge* drops before the pronouns *u*, *o*, *a*, used as subjects, and the result is written *nggu*, *nggo*, *ngga*. It may be compared with the Florida *ngge* and the Bugotu *nggi*.

29. Repetition of the object. The object is anticipated by the use of the suffixed pronoun attached to a verb or preposition, and in agreement with the object: *isulia ngaia* "after him", *e naira na vanua vwininggia* "he put the peoples under us". This anticipatory object is regularly used with prepositions, but not always with verbs.

The object of a transitive verb may be separated from its verb: *e salu tangonamara* "able to deceive them". This is also the case with a compound phrase when the gerundive *a* is used: *na mele taboana* "to choose him rashly".

30. Order of the sentence. As a general rule the subject comes at the end of the sentence: *ara ngge tapo lima na molai vwai beina* "let the floods clap their hands", *e ravuta nggia ngaia* "he gave us birth".

31. There is no true passive, but a passive sense may be conveyed

by the use of the pronoun *ara*, 3rd pers. pl., with the addition of the instrumental preposition *ani*: *nggira na molai bosa ni kolivuti ara ngge kolivuti ania* "the words of prayer (which) they are to pray with".

32. Verbal prefixes. The causative prefix is *va*: *vadiongai* "to cause to fall", *varia* "to destroy", *vamauri* "to save". The use of *va* makes a verb definitely transitive.

The reciprocal is *vei*; the verbal suffix *i* is added to the compound: *veiarei* "to command". There is an example in the texts of the use of *vini* as an instrumental prefix: *amu ngge vini manata* "thereby ye shall know". This *vini* corresponds to *hini* of Vaturanga, which has a similar use.

33. Verbal suffixes. The suffixes which are added to verbs to make them transitive are:—

(1) Simple: *i*, *li*, *mi*, *ni*, *ngi*, *si*, *vi*.

<i>tovo</i>	"to measure".	<i>tovoi</i>	"to avenge".
<i>mabotali</i>	"to break in pieces".	<i>Sa'a pota</i>	"to break".
<i>idu</i>	"to count".	<i>idumi</i>	"to count things".
<i>mau</i>	"to fear".	<i>mauni</i>	"to be afraid of".
<i>nanama</i>	"to be powerful".	<i>nanamangi</i>	"to have influence over".
<i>mou</i>	"to break".	<i>mousi</i>	"to break a thing".
<i>nggia</i>	"to lead".	<i>nggiavi</i>	"to lead a person".

A suffix *ai* is used both transitively and intransitively: *too*, *tocai* "to own, acquire"; *ai* has a transitive use in Lau and a participial use in Sa'a.

There is a suffix *ngai*: *ladengai uruuru* "to bend the knee", *Sa'a lada*, *ladangai* "to place".

There is also a transitive suffix *ani* which is added to certain verbs: *garu* "to desire", *kikinima* "to worship", *sika* "to hate", *seka* "to take captive", *tangonama* "to be able", *vai* "to strive": *nggo thagaovira ara seka anira* "pity the captives", *ioe nggo se tangonama ania* "you will not be able to do it". There is a similar use of *ani* in Lau, Mala. It may be that this *ani* is the prepositional *ani*.

(2) Compound. The compound verbal suffixes consist of *ai* with the addition of *ni*, and with or without a consonant prefixed: *aini*, *laini*, *maini*, *raini*, *taini*. These forms are in use also in Sa'a.

*'haku* "to hurt". *thalucini* "to cause pain to".  
*da* "to be determined". *padalaini* "to be determined about".



<i>soko</i> "to be all".	<i>sokomaini</i> "to complete".
<i>uava</i> "to overflow".	<i>uavaini</i> "to pour a thing".
<i>nggali</i> "round".	<i>nggalitaini</i> "to surround".

*manata*, *manataini* "to know" shows *ini* as a suffix.

A suffix *lai* appears in *taulai*, apparently with an intransitive force: *mwane e tauvai vaolu* "the bridegroom", *Vaturanga tau* "spouse".

A suffix *gini* appears in *liugini*: *manata liugini* "to take care of", *liu* being a common Solomon Island word meaning "to move about", though not found in the Longgu texts.

34. Reflexive. A reflexive use is conveyed by the word *vete* "sole, self, alone", the suffixed pronouns of possession being added.

35. Reduplication. A verb is reduplicated in Longgu (1) by the repetition of the whole word: *ave*, *aveave* "to flow"; *sue*, *suesue* "to beseech"; (2) by the repetition of the whole word with the omission of the medial consonant: *bathu*, *baubathu* "to promise"; (3) by the doubling of the first syllable: *gana*, *gagana* "to think"; *poso*, *poposo* "to be straight". The second method is not so common in the texts as the other two.

The reduplication of a verb, so far as the texts show, signifies continued or intensive action.

36. Auxiliary Verbs. The verb *la* "to go", like *baa* in Vaturanga, or *vaa* in Florida, or *la* in Sa'a, is in common use before verbs as an auxiliary: *ara la varava itana* "they who trust in him", *nggo la vamabora* "give them peace", *nggira ara ngge la lingea* "then shall they sing"; *iio* "to sit" also denotes "to be", as does *oni* "to dwell", and they may both be considered as auxiliaries.

## VII. ADVERBS

37. Time: *ua* "still, yet" follows the verb; *i nene* "now, to-day", *tinggi* "first, first time", precedes the verb; this is the Bugotu *kidi* and the Florida *diki*: *e tinggi ilia* "first declared it"; *lou* "again"; *angita*, *i angita* "when?" *voita*, *i voita* "of old, formerly"; *vua* "place, time, time when", a noun: *tana vua* "when"; *toroni*, *toroni* "quickly", precedes the verb; this may be the Bugotu *torongai*, *torongoi* "as soon as, until"; *seisei* "quickly" follows the verb; *ngge* "then, thereupon, if", Florida *ngge*, Bugotu *nggi*: *ngge lae me lae* "for ever and ever", see § 28; *i siiri*, *i siirini* "to-day" appear in a hymn; but see Preface.

Place: *mai* "hither", *gou* "away", Lau *kou*; *i nei* "here, to-day, now"; *nei*, *nene*, *i nene* "here"; *iei* "there"; *geregere* "near";

*tau*, *vatau* "far off"; *i ubu* "in, in the midst, inside"; *i orova* "under"; *i orovana* "underneath"; *i orovu ni aaena* "under his feet"; Ulawa *oro**ha*; *i vua* "outside, externally, on the ground", Marau Sound *hua*; *i langi* "up"; *nggengge* "side, beside", used with the suffixed pronouns of possession, Ulawa *keke*; *ngga* "there": *bere ngga* "see, behold!", Florida *ngga* "there"; *pala*, of direction: *pala mai* "on this side", Florida *pala* "side".

Manner: *e ata* "why, how?" Lau *utaa*; *e utaa* "only", *te utaa* "one, only"; *go* qualifies the preceding word, *e ata go* "similarly", Lau *go*; *vita*, *e vita* "how many?" *e vita ai* "how many things?" *liva*, *e viva*, *e livana*, *e livada*, etc., "like, as"; *tabo* "for no reason"; *mola* "merely, only", Sa'a *mola*: both of these follow the verb; *tale* "at all" precedes the verb; *una* "thus, to do thus, to speak, say", Marau Sound *una*; *e una* is used of reported speech; *aaena* "because of"; *baluni* "in addition", Florida *balu* "some"; *utuni*, *uthua* "verily, truly"; *bwa* introduces a note of doubt: *te bwa*, *me rua ai* "one, it may be, or two".

## VIII. PREPOSITIONS

38.      Locative *i*.  
             Rest at *ta*, *tana*, *ita*.  
             Motion *berengi*, *bwani*, *tani*, *vonosi*, *vu*.  
             Dative *vuvu*, *vuvini*.  
             Genitive *ni*, *i*.  
             Instrumental *ani*.  
             Accompaniment *vai*, *vaini*.

The locative *i* is used with place-names; it is used also with the adverbs of place: *i langi*, *i ubu*, *i vua*; *ta* is of general significance, as in Florida and Bugotu, and denotes "in, at, from, of, to": *ta nada na kokolu* "of their company", *nggia ta nana malabu* "we are of (from) his garden"; the pronouns of possession may be added: *e vita mai tana* "born of her", *tada* "among, from, them"; *ta* is also used in comparisons.

*tana* denotes "in, at, from", also "with" of accompaniment; the article *na* may follow: *tana vua* "in the place where, while"; *tana bongi* "in, from, the day"; *tana na thaulavi* "in the evening"; it is also used in comparisons; the *na* of *tana* is the suffixed pronoun.

*ita* denotes "with, from, to, upon, among, in"; the pronouns of possession are always suffixed: *e vatau itamami* "far from us", *ami*

*tuturu itamu* "we beg of thee", *mwane kama itada* "ruler over them"; the ordinary personal pronouns may be added as well: *itamu ice* "to thee", *itana ngaia* "to him"; *ita* is used in comparisons.

*berengi* means "to, towards"; the pronouns of the object are always suffixed; *berengi* is a verb meaning "to look at", and its use as a preposition is similar to that of the Florida *vaa rigi* "to". The Bugotu *thae* "to come, to go" is used as a preposition meaning "to".

*bwani* means "from, from out of", the pronouns of the object being always suffixed: *bwaninggia* "from us", *la bwani* "to forsake", *mae bwani* "to die and leave"; *bwani* is probably connected with Sa'a *mwani* "from".

*tani* means "from", of motion from: *ami thati tani siatalamu* "we have erred from thy way". Vaturanga also uses *tani* in this sense.

*vonosi* means "against, to oppose"; it is a verb, and Sa'a has *hono*, *honosi* "to shut, against"; the pronouns of the object are always suffixed: *vonosiu* "against me"; the ordinary personal pronouns may be added as well.

*vu* denotes "to, towards", and is used of place only: *vu buri* "back", *vu langi* "upwards", *vu luma* "into the house", *vu su* "to go down", *me la vu betidalo* "he went to the home of the dead". Lau, Mala, has *fu*, *vu* = "to".

*vuwa* denotes "to", the pronouns of the object being always suffixed: *e bosa vuwada* "he spoke to them"; *vuwini* denotes "to, for", the pronouns being always suffixed: *vuwiniu* "to, for, me". The *w* in *vuwa* appears to be a mistake, since Lau has *vua*, *fua* "to, for", and the *wi* of *vuwini* appears to be a mistake also; Sa'a has *huni* "to".

*ni* denotes "of"; for its use see § 9. No article is used after the genitive *ni*. There are two instances of the use of *i* as a genitive in the texts: *nggale i tasitalavu* "child of grace", *nggale i thake* "child of wrath"; *i* is in regular use in Florida and Sa'a as a genitive.

*ani* denotes "therewith, thereby, therein, withal, about it"; it is used with the pronouns *a* and *ra* suffixed: *e taa ania na kutungu na vavata ne* "my heart was grieved with this generation", *e la ania vu langi na muga* "he is gone up with a shout"; the first example shows *ani* following the verb immediately and coming between it and the subject; this is the ordinary usage in Longgu.

*ania* may also follow the word under government: *amu ngge mae ania* "ye shall die of it"; it is used like *ana*, the instrumental in Sa'a,

of naming a person: *me se thadanggu nggo ailiu ania a nggalemu* "and I am not worthy to be called thy son".

*vai*, *vaini* denote "with" of accompaniment; *vai* is not used with the suffixed pronoun: *amu ngge muga vai vagama* "rejoice with reverence"; *vaini* is used with the suffixed pronouns: *vainira* "with them". Lau has *faini*, Sa'a *pe'i*, *pe'ini* = "with".

## IX. CONJUNCTIONS

39

Copulative *ma*.Disjunctive *ma*, *taa*.Illative *ngge*.

The copula *ma* shifts its vowels to agree with the initial vowel of the word following, *ma*, *me*, *mi*, *mo*, *mu*; but *me* and *mi* are commonly used, whatever be the succeeding vowel. The vowel of *ma* drops before the initial *i* of the pronouns: *minau* "and I"; it is customary to write *mi oe* "and thou", *mi ngaia* "and he", etc.; *ma* also denotes "but, or": *te bwa me rua ai* "just one or two"; *ma* is frequently used when no copula is used in English; this is caused by the habit of co-ordinating the sentences, where in English they are subordinated: *me mae, mara naia, me la vu betidalo* "dead and buried, went to Paradise".

*taa na* denotes "but"; Ulawa *taa* "but"

For *ngge* see § 28.

## X. NUMERALS

40. (1) Cardinals:—

1. <i>tai</i> .	6. <i>ono</i> .
2. <i>rua</i> .	7. <i>viu</i> .
3. <i>olu</i> .	8. ( <i>alu</i> ).
4. <i>vai</i> .	9. ( <i>siu</i> ).
5. <i>lima</i> .	10. <i>tangafulu</i> .

The numbers in brackets are conjectural; they are wanting in the texts.

The cardinal numbers are preceded by the verbal particle *e*: *e rua* "two".

*te*, *teei* both appear in the texts as meaning "one": *te bongi* "one day, some day, at some time", *te kana* "any enemy", *te utaa* "one only", *te mani kibo* "a sin", *God a teei mola* "God is one", there is also a form *ata*: *e ata go* "similarly". Sa'a has *taa* "one",

and Lau has *te* "one", *ata* "another". There is also in the texts a word *taini* "altogether", which is evidently connected with *tai* "one": *ara ngge taini ilia* "they shall say it altogether"; *tai aba* "one part" denotes "absolutely, entirely"; this is equivalent to "one time" of pidgin English.

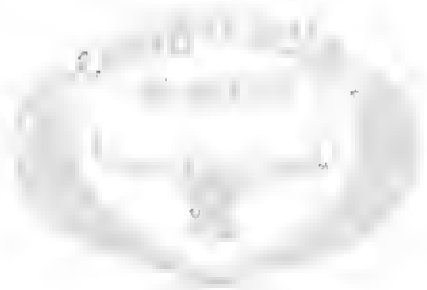
*matapono* is added to *tangafulu* to denote "complete": *e tangafulu matapono* "a full ten"; *mola* means "ten thousand", as in Sa'a: *na mola na na mola* "countless numbers"; *idu thathi* "count incorrectly" denotes "innumerable".

(2) The ordinals are formed by the addition of *na* to the cardinals: *rua*, *ruana*; the article *na* may precede; "first" is *nao*.

#### XI. EXCLAMATIONS

41. *e*: *ara vutunga, e* "how many they are!"

Assent is denoted by *uthua*, *e uthua* "verily"; "no" is *buwala*.





## Imagery in Ngok Dinka Cattle-Names

By E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

THE Nilotes refer to their cattle in a number of ways, and one of these is by colour or interrelation of colours which are associated in their minds with some animal or bird or reptile. Their cattle are thus called by colour-analogy crocodile cow, fish eagle cow, leopard cow, and so on. The Dinka go even farther and make a double analogy in referring to their cattle by terms which suggest some activity associated with, or some attribute of, the creature that displays similar colouring to the cattle. When a youth is initiated he takes a new name by adopting the name of the bullock presented to him at his initiation by his father. Thus we can trace a man's bullock-name as follows:—

(a) Bullock's colours; (b) creature with colours similar to those of the bullock; (c) something associated with the creature; (d) man's name.

This is not my discovery. Professor and Mrs. Seligman write: "The following examples, obtained with Archdeacon Shaw's assistance, will show the lines of thought that are followed. A lad possessing an ox called Manyang, a name referring to the crocodile (*ma* 'male', and *nyang* 'crocodile') because that reptile is regarded as more or less brindled, takes the name Magor, *gor* being the brindled mongoose. The owner of an ox Majak (*jak* 'pelican') may take the name Anokdek (*nok* 'to vomit', *lek* 'a fish'), while the owner of an ox Makwei (*kwei* the 'fish eagle') took the name Akuemuk, explained as signifying 'the holder-of-wings-rigid', referring to the swooping of the bird. . . . Thus all grey calves have *lith* in their names (e.g. Melith, a grey bull-calf, *lith* being the word for a grey hawk). Archdeacon Shaw points out that cows (not heifers) are given a personal name which they bear through life, e.g. a grey heifer (therefore Nalith) became Gopdit ('snatcher-of-birds') after bearing a light brown calf, and a cow Namer became Pelawan ('the releaser of scent') from the colour of the sweet-scented *lang* fruit."<sup>1</sup>

These examples would seem to have been gathered among the Bor Dinka on the East Bank of the Nile, and I supplement them here with others collected from a boy who was for a short time in my service during my residence in Nuerland, Biel, of the Fanai clan, of the Ngok

<sup>1</sup> C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, pp. 169-170.

Dinka, who live to the south of the Sobat River near its junction with the Filus River. In the list given beneath there are a number of cross-references to the Nuer language, since we conversed in this tongue, and these are marked N.

(1) *mior ma'ku* (N. *thak mabor*), white bullock. Second name, *ruil pei* (bright moon), so-called because it shines at night like the moon.

(2) *mior ma jaak* (N. *thak ma jaak*), bullock with white body and brown or tawny head, neck, and rump; so called because it resembles the pelican (*jaak*, N. *bong*). Second name, *anoklek*, because the pelican vomits (*nok*) a fish called *lek* when it has overeaten.<sup>2</sup>

(3) *mior ma diing* (N. *thak ma diing*), bullocks with white back (and maybe belly) and brown (or tawny) flanks. Second name, *deelgook*, because the maribou stork (*deel*, N. *kil*) refuses (*gook*) a fish called *diing* (N. *jwath*).<sup>3</sup> Is the association between the fish and the bullock one of sound or of colour? The maribou stork refuses this fish because it has sharp spines or fins which cut the stork's neck if it tries to swallow it. Consequently the stork is sometimes seen with the fish half in its mouth and half outside. Dr. Tucker suggests that a better rendering of *deelgook* would be "the fish is too much for the maribou stork".

(4) *mior ma thiang* (N. *thak ma thiang*), bullock of reddish colour with purple hue, a colour which might be translated "chestnut", so called because it is like the colour of the *thiang*, a nilotic word used in the Sudan for this animal and incorporated into the scientific name of the species. Second name, *akolbang*, because the *thiang* toss (*kol*) their heads about, now in one direction, now in another (*bang*) as they look up while grazing.

(5) *mior ma yän* (N. *thak ma yän*), tawny bullock, so called because it resembles the colour of the yellow vole (*yän* in Dinka). Second name, *ajoththiang*, because the lion, which has a tawny colour, seizes (*jot*) the *thiang*.

(6) *mior ma lith* (N. *thak ma lith*), bullock of grey (perhaps rather slate-grey) colour, so called because it is like the colour of the hawk (*lith*, N. *nyalieth*). Second name, *agoryai*, because the hawk scatters

<sup>1</sup> This particle is given throughout as *ma*, though it may often be pronounced *me* or *mi*.

<sup>2</sup> Archdeacon Shaw provides (in Bor Dinka) an alternative name, *alang wer* = swallower of the river, referring presumably to the same bird.

<sup>3</sup> According to Stigand (*A Nuer-English Vocabulary*, 1923, p. 14) this is a "fish shaped like a fat conger eel".



(*gor*) the little Spanish sparrows when it swoops down upon them and they disperse in fright crying *yai*.

(7) *mior ma lou* (N. *thak ma lou*), mouse-coloured bullock, so called because it resembles the bustard's plumage (*lou*). Second name, *buwut*. The association of this word is doubtful, but I was told that it refers to the sight of elephant in the distance which are like a cloud, and that the elephant has mouse-coloured skin.<sup>1</sup>

(8) *mior ma car* (N. *thak ma car*), black bullock. Second name, *muth*, meaning a moonless night or a phase of the moon when it is not visible. On such a night you cannot see a black bullock in the kraal, while cattle with white markings are visible.

(9) *mior ma lual* (N. *thak ma lual*), reddish-brown bullock, possibly so called on account of a colour resemblance to a reddish-brown snake called *lualdit*.<sup>2</sup> Second name, *atukdier*, because the hippopotamus which has a brown skin, will burst his way (*tuk*) through a fishing dam (*dier*) made across a river.

(10) *mior ma cuor* (N. *thak ma cuor*), speckled bullock, so called on account of its resemblance to the plumage of the vulture (*cuor*). Second name, *awulei*, because the vulture falls upon (*wu*) an animal (*lei*) killed in the bush.

(11) *mior ma nyääl* (N. *thak ma nyääl*), white bullock with brown spots and splashes on face, back, and flanks, so called on account of its resemblance to the skin of the python (*nyääl*). Second name, *aderthok*, because the python winds itself (*der*) round a goat (*thok*) and kills and swallows it.

(12) *mior ma ke* (N. *thak ma kār*), bullock with white back (and maybe belly) and black flanks (or flanks of any other colour except brown, when it is a *ma diing*). Is this called after the rail<sup>3</sup>? Second name, *thoukiit*, because during the rains the frogs chirp all night long in the pools. They are led by a song-leader (*kiit*) and his death (*thou*) always takes place at dawn. On the following night the frogs are led in song by a new leader. The frog has markings which are like those of this bullock.

(13) *mior ma wea* (N. *thak ma wea*), pepper-spotted bullock. Second

<sup>1</sup> A suggested translation of *bu wut* is "tramples the cattle-kraal", which might very well apply to the elephant.

<sup>2</sup> According to Stigand (id., p. 21) this is the tree cobra.

<sup>3</sup> Stigand (id., p. 16) gives "*kār*, rail; brown rail, with white neck, which walks on floating vegetation" in his Nuer vocabulary. The Dinka term for this bird is unknown.

name, *apokwea*, because the sky (*pok*) is spotted (*wea*) with stars at night.

(14) *mior yom lou* (N. *thak ma kwe looka*), bullock with mouse-coloured skin (see No. 7) and a white face. Second name, *ajulgiel*. I was told that it is so called because it has a colour which would not become faint however much it were washed.

(15) *mior ma kol* (*thak ma kul*), brown or tawny bullock with white splash on centre of flank or on rump, probably so called through resemblance to the sun (*akol* in Dinka). If this is so, the Nuer word *kul* perhaps dates back to a period when the two languages were undifferentiated, since the present Nuer word for sun is *cang*.<sup>1</sup> The secondary name certainly suggests this association, and it is likely that *kul* is a variant of *kol*. Second name, *aruilbeny*. The chief (*beny*) is bright or shines (*ruil*), i.e. the sun shines or is bright. My informant said that the sun is afraid of nothing but comes out in all his strength.

(16) *mior ma nyang* (N. *thak ma nyang*), any bullock with brindled markings because the crocodile (*nyang*) has a brindled body. Second name, *adomgel*, which means the seizer in a place where there is no high river-bank grass (this grass is known as *kuth* in Nuer and *akom* in Dinka). The seizer refers to the crocodile which pounces on animals and men in such a place.

(17) *mior ma bil nyang* (N. *thak ma bil nyang*), brindled bullock with white splash on flank (see No. 16). Second name, *gwicatiep*, because the crocodile (*nyang*) watches (*gwic*) the shadow (*atiep*) of a man in the water as he stands on the bank.

(18) *mior ma ngok nyang* (N. *thak ma yil nyang*), bullock of blue-grey colouring with brindled markings. The word *ngok* in Nuer refers to the heron, and this suggests a similar meaning for the Dinka word. Is this so? The only Nuer word, *yil*, I know means the seeds of the waterlily. Second name, *kokdhim*, because when people filter (*dhim*) beer they hit the end of the woven filter which emits a sound "kok kok kok" and this can be heard a long way off. Now malted beer when it is spread on the ground is of a blue-grey colour resembling the colour of the bullock.

(19) *mior ma ngok* (N. *thak ma yil*), blue-grey bullock (see No. 18). Second name, *wachuan*. *wac* means sour, and the name has reference to malted grain which is of a blue-grey colour. (See No. 18.)

Another instance of this probable persistence of the old word in cattle-names be noted under No. 2 (*mior majak*, N. *thak ma jaak*), where the present Nuer for pelican is *bong*.

(20) *mior ma cok rol* (N. *thak ma cok rol*), bullock with one white foreleg, the white colouring extending under the leg-pit. *Cok* means leg. Second name, *acokjiuth*, because it is like a girl who has on her leg (*cok*) a bright leg-ring (*jiuth*, N. *ciek*).

(21) *mior ma lek* (N. *thak ma bor lek*), a white bullock with splashes like those of the giraffe in colour and distribution. This association with the giraffe is shown in the secondary name, and it is difficult to know why the bullock is not called after its name. It appears most likely that it is called after a certain fish known as *lek* (Nile perch?) in both Nuer and Dinka, though I do not know whether this implies an association of colour. Second name, *ajotdhu*, because the giraffe is caught (*jot*) by the spiked wheel trap (*dhu*).<sup>1</sup>

(22) *mior ma lek lou* (N. *thak ma lek looka*), a mouse-coloured bullock with splashes similar to those in No. 21. Second name, *kombai*, which means "lame ones" and refers to hyenas which run as though lame. The association here is presumably between the coat of the spotted hyena and the skin of the bullock.

(23) *mior ma göök* (N. *thak ma lui*). I am uncertain of the colour of this bullock, but it appears from the Dinka name that it resembles that of the baboon (*göök*). Second name, *aroktim*, because the baboon climbs (*rok*) trees (*tim*).

(24) *mior ma bil* (N. *thak ma bil*). This bullock may be of any ground colour, but is distinguished by a large white splash in the centre of the flank (except when the ground colour is brown, when it is *ma kul* in Nuer and *ma kol* in Dinka; see No. 15). Second name, *acongbang*, because the crested crane, which has a white splash on its plumage like the bullock on its skin, dances about (*cong*) aimlessly (*bang*).

(25) *mior ma jok* (N. *thak ma jok*). White bullock with black head, neck, and rump. The ground colour may be of any other colour except brown, for it is then a *ma jak* (see No. 2). Second name, *midai*, because when a Government steamer passes by all the people rush to the bank to look at (*dai*) it. One presumes that the Dinka see some resemblance between the colours of a Government steamer and of this bullock, but I am very doubtful about the association in this instance.

(26) *mior ma rial* (*thak ma rial*), bullock with white body, but head and rump of another colour (usually black) and with large splashes of the same colour on back and flanks. Second name, *babur*, because

<sup>1</sup> An alternative name in Bor Dinka, according to Archdeacon Shaw, is *adier kwec* = covered in scales, referring to the fish.

the Dinka see a resemblance between a Government steamer (*babur*) and this bullock. The colour of this bullock is a variation of No. 25, and this is expressed also in the secondary names. My Dinka informant said that there was nothing in nature with similar markings.

(27) *mior ma rol* (N. *thak ma rol*), a bullock of almost any ground colour which is broken by a broad belt of white covering neck, shoulder, and foreleg. Second name, *kacbeegh*, the saddle-billed stork (*rialbegh* in Nuer). This bird has a belt of white in its plumage, similar to the bullock's markings.

(28) *mior ma yöm* (N. *thak ma kwe*),<sup>1</sup> bullock with a body of any colour but distinguished by a white, or partly white, face in contrast. It is so called because it resembles the beautiful fish eagle, which has a black plumage with white neck and face (at least this is the meaning of the Nuer word *kwe*, and it seems that the same word is used by the Bor Dinka). Second name, *gwangnhial*, because the fish eagle waits for a fish to poke its head above the water (*gwang*) to the sky (*nhial*).

(29) *mior ma kwac* (N. *thak ma kwac*). Bullock of any colour, but spotted like a leopard (*kwac*). Second name, *adimkwac*, because it and the leopard are so spotted (*dim*).

It may seem hazardous to record these derivations when I do not know the Dinka language and trust to the information of a single boy. Moreover, a Dinka-English dictionary is still lacking, so that I cannot check the translation of Dinka words. Nevertheless, I have ventured to publish them because little is known at present about Nilotic cattle-names, which are of great interest sociologically, illustrating language as a technique of economic relations, and showing the way in which symbols referring to colours and their distribution are formed. They are also of interest in a comparative study of the Nilotic group of languages for several Nuer words can only be understood etymologically by reference to Dinka terms describing the same animals. The precise significance of this fact cannot be estimated until more is known about Nilotic cattle-names, especially those in use among the Shilluk. An account of cattle-names among the Nuer will appear, accompanied by drawings, in my account of this people in *Sudan Notes and Records*.

<sup>1</sup> According to Archdeacon Shaw *ma kwe* and *ma yom* refer in the Bor dialect to cattle with different markings, the name given to an owner of a *ma yom* being *arei gor* "spoil the waterlily".

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS [SHUI HU CHUAN]. Translated from the Chinese by PEARL S. BUCK. pp. xiii + 1279. London: Methuen and Co., 1933. 21s.

Ten works of Chinese fiction are sometimes singled out as 才子書 "Works of Genius", and they certainly include at least two masterpieces, the 三國志演義 *San kuo chih yen i* and 水滸傳 *Shui hu chuan*. These, with the 金瓶梅 *Chin p'ing mei* and 西遊記 *Hsi yu chi*, figure again among the 四大奇書 "Four Marvellous Productions". Other novels of renown are the 紅樓夢 *Hung lou meng*, 封神演義 *Fêng shên yen i*, and 東周列國志 *Tung chou lieh kuo chih*. All of these are "three-deckers", running to a hundred chapters or more, and until a few years ago none had been completely translated. Rather less than half the *Hung lou meng* was done by Bencraft Joly, about the same proportion of the *Fêng shên yen i* by Grube in German, and several chapters of the *Hsi yu chi*, with an abstract of the remainder, by Timothy Richards. We have also been promised the whole of the *Chin p'ing mei* by Colonel Egerton, but so far nothing has appeared. In 1925 Mr. Brewitt-Taylor produced his *San Kuo*, the first of the great Chinese novels to be presented in its entirety to the Western public; and now Mrs. Buck has given us this complete translation of the *Shui hu*, a work of nearly the same length, in a volume of 1,279 pages.

It is, in truth, a monumental achievement; for although translation in China, with a teacher at one's elbow, is a very different matter from struggling with Chinese texts in this country without other help than somewhat inadequate dictionaries, the mere industry and patience which the task must have required, quite apart from the considerable knowledge of the language which it implies, cannot but excite admiration. It is true that the style of the *Shui hu* approaches much more nearly to *pai hua* or the pure colloquial than that of the *San kuo*, but that is not altogether an advantage; for whereas the literary language is hardly susceptible of change, common speech in China, as elsewhere, is modified considerably by the lapse of time; and this work is generally believed to have been composed, or rather compiled from a number of previously existing stories, about the time of Chaucer. Hence the occurrence of various phrases and locutions which are now obsolete or survive only in out-of-the-way dialects.

Such is the use of 腳頭 as a verb meaning to steal, of which I can find no other example: 莫不是來相腳頭 "Haven't you come to steal something?" (chap. i, p. 19, of Hu Shih's edition, and p. 34 of the translation). 老小, seemingly an abbreviation of 老婆小兒 "wife and children", is twice used simply to denote a wife: 我近來取得一個老小 "I have recently married a wife"; 是誰的老小 "Whose wife is she?" 馬泊六 on p. 428 is evidently a pimp or procuress, but its derivation is obscure. 鳥 "bird" is often used in the sense of "accursed": 這鳥店子 "This accursed inn"; 休得胡鳥說 "Don't talk such cursed nonsense"; 怕甚麼鳥 "What the devil should I be afraid of?" The word 厮, again, is used with the same shades of meaning as our word "fellow", though mostly in a derogatory sense: 那厮 "that creature", "that rascal". Occasionally, too, it serves as a synonym for 相: 且來厮見 "Come and see him"; 都面面厮覷 "They all eyed one another". 洒家 *sa chia* (to be carefully distinguished from 酒家 *chiu chia* a tavern-keeper) is a term applied by several of the characters to themselves, but what its exact significance may be I cannot say. Mrs. Buck translates it simply by the first personal pronoun. Then we have a frequent use of 則個 as an emphatic final particle: 要問安則個 "I wish to inquire after his health"; 相煩則個 "I must trouble you, then"; 娘子相待大官人則個 "Good-wife, entertain the gentleman"; 如何不看覷我則個 "Why do you not take a little thought for me?" 兀 is a particle which is often hardly translatable. Alone, it is usually an interjection: 兀誰叫老娘 "Ha! who is that calling me?" With 自, it imparts an element of persistence to the verb: 兀自問道 "kept on asking . . ." The phrase 胡亂, again, is not easy to translate in all contexts, but it often seems to have a slightly depreciatory effect: 胡亂請些箇 "I have just invited a few of you"; 胡亂權在縣衙裏安歇 "Oh, I am just putting up for the time at the district yamen".

The *Shui hu* is a panoramic narrative, richly embroidered with thrilling incidents, and valuable historically for the light it throws on the intimate life of the people; it may also be regarded as a novel with a purpose, for the reader's sympathy is deliberately enlisted on the side of outlaws and robbers who have suffered hardship and been driven to revolt through acts of oppression and injustice on the part of the governing classes and the selfish rich of their day. For a long time the book was banned by imperial mandate, and officials who bought a copy were punishable by the loss of a year's pay. Yet

its general tone is far from being immoral: although it is full of bloodshed and deeds of violence, great stress is laid on the innate decency and virtue of the leading bandits, who are constantly described as "good fellows" (好漢) and "honest, open-handed men" (仗義疎財). One feels that the author of *The Good Earth*, with her broad and tolerant outlook on life, was the predestined translator of this work, instinct as it is with a warm, comprehensive humanity.

Full tribute has already been paid by many reviewers to the general excellence of the work; my purpose is now to examine and appraise the translation from the linguistic and textual point of view. Before going into further detail, it may be said at once that this is no mere paraphrase but a faithful rendering in plain and vigorous English, which suits well with the unaffected simplicity of the original. Sometimes, indeed, one may regret that Mrs. Buck has tried to be too literal, as in the following instances: "They were courteous for nigh upon half a day" (謙了半晌); "It is all on my body" (都在我身上); "The affairs of my house are all at sevens and eights" (家裏的事都七顛八倒); "I guessed eight parts" (八分猜道). This indication of degree by taking so many parts out of ten is a purely Chinese idiom which has no counterpart in English. "I felt pretty sure" would be preferable as a translation.

Another slight blemish is an occasional shakiness in the transliteration of proper names. If 史 is Shih, then surely 志 and 智 should be Chih, not Chi. And it is hard to see why 成 should be Chen while 謹 is Ching, 林 Ling, and 范 Fang. 孫 is variously rendered as Sun, Shen, and Sheng; and 經畧府 appears as Chin Lo Fu. These inconsistencies seem to be due to a mixture of dialects.

When I undertook to review this book I thought it would be a good opportunity to read the whole novel in Chinese, comparing the translation with it as I went along. That was six months ago, and at the moment of writing I am still not half-way through! However, I am able to submit a certain number of passages which will need reconsideration in the highly probable event of a second edition. In describing the time and care that were spent on the translation, Mrs. Buck tells us that she went through the Chinese no fewer than four times from beginning to end, once by herself, twice with her teacher, and once with another Chinese friend. If in spite of all this revision some mistakes have still escaped her notice, one can only murmur indulgently with Horace—

"Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum."

p. 2, l. 19: "he could change the winds and shape the clouds." 辨風雲氣色 The first character means "to discriminate between" (for purposes of divination). Mrs. Buck seems to have confused it with 變, also read *pien*.

p. 5, l. 5 from bottom: "panopies" is a slip for "canopies" (蓋).

p. 7, l. 23: "when he had eaten a vegetarian meal." 挾了素香 "he took with him the pure incense" (from the Emperor).

p. 9, l. 7: I must confess I do not see why Commander Hung in the prologue should cry 慚愧 after his deliverance from the serpent; but neither do I see any justification for translating the words "Fortunate!"

p. 153, l. 15: "after they had passed two or three citics." 行了兩程 "after they had done two stages of their journey". Another confusion between two words of the same sound, 程 and 城.

p. 204, l. 15: "but I do not know whether or not you wish it." 只不知你武藝如何 "but I do not know how skilled you may be in military exercises".

p. 216, l. 12: For "Four Books" read "Five Classics".

p. 217, l. 1: "in the county of Yün Ch'ên in the city of Chi Chou." 濟州府鄆城縣 "Yün-ch'êng Hsien [district city] in the prefecture of Chi-chou".

p. 230, l. 5: "you animal and one without all reason" 無禮 is unmannerly rather than unreasonable.

p. 246, l. 17: "he is not a good man!" 不識好人 "you don't know a good man when you see him". Cf. p. 557, l. 13.

p. 248, l. 4: "who in real truth was this Kung Sun Sheng?" 畢竟搶來揪住公孫勝的却是何人 "now, who was this man who rushed in and grasped Kung-sun Shêng?"

p. 251, l. 5: "there are ears in the corners of the wall." 隔牆須有耳: Why not use the exact English equivalent: "Walls have ears"? There is nothing about "corners".

p. 245, l. 17: "nor will I forget to raise you up." 我也不枉了擡舉你 "I made no mistake in promoting you". 枉 is confused with 忘.

p. 275, l. 12: "the approach to the three fortresses was heaped with thunder wood and cannon, stones and repeating arrows and mighty bows." 三重關上擺着擂木砲石硬弩強弓. What Mrs. Buck means by "thunder wood" I cannot guess; but she evidently mistook 擂 for 雷. *Lei-mu* are logs to be rolled down on



the enemy's head, *p'ao-shih* are not cannon but stone cannon-balls, and *ying-nu* may be cross-bows made with an exceptionally stiff "pull".

p. 276, l. 15 from bottom: "rose early to travel by dawn and they rested at night". 曉行午住 "they started at dawn and halted at noon".

p. 288, l. 10: "at that time Sung Chiang carried a staff." 當時宋江帶着一個伴當 "... taking a retainer with him". *Pan-tang* occurs again a few lines below, where it is correctly translated.

p. 289, l. 4: "I do not know what work there is for us from above." 不知上司有何公務 Sung Chiang is speaking to a petty official: "I don't know on what public business you are engaged."

p. 303, l. 13 from bottom: 船... 撐的 are not "row boats" but punts, and 搖的, here translated "small fishing boats", are boats propelled by means of a single oar at the stern. Hence the familiar term *yuloh* (搖櫓).

p. 304, l. 15: "he had a kerchief tied about his head." 頭戴青簪笠. *Ch'ing-jo li* is a broad-brimmed bamboo-leaf hat.

p. 304, l. 17: "a weapon, which he held pointed like a pen." 條筆管鎗 seems to be a spear with a hollow bamboo shaft.

p. 343, l. 3: 那婆娘 is the *young* woman, not the old woman.

p. 343, l. 6: 春臺 cannot be a "toilet table" here, if on the next page (l. 18) it is a "long couch".

p. 344, l. 8 from bottom: 風流人物 is not "one who has a great spirit", but "a man of refinement".

p. 344, l. 2 from bottom: "put aside the idle talk you have heard." 閒話都打疊起 "gossip is being repeated everywhere".

p. 345, l. 4 from bottom: "he was here where he would not be." 正沒做道理處 "he was at a loss".

p. 357, l. 7 from bottom: "he has the cruellest kind of hand." 他正是兇首 "he is a thorough-paced rascal". Mrs. Buck seems to have read 兇手, which means "murderer".

p. 358, l. 6 from bottom: "happiness and woe are two things to which there is no door which any man may seek for himself." 禍福無門惟人自召. Unless the punctuation is at fault, the above rendering would mean that happiness and woe are not to be caused or averted by any human endeavour, but depend entirely on Fate. The real meaning is just the reverse: "There is no high road to happiness or misfortune; every man brings them on himself."

p. 359, l. 7 from bottom: 糟薑, translated "rice wine lees", is surely preserved ginger?

p. 369, l. 15: "how can we go to him?" 何不只去投奔他 "why should we not take refuge with him?"

p. 369, l. 11 from bottom: "and as all travellers do they slept at night by the way." 但凡客商在路早晚安歇. The point is that they were fugitives from justice, and hence "they slept during the day when travelling merchants were on the road".

p. 383, l. 18: "proclaimed in such a month and such a year." 政和年月日. Why not give the reign-period *Chêng-ho* (A.D. 1111-18)? This is one of the few time indications in the story, which opens in the reign of Chê Tsung (1086-1100).

p. 388, l. 16: In *Bull. SOS.*, vi, p. 63, I discussed the term 涼轎 and suggested that it must denote a chair protected from the sun by an awning. The same term occurs here, and I am glad to note that I have the support of Mrs. Buck, who translates it "a tented sedan".

p. 394, l. 6: "it is easy enough to be here or there." 容易料理 "it is easy for me to manage".

p. 402, l. 6: "if it is told it will bring shame on you." 說起來裝你的幌子. I think this must be the right interpretation of 裝幌子, though I cannot find a parallel case cited in any dictionary. In Giles' Dict., No. 5138, we find: "to make a show of being able to do anything; to be an impostor; to put on airs." And again, under No. 2759: "to counterfeit a trade-mark or sign; to wear the distinguishing badge of one's profession." The last meaning seems to come nearest to what is required here: "If the truth is told, it will display your shop-sign," i.e. expose you to the world.

p. 409, l. 21: "I asked you about the plum blossom tea and you talk about go-betweens in marriage,—these are two things far apart!" A note should have been added to explain the pun on 梅 and 媒, which is lost on the English reader.

p. 412, l. 17: "the two in the beginning of the Han dynasty who helped the Emperor to his throne" are 隨何 Sui Ho and 陸賈 Lu Chia. In both my editions of the text the former surname is wrongly given as 隋.

p. 421, l. 4: "(ever since this goodwife was wed to this man) she has followed him in a hundred ways." 但是有事百依百隨 "whenever there has been trouble, she has stuck to him through and thin".

p. 426, l. 19: "I will do naught but wait for your good heart." 專等好消息 "I shall expect a fair message."

p. 426, l. 3 from bottom: 郗哥 does not mean "Son of Yün" but "elder brother of [the city of] Yün [-chou]."

p. 435, l. 2: 趁船的 is not "one who pushes the boat", but "one who avails himself of the boat",—a passenger.

p. 435, l. 12 from bottom: "a kind of bitter white medicine which rots the vitals when it is swallowed." The Chinese is simply 砒霜, which is arsenic. Why this circumlocution?

p. 436, l. 4: "I have taken the first step and the second must follow."

p. 527, l. 9 from bottom: "since I have begun, let me finish." 一不做二不休. Both renderings give the correct sense of the proverb. Literally, I suppose, the words mean: "Don't do one, or don't stop at two." They are first put into the mouth of the poisoner Hsi-mên Ch'ing, and afterwards, ironically enough, into that of Wu Sung who, having avenged his brother's death, found himself involved in a new orgy of slaughter. The sentiment is that of Macbeth:

"I am in blood

Stepped in so far that, should I wade no more,

Returning were as tedious as go o'er."

p. 440, l. 19: 巳 is not "the first part of the night before midnight", but 9-11 a.m. On p. 471, l. 13, 巳牌 is again wrongly translated "the fourth watch of the night".

pp. 444-5: The account of a cremation in China is interesting in that it tends to justify Marco Polo's constant allusions to that practice, which cannot be traced farther back than the Sung dynasty, and appears to have died out again by the fifteenth century.

p. 448, l. 9: "immediately a curse falls upon man." 人有暫時禍福 "man is subject to vicissitudes of fortune",

p. 456, l. 15 from bottom: 硯瓦 is not "an earthen cup" but an ink-slab.

p. 459, l. 6: "then all the neighbours laughed in deprecation of this." 衆高鄰休得笑話則個. This sentence is really a continuation of Wu Sung's speech: "Worthy neighbours, do not make this a subject of ridicule."

p. 461, l. 13 from bottom: "it was you who did the wrong first." 你先招了 "you were the first to confess".

p. 483, l. 12 from bottom: "and he would not go, and there were voices and shouts everywhere." 又不走了大呼小喝做

甚麼. This again is part of Wu Sung's speech: "I haven't run away. What do you come yelling and shouting here for?"

p. 492, l. 1: "if I flatter you at all then am I no proper man." 若是有些諂佞的非爲人也 "if it is some business requiring an oily tongue, then I am not the man for you!"

p. 507, l. 18 from bottom: 一輛車兒 is not "a cart or two" but simply "a cart".

p. 509, l. 14: "I ought to take up my weapons and follow your very footstool." 小人當以執鞭隨鐙. "I ought to hold your whip and follow your stirrup," i.e. be your servant. 鐙 and 凳 have been confused—once more owing to identity of sound.

p. 510, l. 6 from bottom: "now the drinking has some meaning to it." 斟酒與義士喫 "pour out some wine for this worthy man to drink".

p. 511, l. 20: "and who would ask more?" 何似在人間 "I can hardly believe I am on earth" (literally, "how is it like being among men?").

p. 513, l. 3 from bottom: "a good beast can be shown mercy and it is grateful, but how can one look for gratitude in a man?" 衆生好度人難度 "all living things may be brought to salvation except man".

p. 517, l. 15 from bottom: "he did not dream that he would be seen." 不隄防被見了 "he took no precautions against being seen".

p. 534, l. 10 from bottom: "(rumours came) as thickly as splinters of a bamboo when it is bent and broken." The Chinese is simply 蔑刺一般 (the translator seems to have misread 簾): "like minute stabs," or, as we should say, pin-pricks.

p. 536, l. 2 from bottom: "I will try and see how it is." 我且與你扮一扮看 "let me disguise you".

p. 557, l. 16: "if you had not been a star mighty enough to fill the heavens." 若非天幸使令仁兄 "If by the grace of Heaven you had not," etc. Mrs. Buck again confuses words of the same sound, 幸 and 星. Her mistakes under this head doubtless arise from the oral delivery of her Chinese assistant. Let her recall the proverb 所見爲實, 所聞爲虛 "The eyes are better guides than the ears".

LIONEL GILES.

TWILIGHT IN THE FORBIDDEN CITY. By Sir REGINALD F. JOHNSTON, K.C.M.G. pp. 486, maps and plates. London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1934. 18s.

Sir Reginald Johnston has been in such close contact with comparatively recent events in China that he cannot be expected to approach them without certain prepossessions. It will be evident to the reader of these pages that he desires to see the restoration of the "Dragon" to his ancestral throne. So long as the reader keeps this in mind the fact by no means impairs the historical value of the work, which is very great. For no European has moved in such close familiarity with the chief personages of the late regime, and he is consequently able to put forward judgments of character which may sometimes be unfair, but which are always based on much more than mere hearsay, while his partisanship is entirely free from the disingenuous character of that of many Chinese political writers.

In 1888 edicts were issued announcing the forthcoming marriage of the Emperor Kuang Hsü and the resignation by the dowager-empress, Tz'ü Hsi, of the functions of government. In the following year the marriage took place and the emperor, then nineteen years old, "assumed the imperial duties and prerogatives." But since in the traditional Chinese code of ethics filial piety is the fundamental virtue, "the position of the dowager-empress after her retirement was superior . . . not only in practice but in theory, to that of the emperor." When, therefore, Kuang Hsü and the reformer, K'ang Yu-wei, embarked upon the "famous hundred days' of helter-skelter reform" (the phrase is Sir Reginald's), the emperor was "by no means oblivious of the magnitude of the forces against which he and K'ang Yu-wei had to struggle". They had to choose between "rushing the reform decrees through as quickly as possible" and thereby arousing the dowager-empress to act, as admittedly she had a right to do, "as a constitutional check on 'hasty legislation'," and introducing them by gradual stages and so giving their opponents time to consolidate and organize against them. But, "on the whole," says Sir Reginald, "she seemed willing to allow the routine business of the State to be transacted by the emperor and his counsellors without reference to her," nor does he cite any serious instance of her interference in public affairs between her retirement in 1889 and the moment when, in 1898, she was warned that the emperor was plotting against her with Yüan Shih-k'ai. When "wildly exaggerated reports reached her of what the emperor and his gang of reformers intended

to do with her" she acted promptly, and with a vigour which, had he been capable of it, might well have made Kuang Hsü master in his own house. Reading Sir Reginald's story, one feels that the blame for the collapse of the reform movement must have lain with the emperor himself as well as with the empress-dowager and Yüan Shih-k'ai, whose motives for betraying the plot to isolate Tz'ü Hsi must be largely a matter of speculation. "Intelligent, patriotic and earnest" the emperor may well have been, but he had not the qualities which impel devotion, and throughout his career he showed a conspicuous lack of the boldness which, whatever her crimes and weaknesses, generally characterized the dowager-empress. Filial piety may be a cloak for timidity, and Kuang Hsü's submissiveness was of the kind that makes a vindictive woman more vindictive because she despises her victim. For ten years he supported the cruel humiliations to which he was subjected and from which, according to the Chinese code, it would have become him to have freed himself by suicide. It cannot be denied that the unfortunate Kuang Hsü was the victim of a capricious and ruthless woman and of the traditional Chinese ethical system, but neither can it be denied that the dowager-empress was a stronger character and a more vigorous ruler, and the lower one's estimate of her capacity and government, the less admirable and effective does Kuang Hsü by comparison appear.

Sir Reginald's indictment of Yüan Shih-k'ai is even more sweeping than his bitter denunciation of Tz'ü Hsi. The betrayal of Kuang Hsü and the reformers in 1898, and the relation in which he stood to T'ang Shao-i are not in themselves sufficient evidence of his responsibility for T'ang's declaration of conversion to republican principles and consequent resignation of his position as imperial delegate at the Shanghai Conference in 1912. Yüan was ambitious and self-seeking, but in this instance his want of loyalty is not proven, while T'ang's very evidently is, yet for him Sir Reginald has no word of condemnation.

In general the causes which bring about the fall of Chinese dynasties tend to recur. Briefly they may be summed up as pressure from without, internal dissension, economic distress, and official corruption. In the chapters entitled "The Manchu Court in Twilight" and "The Imperial Household Department" Sir Reginald makes it abundantly clear that "the most serious factor of all had been the gradual tightening of the stranglehold of the Imperial Household Department or *Nei Wu Fu*, which he likens to "a vampire draining the life-blood

of the dynasty". The extent of the powers of the *Nei Wu Fu* has been little appreciated in the West. Not only did it control all imperial properties and treasures and the affairs of the palace—both generally by virtue of its authority and in particular through its servants, the eunuchs—but it was also, in fact if not in name, one of the great departments of State, and the organ through which the emperor transacted business with the other departments. Its power and influence, says Sir Reginald, "extended to the great world of politics and contributed to the notorious corruption of Chinese public life." Nor can the fact that traditional methods and individual incompetence were partly responsible for its corruption lessen the disastrous influence of the *Nei Wu Fu* upon the fortunes of the declining Manchu house. "He who rides a tiger cannot dismount" the Chinese proverb says. Sir Reginald's self-imposed task of riding this tiger was attended by a remarkable degree of success and he is to be congratulated on having disproved the proverb by dismounting in safety. How far the adventurous journey might have proceeded will never be known. On the arrival of General Fêng Yü-hsiang in Peking in November, 1924, the Manchu court passed from twilight to a long night of darkness; the "dragon-throne" was empty, and its attendant "tiger" disappeared.

Sir Reginald's relations with his imperial pupil reflect in fullest measure those possible contacts and fundamental harmonies between the cultures of the West and of China which many have realized who have been fortunate enough to find friends among the Chinese. We are glad to learn that the book is selling well in China; it may prove salutary for young Chinese to see their country through the eyes of a writer at once sympathetic to China and critical of the Republic.

E. E.

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THE CHINESE, THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1934. 30s.

Dr. K. S. Latourette, who is Professor of Missions and Oriental History at Yale, is best known to students of Chinese through his excellent book, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (S.P.C.K., 1929). The present work is an outline of China's history, culture, and present problems. "Not since the last revision of Samuel Wells Williams' *The Middle Kingdom*," says Professor Latourette in his Preface, "have we had in a European language a satisfactory, large,

comprehensive book on China and the Chinese." He therefore essays to "picture afresh the Chinese, their history and civilization, bringing into its composition all our knowledge concerning them, both old and new." As a background he first sketches in—perhaps a little too lightly—the geography and natural resources of the country. This is followed by a summary, comprising the remainder of Vol. i, of the history of China from the beginning to the present day. The second volume opens with a chapter on population, followed by others on government, economic life and organization, religion, social life, art and language, literature and education. To each chapter is appended a critical bibliography, including not only books, but also the more important articles scattered throughout the numerous journals devoted to Chinese studies both in European languages and in Chinese, and a certain number of standard Chinese works. As the book is avowedly a survey, intended for college and university courses on China, for the general reader, and for travellers or foreign residents in China, the author, justifiably if regrettably, has dispensed with footnotes.

Professor Latourette has succeeded in being brief without sacrificing essentials; for example, he summarizes in five pages without serious omission all the evidence and theories regarding the origins of the Chinese people. To achieve this end he has introduced as few names as possible, and if his book is thus made less valuable as a work of reference, he may yet justly claim to have included "the minimum which all who seek to be familiar with the main features of the history and culture of the Chinese must know". The historical section displays two special features: the author's narrative of the history of China's contact with the West is marked by a greater degree of detachment than most recent books which deal with the political relations of China with other countries; and by reducing by half the space usually devoted to the history of the Manchus and the Republic he has been able to present the early history of China in truer perspective.

In many of the fields which a book of this kind must seek to cover specialized monographs are not yet available, and the author must sometimes take refuge in generalization. As a consequence, although the material is up to date and the presentation of it impartial, a certain unevenness of quality is perhaps inevitable. Dr. Latourette, having made a special study of Christian missions in China, writes with authority on Religion, and has much that is of interest to say about the causes of the failures and successes of imported faiths. On the



subject of the trends of modern Education, on the other hand, though the bibliography suggests that he is acquainted with the best books and recent publications on the subject, he writes as though on less familiar ground. None the less, as a summary and interpretation of our knowledge of China and the Chinese at present these volumes are to be recommended, and even when, as the author modestly foresees, our advancing knowledge shall cause it to be superseded as it now supersedes its model, it will be remembered, as *The Middle Kingdom* is remembered, as a milestone in that advance.

E. E.

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CHINA'S GEOGRAPHIC FOUNDATIONS: A Survey of the Land and its People. By GEORGE BABCOCK CRESSEY. pp. xvii + 436, 1 map. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934. 24s.

Geography, or rather topography, is one of China's oldest sciences. The geographic details given in the *Tribute of Yü* (*Yü kung*) in the *Book of History* (*Shu ching*) are probably the earliest existing records, and from the *Chou Ritual* (*Chou li*) it appears that a well-staffed department of geography was maintained during the Chou dynasty (c. 1150-250 B.C.). In addition to the section devoted to geography in the various dynastic histories, there exists in China a remarkable and comprehensive series of systematic topographical works, some relating to the provinces, departments, districts, and cities of the empire, and others to the countries beyond the borders. But in spite of this mass of material, the social history of the Chinese people has yet to be written in full, and the relation of geography to society has remained unexplained by Chinese writers. It is a problem which has interested Western scientists, and to the solution of which Dr. Cressey has devoted ten years of travel and research. In 1923 he was appointed geologist in the University of Shanghai, and during the next six years he visited twenty-three of the twenty-eight provinces of China, travelling some 30,000 miles in the course of his researches.

It has been pointed out that in China, perhaps to a greater extent than is usual elsewhere, the people belong to the soil. Dr. Cressey's view is that there "so deeply is man rooted in the earth that there

is but one all-inclusive unity—not man and nature as separate phenomena but a single organic whole”. This belief in the essential unity of the land and the people gives us the key to the author’s treatment of his subject. His object is “to interpret the earth in terms of human use”, for he maintains, rightly, that “where people live so close to nature as in China, an appreciation of geography is fundamental in understanding human affairs”. His method, therefore, is to present the Chinese landscape as a background for human activities, and to show how man and his environment have succeeded in modifying each other.

In spite of her natural resources China is an agricultural rather than an industrial country; over-population has always made the problem of food-supply immediate and acute, with the result that every available patch of ground is cultivated to capacity. Side by side with agricultural communities of almost primitive simplicity are large areas which are being completely transformed by amazing economic developments. The westernization of specific districts is, however, a modern phase of the problem which faces present-day China. The fundamental obstacle to national unity is presented by natural as well as economic and cultural contrasts.

China cannot be thought of only in terms of artificial political divisions; and geographical differences are not even covered by the division into north and south, though Mr. Huntington<sup>1</sup> would seem to be right in his belief that “the curious anomaly of a progressive South and a conservative North” is at least partially explained by a process of “natural selection through over-population, famine, and migration”. Dr. Cressey’s regional units, based upon the consideration of such factors as topography, climate, and language, are therefore, 1, the North China plain; 2, the loess highlands; 3, the mountains of Shantung, Liaotung, and Jehol; 4, the Manchurian plain; 5, the mountains of eastern Manchuria; 6, the Khingan mountains; 7, the Central Asiatic steppes and deserts; 8, the central mountain belt; 9, the Yangtze plain; 10, the Red River basin of Szechwan; 11, the south Yangtze hills; 12, the south-eastern coast; 13, the hills of Liagkuang; 14, the south-western table-land; and 15, the Tibetan borderland. In each of these areas natural characteristics, the political background, and the consideration of future possibilities are made to form a setting for the human panorama, and perhaps the best feature of this valuable addition to our knowledge of China is that the reader is enabled to

<sup>1</sup> L. Ellsworth Huntington, *The Character of Races* (New York, 1924).

share to a remarkable degree the author's understanding of the life and outlook of the Chinese peasantry.

The usefulness of the book is enhanced by a considerable bibliography and its attractiveness by many excellent photographs.

E. E.

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THE MIND OF CHINA. By EDWIN D. HARVEY. pp. x(1) + 321. Yale University Press, 1933. 18s. 6d.

The mind of a people as static-seeming as the Chinese is probably best approached historically. By following the sequence of events it is possible to trace the advance of thought produced by social and political changes.

During the Han period officials were appointed to gather and set on record the tales common among the people. This practice, the origin of which is referred by tradition to Confucius' declaration that even in the meanest ways there may be something worthy of attention, was probably a variant of the still more ancient custom of collecting and storing in the archives the folk-songs of the States, some of which have come down to us in the *Book of Poetry* (*Shih ching*). Unfortunately, though there remain some valuable sources of material, such as the *Elegies of Ch'u* (*Ch'u tz'ü*) and the *Hill and River Classic* (*Shan hai ching*), none of the early collections of prose tales survives. Having no new beliefs to propound, Confucius maintained an unbroken silence upon the subject of spiritual beings, and his school developed a literary tradition which had no room for popular animistic stories. But in the course of the centuries between the fall of the Han empire in A.D. 220 and the establishment of the Sui dynasty in 581 their attitude changed. During that time Buddhism spread through the entire country until, as the history records, nine out of every ten families were Buddhists. The impetus given to folk-tales by the growing influence of the foreign faith is clear. They formed the most effective propaganda that could have been devised, and increased steadily in number, while Buddhist activity in this direction roused a strong spirit of rivalry both among Taoist writers and in Confucian scholars also. A definitely religious element thus often entered into the tales, the spontaneous character of which was further modified as they were constructed with a purpose. This rational development ceased only when the scholars of the Sung dynasty, exploring all the lore and teaching of the three schools, evolved the philosophy regarding

man and his environment which served China until the introduction of western scientific thought and material culture. Nor should it be forgotten that during the centuries in question (without doubt one of the most formative periods in the whole of Chinese history) the infusion and absorption of new ethnical elements and a variety of other influences, political as well as cultural, must have effected both speculative thought and popular folk-tales. Neglect of this evolutionary aspect of Chinese beliefs perhaps forms the principal defect of Mr. Harvey's volume.

The work of De Groot, Wieger, Doré, and others had already made us familiar with many tales of the supernatural and the beliefs underlying them; but such works are not readily accessible, and Mr. Harvey has therefore done a real service to the student of folk-lore as well as to the general reader in producing this interesting study. Although the stories of which the book is full are largely drawn from translations and not from original sources, they have been admirably selected for the author's purpose, and his own observation of Chinese institutions enables him to present to his readers a remarkable picture of a people whose lives still revolve round the central idea that everything is "spirit-indwelt" and who, in times of emergency, still have recourse to "any and every help available—Buddhist and Taoist priests, the souls of their ancestors, necromancers, fortune-tellers, and sorcerers".

From the point of view of social science the book is yet another proof of the solidarity of the human race. The author starts with the conviction that the reactions of the Chinese to life are not only "susceptible of analysis and understanding" but are fundamentally the same as those of other peoples, the likeness becoming more apparent as the analysis becomes more "objective". He cites the over-emphasis of the religious element among the Chinese as an example of the way in which the "life-pattern" may be distorted by inability to maintain a balance between its constituent elements. The reason for this, we believe, is apparent. Environment is threefold—natural, social, and spiritual; the special environment of a people may result in emphasis upon a special phase, and the greater the problems presented by the first two, the more complicated is the process of adaptation to the third phase likely to prove. Pressure may be relieved as more rational explanations of natural phenomena are sought and found, but among the Chinese animism remained a basic element of speculative thought until modern times, thus exaggerating the difficulty of adaptation to an unusual degree. Many examples are

cited which support this theory, and in our opinion these form the chief contribution of the book to a further understanding of the "mind of China". Though Mr. Harvey does not seek beyond reactions to "life-conditions" for his explanations, modes of thought are the result, not of the environment only, but also of the essential qualities of the minds reacting to it. Perhaps our knowledge of Chinese origins is as yet too vague to allow of any detailed study along these lines, but they suggest an interesting field for speculation.

Mr. Harvey's romanization of Chinese characters does not, as stated in the Preface to the book, conform to the Wade system. But though his use of words such as *tao-t'ai* or *yamen*, even if only in citations, without translation or explanation may prove discouraging to the general reader, his practice of using the Chinese terms to distinguish the various phases of the soul and other similar devices which avoid confusion are helpful to the student and must therefore be commended.

E. E.

RIDDLES OF THE GOBI DESERT. By SVEN HEDIN. Translated from the Swedish by ELIZABETH SPRIGG and CLAUDE NAPIER. pp. x + 382, 24 plates, 1 map. Routledge, 1933. 18s.

TENTS IN MONGOLIA (YABONAH). Adventures and Experiences among the Nomads of Central Asia. By HENNING HASLUND. Translated from the Swedish by ELIZABETH SPRIGG and CLAUDE NAPIER. pp. xvi + 366. London: Kegan Paul, 1934. 15s.

CHILDREN OF THE YELLOW EARTH. Studies in Prehistoric China. By J. GUNNAR ANDERSSON. Translated from the Swedish by DR. E. CLASSEN. pp. xxi + 345. London: Kegan Paul, 1934. 25s.

Here are three widely different books on Asia, two written by Swedes and one—*Tents in Mongolia*—by a Dane. If there is one fact that emerges from the reading of them it is that the suspicion existing between China and the Soviets makes, and will for a long time make, exploration and scientific investigation in those territories which lie between them virtually impossible. The only one of the three who reports success in his undertakings is Dr. Andersson, who was in the employ of the Chinese Government and was working on Chinese territory.

Dr. Sven Hedin's book is frankly disappointing. It is the sequel to his earlier work—*Across the Gobi Desert*—on his Gobi expeditions,

and was to have embodied the discoveries and scientific results at which he did little more than hint in the earlier volume. But difficulties (political for the most part) beset the expedition from the time at which this new record begins in 1928, and so hampered the operations of his field-workers that in spite of the inclusion of digests of reports of a number of Dr. Hedin's assistants in the field, the reader is left with the impression that the story which was promised in this volume has yet to be told.

This is probably true. Dr. Pei's discovery of an almost entire human cranium claimed to be earlier than any previously found; the meteorological observations and records of Dr. Haude and Major Zimmermann; Dr. Norin's geological work in Eastern Turkestan—of these and other branches of the expedition's work we must surely hear further. But even if we cannot admit the literary value of this popular account of Dr. Hedin's most recent activities our admiration is due to the man who could command the devotion and untiring labour of such a team.

Three times in Dr. Hedin's book a brief reference occurs to the name of Lieutenant Haslund. The story of how this young Danish officer came to be in Asia and to join the Hedin expedition is worth telling and is worthily told by himself in *Tents in Mongolia*, a vivid tale of an attempt to found a Danish farming colony in the heart of Mongolia.

Towards the end of the World War, an eminent Danish doctor, C. E. Krebs, was labouring to alleviate the distress in the war prisons in Siberia. When the Bolsheviks reached Irkutsk he bought a horse and rode, alone and by compass, "till he reached remote Peking." On his way he passed through Bulgun Tal, the Sable Plateau, "lovelier than anything he had seen," which lies southwards from Lake Baikal, and to the extreme east of Urianhai, that "lordless land" "dreaming care-free within its encircling alps", which, by an odd chance, had been included within the boundary-lines of neither Russia nor China. He had so much to tell about the "gold and asbestos and other things awaiting men who would come and take possession of it", and so much interest was aroused in Denmark, that it was decided that six men, with Dr. Krebs as leader, should form a first expedition with the object of investigating the possibilities for an eventual colonization of the region by several thousand Danish agriculturalists whose farms in Siberia had been confiscated by the Bolsheviks.

After several years devoted to preparation and special training,

the expedition set out, not by the short route through Russia (the Soviet had refused them transit) but by way of Suez, Peking, and Kalgan. There the serious business of travel began and it was not until one hundred and twenty-seven days after their heavy ox-caravan had passed through the gate of the Great Wall of China out into the desert that they planted their "sun-bleached, wind-torn Danish flag" in Bulgun Tal.

For more than two years they worked, founding a farm for corn, horse and cattle breeding, building up a trade in furs, and investigating the district's mineral resources. But the long arm of the Soviet Revolution reached even to Bulgun Tal. In 1926 a conference with the authorities resulted in permission being granted to work there for twelve years, with no guarantee thereafter. Conditions were becoming increasingly impossible; immigration into Mongolia was regarded with aversion; and so it came about that "the members of the expedition were scattered before all the winds", only the dauntless leader remaining in Bulgun Tal.

The adventures and experiences of the pioneers are vividly described in this sincere and lively book: from the moment the idea was first mooted until they parted regretfully. The author describes himself as the son of one "who understood the æsthetic value of all that is primeval, and unspoilt", and the cousin of a companion of Stanley in Africa. He combines in himself the spirit of both. The most thrilling adventures are not the visit of the beautiful robber princess, the perils of the desert, the mad ride of fourteen consecutive hours on the wild horse, *Hao*, nor even the horrors of a Soviet prison. The author "took to Mongolia like a duck to water" and won his way into many Mongol tents. "Every night I slept in a new camp and in the evenings I sat by hospitable hearths and listened attentively"—to hunters' tales; to the plaintive melodies (many of which are reproduced in the book) which "rose and fell like the flames upon the hearth"; to stories of Soviet atrocities; to the "rapid unintelligible cantrips" of the sorcerer who, "laying a sheep's shoulder-blade in the fire and then interpreting the cracks made by the heat, after long meditation and repetition of mystic formulas, can divine." The author was adopted as the father of a Mongol boy to save it from the influence of evil spirits, and he witnessed the mystical warfare between a Shaman and the spirits in the body of a sick man. *Tents in Mongolia* is the work of a man who not only resided, but lived, among the Mongols.

The book is profusely illustrated, and the translation reads smoothly and well.

Serious students of the pre-history of China who have read Dr. Andersson's earlier monographs may find this volume too light for their taste. It must be difficult to write a popular book on palæontology, geology, and archæology, but Dr. Andersson has succeeded. His method is to combine description with scientific data. He conducts his readers on imaginary journeys to various parts of China and then paints for them the China that must have been. No one could do it better. A colliery engineer in Sweden, Dr. Andersson was transported to the East to become Mining Adviser to the Chinese Government. The chance finding upon the desk of a friend of a small piece of stromatolitic ore added to his task of surveying the coal-fields and ore resources of China a zeal for collecting fossils and archæological material. In *Children of the Yellow Earth* he takes his readers into the prehistoric swamp forests at the period when the flora of the world had not yet been differentiated; he shows them the giant saurians and the first mammals; discourses of dragons and dragon-bones, long used by the Chinese as medicine. Next he relates the story of the discovery and investigation of the cave which yielded the Peking man; he leads his readers into the Ordos desert in search of Pleistocene man; he discovers the first traces of prehistoric villages, a cave which he believes to be a cannibalistic sanctuary, and no fewer than forty sites of the Yang Shao age, which "stands out as a rich and brilliant episode not only against the genuine Neolithic age . . . but also against succeeding ages". During the age of the Yang Shao civilization, he tells us, "the country teems with busy cultivators of the soil, living together in large villages." Interest centres in its painted pottery, and Dr. Andersson devotes considerable space to an analysis of the symbolism of the designs with which it is decorated.

Only Dr. Andersson could have written this record of his researches for only he knew all the details. He writes with an enthusiasm which is communicated to his readers, and this personally conducted tour of prehistoric China is a great success. The numerous illustrations fulfil their purpose and the translator has served his author well.

E. E.

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SON OF HEAVEN. A Biography of Li Shih-min, Founder of the T'ang Dynasty. By C. P. FITZGERALD. pp. ix (6) — 232. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 12s. 6d.

Between the fall of the deservedly illustrious Han dynasty early in the third century of the Christian era and the establishing of the no less illustrious T'ang dynasty through the energy and statesmanship of Li Shih-min in A.D. 618 lie three centuries as remarkable in their way as any in the history of China. Though marked by constant dissension and disruption they form, none the less, an era of surprising development. The north was overrun by barbarians, and only a remnant of a Chinese empire remained, with its capital removed to the south. The invaders, however, were slowly absorbed into, and became part of the conquered race and the infusion of new elements served to reinvigorate the Chinese people. Perhaps to the same cause may be traced a growing self-consciousness in the people which is evidenced in many directions, such as the spread of popular tales, popular interest in religion, and increasing attempts at crude but unmistakable dramatic representation.

The glory of the T'ang dynasty was merely the fruit of this long preparatory period. Nor was it the first-fruit. The empire was reunited, not by the house of T'ang but by the Sui emperors who, had they been more capable and less luxurious, might have carried into effect the excellent projects which they initiated. But after its first effort the house of Sui deteriorated rapidly and it was left to the T'ang founders, father and son, and in particular to Li Shih-min, the son of a Tartar mother, to push to its conclusion the reunion of the empire, to reorganize the administration, and to build up an efficient fighting force. Not the least commendable feature of Mr. Fitzgerald's interesting biography of Li Shih-min is due to the fact that his own interest in the subject of his book has enabled him to draw for his readers something more than a line portrait; he has succeeded in making of him a real person, a warrior-statesman honoured by his countrymen even to the present day for concrete and intelligible reasons. Great soldier and efficient administrator as he was, it is no less on account of the generous humanity of his nature that he is exalted by the Chinese. His pacification of the empire inaugurated an era of prosperity which exceeded anything that had existed for centuries. But pacification was not merely a matter of subduing the enemies of his house in China and the enemies of China outside. By his generous treatment of friends and enemies he won for himself a place in the hearts of the people

so warm and a reputation so great that his father, the first emperor of the new dynasty, soon abdicated and left the country in the capable hands of his son.

Although he scorned the intrigue with which the Chinese court was inevitably and invariably seamed, Li Shih-min was a capable diplomatist. He made friends with the invading tribes of Central Asia, buying immunity until such time as he had reformed the army and turned the undisciplined hordes which for generations had comprised the Chinese forces into an efficient fighting machine. By his zeal as well as by his skill and courage, he so encouraged his officers that with their co-operation before long he had trained bodies of troops with whom he himself marched to subdue the tribes beyond the borders. Although the series of campaigns thus inaugurated lasted throughout his life, and though the organizing of his growing empire occupied him for some years, peace and not aggrandizement was his aim. Curbing his ambition, he devoted himself next to improving internal conditions, and was able to give to the Chinese people instead of wild disorder, peace, unity, and good government.

Mr. Fitzgerald has rendered a service to students of Chinese history and earned for himself a place among sinologues. Moreover he offers to the general reader a volume which is of considerable interest. To say that we could wish that he had devoted more space to the administrative side of Li Shih-min's career is not to cavil at that which he has given us. The maps which accompany the text are clear and adequate, and the book is attractively illustrated by reproductions of three of the six bas-reliefs of Li Shih-min's famous chargers.

E. E.

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HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE IN PEKING. By SIDNEY D. GAMBLE.  
Funk & Wagnalls. \$3.

Mr. Gamble, who is Research Secretary of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, and the author of *Peking, a Social Survey*, has here carried a step further his inquiries into the life of all classes in Peking. This time he has given to students of social science and economics a detailed analysis of the household accounts of some hundred Chinese families, whose income and expenditure were carefully recorded for a year under the supervision of his assistants in the field. Primarily the book will appeal to those concerned with the study of social problems and national reconstruction in China,

but it is not without interest to sociologists elsewhere. Standards of living in various countries can be compared only with the aid of such studies as this, the first of its kind to be made for any part of China. Although the author devotes most of his space to itemized budgets, diagrams, figures, and facts which will not interest the general reader, no one could read the book through without gaining an insight into the daily life of the Chinese and an admiration for their amazing thrift and the serenity with which they maintain existence upon a pittance which, in the group with the lowest incomes, allows only 8 cents silver per day per person for food.

In addition to the diagrams the book contains a number of illustrations, including some interesting ones relating to weddings and funerals, the chapter on which will be new to many of Mr. Gamble's readers.

E. E.

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THE HOUSE OF EXILE. By NORA WALN. London: The Cresset Press, Ltd., 1933. 16s.

Mrs. Waln's novel was favourably reviewed in China. By some upon whose judgment of such books the general reader both there and in this country relies it was even received as genuine autobiography. Mrs. Pearl Buck acclaimed it—"Undoubtedly one of the most delightful books of personal experience that has yet been written about China. Its authenticity is beyond question."

In a brief foreword the authoress states that the purpose of the book is "just to tell of everyday life in a Chinese family". In order to give to the telling the real true-story atmosphere she has admitted herself as a daughter of the house, "wearing Chinese dress and learning the language," into the "walled courts" of a Chinese "mandarin" family. Here, in the "House of Exile", the Lin family has dwelt for thirty-five generations. (*Oxford Dictionary*: A generation is usually computed at thirty years.) The parent stock, which still survives, had been established in Canton for one hundred and four generations previous to the removal to the "House of Exile". This generous allowance of one hundred and thirty-nine generations of ancestors means that the Lin family was living in Canton, and apparently keeping records of the family history, not only two thousand or more years before Canton existed but also some five centuries before the time to which archaeologists assign the inscribed

bones of the Yin dynasty, which have come to light only within the present generation.

As a fairy-tale the book may be allowed the adjective "delightful"; as a book of personal experience it is impossible; as an interpretation of China and the Chinese it is out of touch with reality. Mrs. Waln, herself the daughter of a Philadelphia Quaker family, has made converts, linguistically speaking, of the entire Lin clan, who use "thee" and "thou" as to the manner born.

We need not go further. A score of errors in history, language, literature and customs leap to the eye when one begins to analyse. Fanciful interpretations of this kind, far from "humanizing" the Chinese and making of him a man and a brother, have the contrary effect. . . .

"Of his bones are coral made;  
Those are pearls which were his eyes:  
Nothing of him that doth fade,  
But doth suffer a sea-change  
Into something rich and strange."

E. E.

THE STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE: An Introduction to the Spoken Language (Northern Pekinese Dialect).

By J. MULLIE. Translated from the Flemish by A. OMER VERSICHEL. Vol. I. pp. xxxiii + 566. Peiping, 1932. £1 12s. 6d.

This book forms the first part of the fifth work to appear in the series known as the *Collection Internationale de Monographies Linguistiques*. English students of to-day are fortunate; their seniors possessed few text-books on the Chinese language, and their predecessors none at all. The only difficulty now is to decide which of the many manuals available is best suited to the individual student's purpose. But, until the appearance of the present volume, the case of Flemish and Dutch missionaries working in the province of Jehol in North China was different. They possessed no handbook of Chinese written in their own language, but had to rely on French or English manuals. Not only is Chinese best studied in the mother-tongue of the student, but textbooks of Chinese written for one region often contain expressions, grammatical forms, tones, and pronunciations seldom used elsewhere, and the beginner may be puzzled to account

for these differences. It must, therefore, have been to an appreciative group of students of Chinese that the original version of Dr. Mullie's book was presented.

As regards the English version the reviewer's opinion is sharply divided. The existence of a comparatively large number of textbooks does not mean that there is no room for others, and the present work has many excellent features. But it has also certain defects, amongst which we may cite the introduction of a system of tone-marking unsuitable to English students, an unduly extensive collection of unconnected and often oddly assorted sentences or "texts" as they are called in the book, and the use of terms such as "determinative accusative", "prohibitive mood", "converbs," and others foreign to English grammar.

On the credit side there is a preface comprising thirty-two pages of useful material for reference, a good chapter on the phonetics of the Pekinese dialect, and a general outline of the structure of the language designed to allow a wide choice of examples throughout the remaining part of the book, which consists of a detailed study of the ground covered by the "Outline".

The work of the translator has been well done on the whole; though errors of various kinds are fairly frequent they do not as a rule obscure the author's meaning. The recurring use of the word "native" instead of "Chinese", however, is displeasing to English as well as Chinese ears, even though the sympathetic attitude displayed to Chinese ideas and ideals leaves no doubt that its employment is not intended to convey a suggestion of Western superiority.

In view of the fact that a second volume, the contents of which are undeclared in Vol. i, has yet to appear, it is perhaps premature to commit oneself to a final judgment of Dr. Mullie's book, but he is to be congratulated upon the way in which he has endeavoured to expound the structure of the spoken language without rigidly forcing it into the mould of an alien grammar.

E. EDWARDS.

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DIE LANGGEDICHTE YAKAMOCCHI'S AUS DEM MANYŌSHŪ IN TEXT UND ÜBERSETZUNG MIT ERLÄUTERUNGEN. I: Einleitung und Naga-Uta Buch III, VIII, XVII, XVIII. Von EDUARD EMMERICH FLORENZ. Sonderdruck aus *Asia Major*. Vol. VIII, fasc. 4.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 163. Leipzig, 1933. R.M. 11.

A precocious youth, who at the age of fifteen uttered "When I look up at the crescent moon, Oh how it reminds me of the arched brows of a person at whom I hut glanced" (Man-yō, 995), proved himself one of the most distinguished poets of the eighth century. His name is Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi. As a son of that brilliant poet Ōtomo-no-Tabito and being cared for by his aunt Sakanoe-no-Iratsume who herself was a poetess of fame, Yakamochi studied the works of the celebrated poets Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro, Yamano-e-no-Okura, and Yamabe-no-Akahito. Little wonder then that we should find in the Man-yō-shū more than 470 poems composed by him during 27 years, from A.D. 733 to 759. But after his singular retirement from the literary circle at the early age of 41 he devoted himself diligently to his duties as a government official until death claimed him in A.D. 785 when he was 67 years old. It must, however, be remembered that during the latter part of his life he brought the Man-yō-shū somewhat into the present form of twenty books.

Some of Yakamochi's poems have recently been rendered into English by Dr. J. L. Pierson (Man-yō-shū, Book iii), who a few years ago embarked on the laborious work of translating the whole of the Man-yō-shū. When this is completed the Western student of Japanese literature will be able to appreciate all the poems which Yakamochi composed. Meanwhile Dr. E. M. Florenz has given us a transliteration and a verse-for-verse translation of Yakamochi's Chōka, or "long poems," in the *Asia Major*, vol. viii, fasc. 4, and vol. ix, fasc. 1, 1933. The book under review is the first half of this work.

In the introduction Dr. Florenz outlines the life of the poet (pp. 5-15). This is followed by a detailed account of Yakamochi's long poems under the headings: (1) Naturgedichte, (2) Elegien, (3) Vermischtes, (4) Liebesgedichte, (5) Grenzwächterlieder, (6) Preisgesänge über den Ruhm des Ōtomo-Geschlechtes, and (7) Preislieder über die Herrlichkeit der kaiserlichen Paläste (pp. 15-32). Then the translator discusses the influence of the works of the earlier poets and of Chinese literature on the literary style and phraseology of Yakamochi (pp. 33-41). Lastly we find an explanation of the Makura-kotoba which occur in the poems translated (pp. 41-5).

Like Dr. Pierson the present translator has mainly followed Kamochi-Masazumi's text and commentary, having regard to the elucidations given by modern Japanese scholars. But he has not so fully considered different versions as Dr. Pierson. Although this is a shortcoming, the book is well arranged, and the introductory chapters are themselves a good study on Yakamochi. The translation is accurate in general, whilst the commentary and footnotes will be useful to the reader.

However, the *Man-yō-shū* is one of those books which the more carefully we examine the more doubtful we become of our interpretation as Professor Onodaka rightly remarks in his *Man-yō-shū Shinshaku* (vol. i, preface, p. 3). Some of the problems raised below may illustrate this point:—

p. 59, l. 20, *asa ni ke ni*. In all probability this expression means "every morning, morning after morning", and not "jeden Morgen und jeden Tag", as translated. There are at least two serious objections to this current explanation. First, if we compare *asa ni ke ni* with *tsuki ni ke ni hibi ni* (*Man-yō*, 931), and if we consider *ke* in the two expressions as meaning "day", we shall find it difficult to explain why in the second phrase *ke ni* is followed by the synonymous *hibi ni*. If *tsuki ni ke ni* signifies "month after month and day after day", then *hibi ni* "day after day" would be superfluous. Secondly, the Nara dialect of A.D. 650-750 contained two kinds of *ke*, *fe*, and *me*, one of them, in my opinion, with the sound of French *é* in *été* and the other with that of French *ê* in *même*.<sup>1</sup> The syllable *ke* in *ke ni* was usually transcribed in the *Man-yō-gana* which seems to have reproduced the less open variety of *ke*. Now, if this *ke* were a variant of *ka* "day", it would probably have been pronounced [kɛ], not [ke], because [*ame*] "heaven, rain", [*mɛ*] "the eye", [*sake*] "sake drink", [*sutge*] "the sedge", [*take*] "the bamboo", and [*ufɛ*] "the top" were derived respectively from *ama*, *ma*, *saka*, *suga*, *taka*, and *ufa*, which forms are preserved in compounds. From these two reasons we can only regard *ni ke ni* and *ke ni* as suffixes.<sup>2</sup>

p. 60, footnote to verse 18. The word *yume* with the Negative Imperative signification seems to have nothing to do with *yume* "dream", which was usually written *ime* at the time of the *Man-yō-shū*.

<sup>1</sup> See my book entitled *The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese*.

<sup>2</sup> A. Masamune has written an article "*Asa ni ke ni Songi*" (*Araragi*, November, 1931), which seems to have been commented on by Y. Endō in his "*Asa ni ke ni Songi ni tsuite*" (*Nara Bunka*, No. 22, May, 1932). I have not had opportunity to read either of these articles.

p. 68, footnote to verse 28. Masazumi was right in considering *kereba* as 來有者. It is therefore a contraction of *ki-areba*, and not of *ki-kereba* as he supposed.

p. 76, l. 25. By the word 聚林, here translated "Dichterhain", is probably meant the anthology called 類聚歌林 which was compiled by Okura.<sup>1</sup>

p. 81, Kommentar. The translator believes that the poem 3,969 was composed A.D. 748. Chikage, however, suggested that 天平二十年 (A.D. 748) must be a mistake for 十九年 (A.D. 747), because towards the end of the same volume (xvii) there appear four poems by Yakamochi dated 天平二十年春正月 (1st month A.D. 748). Modern Japanese authorities, too, consider the date of the poem 3,969 as being A.D. 747, since the five characters 天平二十年 are lacking in the 元曆校本 version of Yakamochi's two short poems composed on the 29th day of the 2nd month. The illness mentioned in the preface to these two poems must be the one into which Yakamochi fell on the 20th day of the same month (see the preface to the poem 3,962, p. 71), in spite of the translator's warning "nicht mit der vom Jahre 747 zu verwechseln!" (p. 81). This hardly seems to accord with the statement (pp. 22-3): "eine schwere Krankheit, die den Dichter in Etehū befallen hat (xvii, 70 und 75)," dealing with poems which he regards as a year apart. We must therefore consider all the poems from No. 3,969 to No. 4,015 as the products of A.D. 747.<sup>2</sup>

p. 97, footnote to verse 10. *-haku* in *ushihaku* is not a verb but is a verb formative element according to Professor M. Andō (*Kodai Kokugo no Kenkyū*, pp. 289-298).

p. 106, l. 1. *toho-shiroshi* should read *tohoziroschi* which signifies "grand"; it has no such meaning as "lang und hell-schimmernd".<sup>3</sup>

p. 158, footnote to verse 34. Judging from the expressions *tana-shirazu* "completely ignoring" (Man-yō, 1,739) and *tana-shirite* "knowing thoroughly" (Man-yō, 1,807) we can safely conclude that *tana-* (or *tono-*) means "completely, thoroughly, all over", but not "schichtenweise, in vielen Schichten übereinander", which meaning has been derived in association with the word *tana* "a shelf". Thus *tono-gumori-afu* denotes "sich überall umwölken" as rendered accurately by Dr. Florenz.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Y. Takeda, *Jōdai Kokubungaku no Kenkyū*, pp. 335, 386-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Y. Takeda, *op. cit.*, p. 321; H. Omodaka, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. L. Pierson, *Man-yō-shū*, Book iii, pp. 129-130.



p. 159, footnote to verse 4. The translator suggests that the *-nu* in *-nuka* is identical with the Optative *-ne* which is changed into *-nu* on account of the following *-ka*. It is difficult to accept this suggestion for two reasons. First, we cannot explain why *-ne* should take the form *-nu* when it is followed by *-ka*. Secondly, *-nuka* with the Negative *-nu* is still found in modern Japanese with the Optative meaning. Under these circumstances it is best for us to follow the usual interpretation and treat this *-nu* as a negative suffix.<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of these few inaccuracies in details the language of the poems is well explained by Dr. Florenz, and we must extend our thanks to him for this excellent translation.

S. Y.

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L'EXPRESSION POÉTIQUE DANS LE FOLK-LORE JAPONAIS. PAR GEORGES BONNEAU. Tomes XLII, XLIII, XLIV, des Annales du Musée Guimet. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 104 + 192 + 189. 2 plans. Paris, 1933. Frs. 100.

In the first volume, *Poètes et Paysans : Le Vingt-Six Syllabes de Formation Savante*, of this collection of Japanese folk-songs the author gives thirty-four songs, each of twenty-six syllables, which were composed before A.D. 1868 (some dating from the sixteenth century) in adaptation of ancient poems of Japan and China. These are followed by forty songs, also of twenty-six syllables, composed by various men of letters since 1869, and twenty "Dodoitsu", the popular tunes among Geisha. The second volume, *La Tradition Orale de Forme Fixe : La Chanson de Vingt-Six Syllabes*, contains two hundred and fifty folk-songs of twenty-six syllables, which the author heard the natives sing in different parts of Japan, including Ryūkyū (but not Hokkaidō), during 1926-1932. There are, however, many folk-songs of unrestrained rhythm in Japan. Eighty-nine songs of this type as collected by Dr. Bonneau in Kyūshū during 1926-9 are found in the third volume, *Tradition Orale et Formes Libres : La Chanson du Kyūshū*, at the end of which are given twenty-one children's songs.

The traditional songs of Japan, extremely important as they are in a study on Japanese folk-lore, are little known to the Western world, and the present work is indeed a welcome publication. The songs, printed both in the native writing and in Roman script, are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Omodaka, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

neatly translated. The notes will be found helpful for the thorough appreciation of the contents of the songs, but the poems and proverbs quoted are most unfortunately left untranslated. A complete index to the songs is provided at the end of each volume, and a comprehensive bibliography given in the first volume (pp. 23-31) will furnish a useful guide to further study of the subject.

In the *Avertissement* (vol. i, p. 13, footnote 1) the author points out various rhetorical devices used in the songs such as alliteration, assonance, and the repetition of words and phrases, but no mention is made of rhythm. This is a pity, for the rhythm of these songs seems to have an interesting history behind it. Although the songs of pre-Man-yō period were rhythmically unrestrained, they showed a tendency towards the 5-7 syllabic rhythm, which was almost universally followed by the Man-yō poets. About A.D. 750, however, there evolved a new mode of breaking Tanka after the third verse, with the result that two rhythms, of 5-7-5 syllables and 7-7 syllables respectively, came into existence. As time went on the former gave birth to yet another rhythm of 7-5 syllables, as we find in "Wasan", or Buddhist hymns, which flourished since the tenth century, and in various musical compositions of later date. It is due to these three forms of rhythm that the *Heike Monogatari* (the current version of which dates from the middle of the thirteenth century) has the beautiful melody which made it renowned.

This plainly tells us that even before the thirteenth century there was a possibility for the development of a combined rhythm of 7-7 syllable and 7-5 syllables, on which are built the songs of twenty-six syllables under consideration. Among the songs described as "formes libres" by the present author we find several composed in the 7-7 and 7-5 syllabic rhythms. Let us take a few examples from vol. iii.

Song 1. The opening verse *Essa ose-ose* consists of 7 syllables and forms the first part of the 7-7 syllabic rhythm. Thus the song is of twenty-six syllables, with *yō* and *nō yara* thrown in as chorus.

Song 7. This is built entirely on the 7-5 syllabic rhythm.

Song 28. In this the 7-5 syllabic rhythm is beautified by the line of 4-4-5 syllabic rhythm: *Me wo dashi Ha wo dashi Tsubomi dashi.*

Song 54. In Ōsaka I heard children sing the initial verses of this song as *Ichikake nikake Sankakete, Shikake gokake Hashikakete.* In this way the song was sung in the 7-5 syllabic rhythm throughout.

Song 56. I remember my mother (a native of Kyūshū) singing the sixth verse of this lullaby in five syllables: *nani morota*, instead of

*nani wo morōta*. Thus the song had the effect of the 7-5 syllabic rhythm.

A careful examination may also be made of the rhyme of the songs here collected by Dr. Bonneau, when some interesting facts may be observed. The collection of these songs must have a bearing on the history of the language and of the people alike, and those who pursue the study of the folk-lore of Japan should be grateful to the author for this unique work.

S. Y.

JUBILÄUMSBAND HERAUSGEGEBEN VON DER DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT FÜR NATUR- UND VÖLKERRUNDE OSTASIENS ANLÄSSLICH IHRES 60JÄHRIGEN BESTEHENS 1873-1933. Teil I. 10 × 7½. pp. xxii + 409. 1 map and 51 plates. Tōkyō, 1933. RM. 10.

It is never easy to review a Festschrift, but when the subjects dealt with extend over all branches of learning, as in the present volume, it is almost impossible even to give an outline sketch of all the contributions. The book contains twenty-two studies, each written by a specialist, on archaeology, biology, botany, drama, ethnology, geography, history, literature, medicine, music, painting, politics, religion, and sociology.

The longest and a very fascinating article is the *Kagekiyo, eine Betrachtung zum japanischen historischen Schauspiel* (pp. 281-345) contributed by J. Barth. Many a story has been written of Taira-no-Kagekiyo, an impetuous warrior of the twelfth century, better known as Akushichibyōe. So popular did he become in the fourteenth century that his life formed the subject of Nō plays: *Kagekiyo* and *Daibutsu Kuyō*. Influenced by these plays the celebrated Chikamatsu wrote a Jōruri entitled *Shusse Kagekiyo* in A.D. 1686. This work was adapted by two Jōruri composers collaborating in the *Dannoura Kabuto Gunki*, which was staged in Ōsaka in A.D. 1732. Thenceforward Kagekiyo figured in many dramas and puppet-shows. In the meantime the subject "Kagekiyo" found its way into Nagauta, which sprang up in Yedo in the early part of the eighteenth century, and the piece called *Fukagawa Tanzen no Oborodzumi* came to be written in the beginning of the nineteenth century. All the pieces mentioned above are explained at length by Mr. Barth with a complete or part translation of the text accompanied by four attractive illustrations.

This article is immediately followed by a long discussion on the

*Familiensystem und Wirtschaft im Alten und Neuen Japan* (pp. 346-94), written by Professor J. B. Kraus. The subjects are studied under five periods: (1) before A.D. 645, (2) from the Taikwa Reforms of A.D. 645 till 1191, (3) the feudal period, (4) under the feudal policy of Tokugawa, and (5) from the Meiji Restoration till modern times. A very scholarly work throughout.

Equally admirable is the article entitled *Eine japanische Natur- und Lebensschilderung aus der Zeit Engelbert Kämpfers* (pp. 207-46) contributed by Dr. F. M. Trautz. While the German physician E. Kämpfer was studying the animals and plants of Japan as well as Japanese history during his two years' sojourn in that country from A.D. 1690 to 1692 the distinguished Haikai poet Bashō wrote the *Genjūan-no-Ki*, which is the author's reflection on his life. Dr. Trautz has well translated this famous specimen of the so-called Haibun from the Ōtsu manuscript in Bashō's handwriting dated A.D. 1690. The translation is accompanied by a line-for-line transliteration, notes, and a bibliography. The whole manuscript is photographically reproduced, while some of the remaining nine plates illustrate the neighbourhood of Genjūan on Kokubuyama, not far from Ōtsu.

The readers who are interested in Japanese drama of the Meiji era will find a translation of Okamoto-Kidō's "Ōsakajō" rendered by Dr. H. Bohner under the title *Ōsaka Schloss* (pp. 14-49), whilst those who have taste for the popular literature of the Tokugawa period will enjoy Dr. W. Donat's *Aus Saikaku, Fünf Geschichten von liebenden Frauen; Drittes Bändchen, Geschichte vom Kalendermacher* (pp. 263-80), which is a translation (with notes) of Book 3 of Saikaku's "*Kōshoku Gonin-onna* (written A.D. 1686), and Dr. M. Ramming's *Literarhistorische Bemerkungen über die Kibyōshi der Tokugawa-Zeit* (pp. 92-102, with one plate). This latter is a good study.

Lastly a mention may be made of two contributions on Chinese literature. One of them is Dr. E. von Zach's translation (pp. 1-13) of the *Yen-lien-chu* (演連珠) in fifty chapters, written by Lu Shih (陸士) and contained in Book 14 of the *Wên Hsüan* (文選). The other is Dr. F. X. Biallas' rendering (pp. 395-409) of *Ch'ou-ssü* (抽思) and *Huai-sha* (懷沙) from the *Chiu-chang* (九章), composed by Ch'ü Yüan (屈原) and contained in the *Ch'u Tz'ü* (楚辭). Dr. Biallas chiefly followed the Chu Hsi version and his acknowledgment of variations according to the Wang I version seems incomplete. The Chinese text contains a few misprints.

All the remaining contributions, though left unmentioned, are

of interest and value, while the second volume, judging from the announcement, appears to include several important articles. Indeed, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens is to be congratulated on the publication of this work.

S. YOSHITAKE.

BUDDHA'S TEACHINGS. Being the Sutta-Nipāta or Discourse-Collection, edited in the original Pali text with an English version facing it. By LORD CHALMERS, G.C.B., D.Litt. Harvard Oriental Series, xxxvii. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932. pp. xxii, 300.

This is a popular, rather than a scholarly, translation, by one capable of giving us the latter, no less than this. Hence perhaps we must feel, ruefully feel, that in its title the Harvard Management, as is admitted in the "Descriptive List", has kowtowed to "the publisher's point of view" and prefixed to the translator's accurate rendering a fairly gross misnomer. The latter's introduction, lucidly historical as far as it goes, should have made the Management, in the interests of truth, hold its editorial hand. Nevertheless, if we agree always to see in the later cult-term "Buddha" just a symbol for an evolving series of monkish teachings, and reserve the name Gotama or Śākyamuni for the original "Teacher", I have nothing whereat to take objection.

For the Sutta-Nipāta is unquestionably mainly, though not wholly, an anthology by a number of monks for any number of monks. The outlook, the ideals of the "ahmsman" are alone held really worthy. The man who "shoulders man's common lot"—a happy rendering of *vahanto porisaṃ dukkhaṃ*—is patronizingly passed over for him who "in aloofness tastes true peace", and who, in "walking alone like a rhinoceros" is fearful lest, in "showing compassion to friend or comrade he with a bound mind wither his own welfare". Here surely is no gospel likely to have been the basis of a world-religion; here is something most untrue and unworthy of the man who gave his life to show compassion to every man he found needing him.

It is no fit rejoinder to say here are the monk-interests of a "dual gospel". Cenobitic monk-communities evolved their own gospel, to which these poems owe their shrinking from having "life, having it more abundantly", their ideal of a "waning" into something there were no words to describe (ver. 1,076). The monks around

Gotama were as yet hardly so minded ; they were like him, not true recluses, but *missioners*. And to them, not to laymen only, we find him recorded as wishing them joy in aspiring to the happy "suchness" (*tathatta*) of men who had got so much further on the Way as to be enjoying a happier world.

I am not saying that the happy wayfaring of the Way is not in this book. It is there, and to that extent the "Teachings" ring true. But here comes in my quarrel with the English translator. Look out for the terms of the wayfaring: "schooling," "breeding," "fostering," "drilling," etc. How varied and rich is the English in this style of Jacobean-Bible-cum-Joseph-Hooker-and-Ken ! Yet how poor a guide to those who are searching for the "Teachings" ! For all these terms are in Pali *one and the same word*: the causative of *bhū*, "to become." So again are the words "rebirth", "lives", "life to come", "worlds", "existence", "stage": all the one word *bhava* "becoming" ! Let every reader watch carefully the page opposite, and see how, to be in literary style, translators have sedulously evaded using this great, pregnant, if somewhat awkward English word. Let them see how the *one* use of it, where in 60 Pali passages it is evaded, lifts the veil from the hidden teaching:—

He strips the veil from things, and so becomes (*bhavati*)  
the peerless all-enlightened . . . !

More captiousness:—In these pages we find an inverse procedure with one English term for many Pali words: "peace" (with a capital P). No one conversant with the Piṭakas would even uncritically see, in this, a *summum bonum* in "Buddha's Teachings". Even for these it is too much a ship-wrecked sailor's, a charwoman's final quest. It may suit a sitting Buddha-rūpa ; it is not of the ardent untiring spirit, fighting to the end, as of a very John Wesley, which peeps out in the Suttas. But those opposite pages reveal *nine* different words in the one "Peace", and one context where is no Pali equivalent (ver. 519).

Captious yet once again, I grieve to see the "purged of self" for *pahitatta* reproduced here from the *Further Dialogues*. We at least are not bound, as was maybe the commentator, to read for *padahit-atta*, *pesit-atta*, especially in a work where we have the parallel *bhāvitatta* (cf. the *bhāvitattānaṃ* of Dhṛp.) and *sukhit-atta*. *Pahitatta* illustrated the growth, the making-become the self as a More in the Way to the Most ; but it swore with *Anattā*, and so it had to be twisted into *pesitatta*.

Far am I from underworthing the patient labour of nobly spent years or the enviable literary richness of the result. But there are things weightier than literary style. We have in the Piṭakas an historical problem of the utmost religious importance, and no peculiarly British vigour or elegance must come between us and it. An Indian-Buddhist translation into English of this anthology is still to be made.

C. A. F. R. D.

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ESSAYS IN ZEN BUDDHISM (Second Series). By DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI. pp. xii + 326. London: Luzac & Co. (published for the Eastern Buddhist Society), 1933. 20s.

The reviewer, who is not acquainted with the author's First Series of these essays, has the double disqualification of being ignorant of what is published matter and of what is yet, in Series 3 and 4, to come. It is perhaps best that he announce what has been further published and pass on. The outline (whether publisher's or author's) on the jacket helps us very little. Why should it? Its mission is to say: Open me and read patiently, without skipping. To do this, leisure and inclination must both be at hand. Reviewers seldom have enough of the former. And when in a Mahāyānist book, they see Hīnayāna virtually made to pose as original Buddhism—what "the Buddha" said—instead of as the later (if relatively early) Buddhism that it really is, degenerate, unworthy to wear the robes of real Sakya, he is scarcely likely to find the inclination. Let me illustrate: In his essay "Passivity in the Buddhist Life", the author says: "'Be ye a lamp and refuge to yourselves' (*attadīpā attasaraṇā*) was the injunction left by the Buddha to his Hīnayāna followers . . . But the Mahāyāna was not satisfied with this narrowness . . . wanted to extend the function of *karuṇā*"—no, Dr. Suzuki, not "love", "pity"—"to the furthest end it could reach." I agree with the "narrowness" of the passage as translated. But suppose the quotation had been from the but little earlier Early Upanishads: how would he have rendered it? Surely differently, thus: "Be ye they-who-have-the Self as lamp, the Self as refuge, and no other." Why then render the passage in the quite anachronous way so unfortunately adopted by European translators, giving the modern use of the word "self", and not the old Indian way, the way that would have been used by Gotama Sakyamuni, "and no other"? I insist on the "no other"; there is no record whatever of pre-written tradition showing him at variance with brahmans

on the accepted Immanence of that day. On the contrary; and the Piṭakas show plainly that the man was not to be left relying on his unaided human self; everywhere he is taken by the hand and told what to believe, what to do or not to do, especially the latter. It was only the Hinayāna of the third, *not the sixth*, century B.C. which shows the indwelling Self as lost to view, which shows Dharma, the Self as conscience, externalized in codes of doctrine "to be learnt", which shows the arahāna as a little god with "everything done" (God help us!), which shows the Goal of the Way faded out into a Not, a Void.

Let the author but refrain from following the bad example of our anachronisms in this matter, and his patient prolonged expositions of phases of Mahāyāna traditions will call for all our gratitude; may he enjoy health to finish his good work!

One more little grumble: I suggest he refrain from creating a very panic in authors, especially poets, by quoting some line expressive only of a certain character, a certain mood, as if it were the poet's philosophy of life, for instance, when Calderon makes a character say anything so absurd as: "the greatest crime of man is that he ever was born" or Wordsworth catches the mood of some old muser on an "old grey stone dreaming his time away". It is enough to make a poet lay down his pen, fearful of his reputation. (The author, by the way, approves of the former citation as "true"?)

The volume is of four essays, mainly concerned with an exposition of *ko-ans*, which are virtually sūtras (literally "documents") on the exercise of *zen*, or *zenna*, the Chinese equivalent of *dhyaṇa*, Pali: *jhāna*. The author has naturally a good deal to say on the subject. But it is a more interesting historical problem than he either sees, or admits, to show the difference between, not Hinayāna *jhāna*, but original Sakyan *jhāna*, and *zen*. The one common feature in these two is not elimination of active intellection (*vitarka*, *vicāra*) (since in *zen*, I read, this is only diverted), but the one quality: "beyond." There is good evidence to show (overlooked though it be by Buddhists and Europeans), that the "beyond" is not "the Unconscious" (pp. 18, 84), nor the mystic union of Christians, but converse with the men of other worlds, i.e. *devas*. Nothing perhaps is so neglected in original Buddhism as its preoccupation with fellow-men beyond the veil, and with the practice of *jhāna* as a training in "psychic" gifts. I have published much on this evidence, as yet without awakening response. If I could make Dr. Suzuki see it!



The twenty-five reproductions of old Chinese and Japanese paintings are very charming, and the author has spared no pains to make them also intelligible.

C. A. F. R. D.

HISTORY OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT. By EDWARD J. THOMAS. pp. 314 + xvi. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1933. 15s.

This is a volume in the series: "The History of Civilization," and has been announced for some years. It is mainly interesting as bringing into better focus than has yet been done the results of increasing acquaintance with Mid and East Asian medieval writings. The author's erudition has here rendered a great service to the consulting student, who will be glad to have the book on his shelves. But more, I venture to think, as a guide to, and analysis in, various phases of Buddhist thought: less as a history of the evolution in changing values of Buddhism as a whole. Take the inception of it: it is stripped of the features of the new gospel it claims to have been, and is introduced to us as an "ascetic ideal". But such an ideal is not what a founder of so great and rare a phenomenon as a world-religion dictates in his mission-mandate to the *bahujana* the "manyfolk". Gotama's mission is recorded as solely addressed to these; hence the teaching in it of *brahmacariya* can only mean that this word was used in the broader of its two senses duly admitted by the writer, namely, as the holy, literally the God, life to be aimed at by every man, not by brahman student or monk only. We must seek a better than ascetic ideal in the burden of the gospel wherewith Gotama was inspired, for me as truly inspired as was the founder of Christianity. Thus as a history of religious thought, the book starts wrong. It is so far in a line with the epigram of a noted divine: Jesus founded a kingdom of God; Buddha founded an Order of monks. We can get deeper than that. It is regrettable too, that the late introduction of writing in India, which in my opinion profoundly modified the evolution of Buddhist scripture, has not been discussed. This historical problem has been too little discussed by those who, like the author, are competent to throw more light on it.

C. A. F. R. D.

A HISTORY OF PĀLI LITERATURE. By BIMALA C. LAW, Ph.D., B.L.  
 With a Foreword by Geheimrat W. GEIGER. In two volumes,  
 pp. xxviii + 689. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.,  
 Ltd., 1933. 21s.

This is a work replete with information as to what constitutes "Pali", what constitutes its literature, old, medieval and even modern, and as to what scholars and other writers have contributed to the materials for that final and authoritative history which is yet for to come. Dr. Law's book is a full and important addition to those materials, such as in German is ranked under the useful preposition "zu, zur, zum". It is no detracting from the merit of his great industry if it be so placed. Research does not yet permit of more. While I agree with my friend, the venerable writer of the Foreword, that the author's judgment of problems is sober and impartial, there are very many problems in the history of the Pali Canon, which are here not even touched upon or recognized as existing. Even were the materials sufficiently to hand, the task of handling them in critical history would require of the historian the exclusive consecration of a much longer period of his life than has here been apparently the case, if anything like mature judgments were to be reached. The usefulness of the work lies chiefly in its amounting to a bibliography, thematic, analytic, of all that many workers<sup>1</sup> in this field have published for over half a century, a bibliography to which reference has been made easy by a rich index. In this way he has indeed earned the gratitude of many who will, when the present slump in Pali research has passed, find it well to have this work on their shelves.

Among minor matters which I deprecate are such an uncritical statement as "the Dhammapada contains the sublime teachings of the Buddha". The very beginning shows this to be too rash a statement. In view of the very obvious gloss inserted before couplets 1 and 2, in which 'mind' replaces 'the man', discordant with the *gāthās* themselves where the man acts "with the mind"—the Upanishadic mode of expression—I must protest, that "the Buddha" could not well have "taught" both verses and gloss. Then the keeping alive the foolish Asoka-myth of *dātā* being held to have been religious missionaries :—here Rhys Davids and Professor F. W. Thomas should have taught him caution. Once more, it was ill chosen, in a history of Pali literature, to use not the Pali, but the Sanskrit spelling of the

<sup>1</sup> A defect in it is the absence of treatment of what German scholars have contributed. Their names alone are quoted.

name Gotama. And lastly, there is evidence of haste in press revision; the short lists of Errata could be made twice as long. As a fellow-sinner I speak here with great sympathy. And I note, e.g., that *his* printer too has judged his own wisdom superior when the word 'causal' had to be reproduced, and has got in the uncorrected contrary 'casual'! I repeat, these are minor flaws. Did time and space permit, more weighty matters could have received comment. Dr. Law's Conclusion, pp. 642-7, is a competent and modest résumé of what he has tried to do: "to give a general survey of canonical and non-canonical Pali literature." "Points of interest and importance are left for future study and investigation . . . we are still on the threshold of the study . . ." This is most true, but he has helped it along.

C. A. F. R. D.

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The LIVRO DA SEITA DOS INDIOS ORIENTAIS (Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane, 1820) of FATHER JACOBO FENICIO, S.J. Edited with an Introduction and notes by JARL CHARPENTIER. (With the support of the Vilhelm Elkan University Fund, Uppsala.) pp. 252, civ. Uppsala; Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1933.

The internationalism of the scholar-world is not a new phenomenon; would that the world, in its other social phases, were not so far behind it! Here is a book, largely in English, by one having a name not English, published by and in the land of the Swedes, about an Italian Jesuit, from a MS. in early seventeenth-century Portuguese, the subject being "the sect" of the Eastern Indians, in other words the religious cult of India from Calicut to Malabar. What a noble comity of man in the quest (a) to learn about and benefit his fellows, (b) record what he had learnt that others might learn! It is ten years since Dr. Charpentier told this Journal (II, 732 ff.) about the MS., and he has now found means to edit and publish it. What a pity he could not follow up the edition with an English translation! Who among us can read Portuguese?

The hundred pages of Introduction give a comprehensive sketch of "the extent of European acquaintance with Hindu religion and mythology", from Ktesias of Knidos, 400 B.C., to the end of the sixteenth century, which should be a mine of reference to the student.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

**MĀNAMEYODAYA: AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON THE MĪMĀNSĀ BY NĀRĀYAṆA.** Edited with an English translation by C. KUNHAN RAJA and S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, and a foreword by Professor S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI. pp. li + 345. Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1933. Rs. 6.

To Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Malabar in the sixteenth century, we owe the *Nārāyaṇīya* and the *Prakriyāsarvasva*, together with other less celebrated works, among which the *Mānameyodaya* deserves a creditable place. It can claim no great originality; the editors have ascertained that it is in effect an abridgment of the *Nūtatattvāvirbhāva* of Cidānanda Muni, but that the material of that work has been rearranged, and that Nārāyaṇa's treatise is better adapted than its prototype to serve as an introduction to the study of the Mīmāṃsā system as expounded by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. Nārāyaṇa himself did not complete the work; the section dealing with means of knowledge alone is his, and that on objects of knowledge has been supplied, but in a kindred spirit, by a later Nārāyaṇa. There is no doubt of the interest and utility of the work as a means of commencing the study of the philosophic elements of Mīmāṃsā. The authors bring out, on the whole clearly and effectively, the divergences between the doctrines of Prabhākara and Kumārila, and shed considerable light on the relation of their views to those of Advaita Vedānta, Nyāya, and certain aspects of Buddhist doctrine. It is no defect of the work that it does not reveal any profundity of thought; that would merely be out of place in such a treatise, nor, of course, is there any reason to suppose that Nārāyaṇa was a thinker of independent views.

The first edition of the text appeared as far back as 1912 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XIX. The editors have found another MS. and they claim with justice that they have substantially improved, in part by its aid, the text of the treatise. But their greatest service consists in the English translation which they have given; it is of great value even to those familiar with philosophic Sanskrit, and may confidently be relied upon by students of philosophy who cannot make much of the Sanskrit text. Due recognition should be paid to the useful notes (pp. 311-334) and to the succinct and very convenient list of doctrinal differences (pp. xli-li). The only criticism that need be offered is that the glossary is inadequate, and that an index would have been of great value. This defect will, it may be hoped, be removed in a later edition of a most useful work.

A. B. K.

THE BHĀMATĪ OF VĀCASPATI ON ŚĀṆKARA'S BRAHMASŪTRABHĀṢYA (CATUSSŪTRĪ). Edited with an English translation by S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI and C. KUNHAN RAJA, and a foreword by Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN. pp. lxxiv + 245 (Devanāgarī text) + 318. Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1933.

Śāṅkara's views on the *Brahma Sūtra* are easily accessible to students of Indian philosophy in excellent translations, but the comment of Vācaspati on the *Bhāṣya* has hitherto been withheld from all save the very limited circle of those who can penetrate unaided to the meaning of his technical diction. It is accordingly of great importance that his views should be made accessible, and the portion of his work here presented is that which is of the greatest general interest. The difficulties of the task undertaken are manifest and serious. One is confronted with the fact that Vācaspati expressed his views with reference to current discussions and criticisms of which we have but the most fragmentary knowledge, and that inevitably we must often fail to realize the exact force and point of his remarks. The editors point out that it is clear that Vācaspati used the *Brahma-siddhi* of Maṇḍana and the *Pañcapādikā*, a fact which is helpful in elucidation of his points, but it is clear that he had many texts before him of which we know nothing certain. An excellent example is afforded by the citation on p. 122 which runs in our text: *yathākuḥ, Buddhisiddham tu na tad asat iti*. Now, of course, in the *Nyāya Sūtra*, iv, 1, 50, we have a doctrine similar to the citation, but with the essential difference of the omission of *na*. But it is probable that the temptation to omit the *na* must be resisted, for in the *Nyāya* the aphorism is the expression of the *asatkāryavāda* doctrine of the Naiyāyikas, while the *Kalpataru* of Amalananda and the *Bhāmātīlaka* both give the doctrine in the *Bhāmātī* as expressing the *satkāryavāda*. It seems impossible, therefore, to correct as suggested, as the editors reluctantly admit (p. 302). It is impossible to doubt that in other cases where the editors have been in doubt the solution evades us, simply because we have not the necessary knowledge to explain the exact doctrine with which Vācaspati was concerned. Even so, there is no doubt that the editors have made a very real success of their difficult and perplexing task of translation.

The editors have given in a valuable introduction useful help in appreciating the doctrines set out by Vācaspati. They justly admit that he is lacking in originality, and they comment quite fairly on

the difficulties in which he is involved in his treatment of the conception of Jīvanmukti (pp. xli-xlix, 269, 270). It is perhaps more doubtful whether occasional allusions to Western philosophical doctrine are of much aid. It may be doubted if we are helped to understand Vācaspati by the assertion (p. xxii): "He would seem to have more sympathy with the Associationist and the Behaviourist explanations of the acquirement of meaning than with an explanation like that of the Gestalt psychologist." Nor are the doctrines of Bradley and Bosanquet perhaps of much value for comparison with Vedantic doctrines. But these at most are minor blemishes in a very useful work. It is more surprising to find that *caityavandana* is interpreted in a manner unnecessarily restricted (p. 303).

A. B. K.

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THE GHERAṆḌA SAMHITĀ. Translated by ŚRĪŚ CHANDRA VASU. pp. xviii + 132. Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1933. Rs. 2.8.

The *Gheraṇḍa Samhitā* is a well-known treatise on Haṭha-Yoga, which shares much material with the popular *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*. The value of this translation, which originally appeared in 1893, lies in the fact that its author received instruction from his Guru in the mode in which the curious exercises inculcated were to be performed, and is able to assure us of the valuable character of some at least of these performances. He wisely insists on the necessity of expert guidance in the performance of *prāṇāyāma*, lest insanity and not clairvoyance be the outcome. Haṭha-Yoga is not to be confounded with asceticism any more than the training of an athlete. Levitation is produced by the *Khecari Mudrā* (iii, 25-7), and its possibility is asserted (p. xiv), though western science has not yet determined its conditions. Further enlightenment may be expected from the edition of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* announced by the publishers.

A. B. K.

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THE YOGA-SĀRA-SAṆGRAHA OF VIJÑĀNA BHIKṢU. Text in Devanagari and English translation by GANGĀNĀTHA JHA. pp. 148 + xiii + 75. Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1933. Rs. 3.

This little volume contains a revised edition of the translation of the *Yogasārasaṅgraha*, which Dr. Gangānātha Jha made immediately after leaving college in 1892, and which was published by his

friend, the late Tookaram Tatya. Needless to say, the new version is a most satisfactory substitute for the original, and renders available both to students of and aspirants to Yoga a treatise of a specially suitable kind.

The text which is appended to the translation is edited by Vindhyeśvarīprasādaśarma, and like the translation is apparently a second edition; at least the *mudrītaśuddhipātra* referred to on p. ix does not appear to be reprinted, and it may be assumed that its contents have been embodied in the text. The whole makes a very acceptable and convenient addition to the valuable series of translations of philosophical works which we owe to the Theosophical Publishing House.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO BUDDHIST ESOTERISM. By BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA. pp. viii + 184, 12 pl. Oxford University Press, 1932. 15s.

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, the gifted son of the late Mahāmāhopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri, has dedicated this new work of his to the sacred memory of his father. To the dedication is affixed the well-known lofty stanza of the *Gītā* (ii, 20) :—

*Na jāyate suriyate vā kadācin  
Nāyam bhūtrā bhavītā va na bhūyaḥ |  
Ajo nityaḥ śāśvato 'yam purāṇo  
Na hanyate hanyamāne śarīre ||*

Filial piety is always apt to inspire deep reverence; learning and a thorough acquaintance with one's topics inspire confidence in the reader; and Dr. Bhattacharyya is undoubtedly possessed of all these good qualities. It is only to be regretted that with these excellent capacities he has produced a book the general tendency of which will scarcely convince any scholar who surveys with an unbiassed mind the things dealt with here, viz. the Buddhist Vajrayāna and the doctrines of the Tantras.

The learned author tries to prove that already the Buddha himself was by no means averse to the appliance of magical rites, and that consequently the development of Buddhism which we know as Vajrayāna has its roots already in the earliest teaching of Buddhism. That the Buddha himself was something of a magician we can, unfortunately, neither prove nor disprove; however, there seems to be

no basis for such a suggestion within the oldest canonical texts. And in this connection we may as well remember that Aśoka, who was undoubtedly a strong devotee of the Buddhist faith, in his ninth Rock-Edict preaches against such magical rites as are practised at child-birth, marriage, etc. Anyhow, the instances brought forth by Dr. Bhattacharyya from the old texts prove nothing; for what is described in those passages is the performance of wonders by followers of the Buddha, not the practising of magical rites.

Dr. Bhattacharyya's opinions are clear-cut and definitely stated; they will, however, meet with but scanty applause from his fellow-scholars. He vehemently denies that the Vajrayāna should be called "idolatry". Still we venture to ask: if not that, what else should it be called, seeing that its adherents worship a considerable number of terrible, disgusting, and partly obscene deities? If this be not idolatry then we have since innumerable centuries become used to a wrong and perverted sense of that word. He further ridicules the idea that the deities of the Vajrayāna—the plurality of them apparently female ones—have anything to do with Kālī or with Śaivism in general. It is quite true that the deities of the Vajrayāna may have influenced the Śāktism and Kālī worship of Bengal and made them still more revolting than they were at an earlier date. It is also quite as true that the female deities of the Vajrayāna are mostly exact counterparts of the blood-soaked, skull-garlanded Kālī, Durgā, Cāmundā or whatever the horrible goddesses and Śāktis of Hinduism be called.<sup>1</sup> And though I am not quite prepared to follow Sir John Marshall in finding, at Mohenjo-Daro, exact traces of very old Śākti-worship, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the cult of terrible "mother-goddesses" belongs to the most primitive ingredients of every Indian religion, that such cults were especially welcomed within the pale of Śaivism, and that from there it spread into the debased Buddhism of Eastern India and further into that of Nepal, Tibet, etc. Few developments within the history of religions seem to stand out clearer than this one.

The learned author, in the concluding chapter of his work, tells us that "the Tantras should be regarded as the greatest contribution of India to world-culture" (p. 165), and that "the Tantric culture is the greatest of all cultures" (p. 173 seq.). As this is apparently not meant for a bad joke, we must take it as it stands; then it is, however,

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Nairātma* standing on the chest of a corpse with Kālī dancing on the Śiva, etc.



wholly unintelligible. It would, indeed, be mournful to think that the Tantras, these more or less limatic rigmaroles dealing with filthy and obscene rites, detailing the worship of horrible and disgusting deities, and prescribing terrifying magical practices for the destruction of wholly innocent persons should be the highest outcome of the Hindu spirit. Fortunately, this is not so; nor will Dr. Bhattacharyya ever be able to convince any sensible person that this is the case.

Though the book is generally carefully written and contains quite a number of very instructive passages, there is no lack of minor slips, of which some may be shortly mentioned here.

p. 3, n. 1: Caste, as the learned author says, undoubtedly is an Indian institution. Still, its germs are certainly to be found already in the Indo-Iranian period, if not earlier<sup>1</sup>; for Iranian society was split up into classes of priests, warriors, and farmers corresponding to the three highest castes.<sup>2</sup> And outside the pale of such a society there certainly existed also in Ancient Iran a great number of low elements corresponding to the Dāsas or Śūdras.

p. 3, n. 2: Even though filial piety may lead Dr. Bhattacharyya to think that the paper by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri on the Vratyas is the most illuminating one on the subject, this may well be doubted, as there exists a well-known and somewhat extensive modern literature dealing with the Vratyas.

p. 6, n. 2: In the quotation from Manu (1, 31) read °padataḥ.

p. 9: *niśācara* in the quotation from the *Sarvadārśana-saṃgraha* is rendered by "night-revellers"; read "ogres".

p. 20: There is an unnecessary series of misprints in the names of the six heretical teachers. Read: Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana and Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta.

p. 26, n. 1: The edition of the *Saundarananda* that ought to be quoted nowadays is, of course, that by Mr. Johnston (1928).

p. 34: Why *pacyante* should be rendered by "oot" is quite unintelligible.

p. 44 seq.: In spite of a great many words the author has not succeeded in clearing up the problem of *Uḍḍiyāna*. Whether the name can be connected with the *Ūrdi* mentioned by Patañjali on p. iv, 2, 99, remains uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. the late Professor Windisch in the introduction to his edition of the *Tāin bō Cūailage* (1905).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further, M. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1932, ii, 117 sqq.

p. 66 seq. : On the date of Saraha, cf. also Shahidullah, *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha*, p. 29 seq.

p. 96 : It seems that Dr. Bhattacharyya ought to be aware that the Christian name of Professor Grünwedel is not "Arthur".

p. 113 : With the idea that Mahākāla eats the evildoers, cf. the well-known situations in *Bhagavadgītā*, xi, 26 seq., and Dante, *Inferno*, xxxiv, 53 seq.

p. 118 : That the *Buddhists* should have bestowed upon Gaṇeśa the name of *Vighna* is entirely new to the present writer.

p. 133 : The story of Yama and Yamāntaka apparently is nothing but a double of the well-known legend of Śiva, Yama, and Mārkaṇḍeya. "The popular belief that the buffalo is more powerful than the bull" has got nothing to do with it.

These short remarks are not meant to detract from the value of the book. It undoubtedly contains much valuable material which the author has in general handled with great skill. The main tendency of the work—the effort to raise to an abnormal height the miserable literature of the Tantras—must, however, be proclaimed a total failure.

J. C.

PHILOSOPHY OF HINDU SĀDHANĀ. By NALINI KANTA BRAHMA.

With a Foreword by Sir SARPABALLI RADHAKRISHNAN. pp. xvi + 333. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. n.d. (1932). 12s. 6d.

The present writer, unfortunately, is not aware whether this is the first great work of Professor Nalini Kanta Brahma or not, as having himself only a very scant idea of philosophy he has not before met with any book by the learned author. However, even a somewhat superficial perusal of the work in question has revealed that it contains much of uncommon interest and imparts much useful learning. The Professor himself, in his Preface, warns his readers—if they be not philosophers *ex professo*—against some of his chapters; and these have certainly proved too knotty to the present writer.

The author tells us that he attempts "a presentation of the practical side of Hindu Philosophy as manifested in the different religious systems of the Hindus". This practical side of philosophy is summed up under the term *Sādhana* "means to an end", which is said "in the sphere of religion" to be "used to indicate the essential preliminary discipline that leads to the attainment of the spiritual

experience which is regarded as the *summum bonum* (the highest good, or *Siddhi*, i.e. completion and perfection) of existence".

The work is divided into two great parts, of which the first one deals with "Sādhana in general" and contains five chapters treating the place of Sādhana in Philosophy and Religion, its different stages and forms, and giving a historical survey of these various forms. The second part, which is by much the longer one, contains a survey of the special forms of Sādhana, viz. the *karma-mārga*—to which are attached chapters on the *karma-yoga* and the system of Patañjali—the *jñāna-mārga*, the *bhakti-mārga*, and the Tantric form of Sādhana. The final chapter (xv) deals with "The different stages of Sādhana and the synthesis of its different forms in the Bhagavadgītā" and winds up the whole work in an interesting and dignified way. If this be the start of Professor Nalini Kanta Brahma, he has indeed made a very good one, and we wish him every success in his future researches, the results of which will certainly prove important.

J. C.

HINDU MONISM AND PLURALISM as found in the Upanishads and in the Philosophies dependent upon them. By MAX HUNTER HARRISON. pp. xiii + 324. Oxford University Press, 1932. 11s. 6d.

The author of this book is an American missionary who has been working in Ceylon and has then, during two years, studied the Upanishads and Indian philosophy in general in Columbia University and in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. He tells us in the preface that Dr. J. N. Farquhar inspired him to undertake a selection of certain passages in the Upanishads meant for publication in the Heritage of India Series, and that during the performance of this work he became convinced that the Upanishads do not contain "one normative system of thought"—by no means any new or startling discovery.

The book, which deals chiefly with the Upanishads and their leading ideas, with the *advaita* of Śaṅkara, the modified *advaita* of Rāmānjan, and the origins and pluralism of the Sāṅkhya system is undoubtedly well composed and can be read with interest. It certainly contains no new ideas and has only made ample use of theories which are well known to everyone who has even very slightly busied himself

with Indian philosophy and its historical development. The bibliography—which is very far from complete—contains a list of the works from which the author has obtained his knowledge, which seems mostly to be second-hand. Still, he has made able use of his not too vast reading and created a work which will, no doubt, be useful to the student who wants an introduction into the doctrines of the leading Indian philosophies.

The etymology of *brahman* is shortly alluded to on p. 115 and in note 1. It has been exhaustively dealt with in the present writer's work *Brahman. Eine sprachwissenschaftlich-exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, i, ii (1932). J. C.

HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By S. K. BELVALKAR and R. D. RANADE. Volume VII. INDIAN MYSTICISM: Mysticism in Maharashtra. By R. D. RANADE. pp. xlv + 494. Poona, 1933. Rs. 15.

In 1927 there appeared volume ii of a really enormous work planned and undertaken by Professors Belvalkar and Ranade, viz. a *History of Indian Philosophy*, which will be completed in eight (or rather nine) bulky volumes. The first volume to be published contained a description and an analysis of the Upanishadic philosophy by Professor Belvalkar. The one which was issued last year, and which is called vol. vii, is in reality vii : 1, for the authors tell us that there will appear a second part of this same volume. What has now been published seems wholly to be the work of Professor Ranade and deals with the great Mārāṭha mystics, Jñānadeva, Nāmadeva, Ekanātha, Tukārāma, and Rāmadāsa. The second part will contain the story of mysticism outside Mahārāṣṭra. We are, however, told in the preface (p. 31) that it is not vol. vii : 2, that will next make its appearance, but rather vol. iii (Mahābhārata) or vi (Vedānta) both of which will be composed entirely by Professor Belvalkar.

The life-stories of Indian saints generally are not very exciting, though successive generations have, of course, ornamented their biographies with not a few wondrous happenings. Of the Mārāṭha saints dealt with here Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa present a certain historical interest through their connections with Shivāji, though even these connections seem to have many obscure points. Indian chronology here as always is faulty and uncertain; and the dates both of the birth and death of these famous mystics are generally

beset with problems which Professor Ranade has undoubtedly tried very hard to unravel—if everywhere with equal success escapes the present writer's power of judgment. Anyhow, the most important items are not the scanty and rather monotonous biographies of the five saints but their mystic doctrines which have been extensively analysed and provided with an enormous lot of quotations from their proper works.

The preface and the list of contents cover forty-six pages, while of the 494 pages constituting the proper work some seventy are devoted to an index of sources, an index of names and subjects, and a bibliographical note. Although the most extensive chapters are perhaps a little trying, especially to scholars who are not familiar with the literature in question, it must be confessed that Professor Ranade's book makes rather pleasant reading and is full of learning and interest. It would, however, have been a very good thing if this volume could have been immediately followed by the second part, so that, after having made a thorough acquaintance of the Mahārāṣṭra mystics, we might then have taken up the work dealing with those of Bengal, Hindūstān, and the Southern countries.

That the Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra mentioned in the *Chānd. Up.*, iii, 17, 6, is originally identical with the Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavadgītā* (p. 3) cannot, according to my humble opinion, well be doubted; and I may venture to refer to *IA*, lix, 121 ff., where I have put forth my opinion on this problem. Professor Ranade apparently accepts the translation of the Tantric *mudrā* by "parched cereals" (p. 6), which, as far as I understand it, is wholly out of the question.<sup>1</sup> Nor do I quite understand the learned author's words concerning Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs (p. 10 f.). That Kṛṣṇa, who is said to have been sporting with even 1,600 maidens at one time, has, of course, got nothing to do with the undoubtedly historical Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra; he was originally nothing but a bucolic deity worshipped by the shepherd caste near Mathurā and, like other deities of the same type, he was by no means averse to amorous dalliance. When and how he became confounded with his namesake of epic fame is not known to us, nor do I feel sure that we shall ever become possessed of all the details of this entangled story. Whether the dates of the Tamil saints mentioned on p. 17 are to be taken for granted is by no means clear to me; at least they do not tally with those afforded us by other authors, and the whole problem of Tamil literary and religious chronology seems to involve

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 681.

a great deal of obscurity. Nor does the date of Rāmānaja (1050–1135) given on p. 18 coincide with that accepted by the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and by other authorities. On p. 213 f. we are told that Bhānudāsa brought back to Pandharpūr an image of Viṭṭhala which Kṣṇarāya of Vijayanagar (1509–1529) had dragged away to his capital. The present writer is not aware whether this image is still meant to be in existence; in that case it must have been brought back to Mahārāṣṭra at least before 1565 as the Muhammadan conquerors made total havoc of the great temple of Viṭṭhalasvāmin at Hampi.<sup>1</sup>

These small remarks are, of course, only meant to betray the great interest with which the present writer has perused the extensive work of Professor Ranade.

J. C.

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THE ŚĀKTAS. An Introductory and Comparative Study. By ERNEST A. PAYNE. pp. 153. (The Religious Life of India.) Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta, 1933.

The Śāktas and their literature, the Tantras, have been of evil fame since long time ago both within and outside their native country. The Vaiṣṇavas—and even other sects—have heaped abuse upon these their spiritual opponents; and European scholars of different creeds and opinions have been at one in denouncing the infamous rites prescribed in the Tantras and practised by the devotees of the Śākti. And it scarcely seems marvellous that a sect practising human sacrifice,<sup>2</sup> excessive consumption of intoxicating liquor, and hideous sexual orgies as the means of salvation should not be able to count upon any great degree of sympathetic understanding.

However, Sir John Woodroffe—who, according to Mr. Payne, is not wholly identical with the mysterious Arthur Avalon—Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, and perhaps even other writers have lately pleaded the cause of Śāktism and Tantrism, though they have, according to my humble opinion, done it with more enthusiasm than skill. We are told by these writers that we are chiefly to interpret the Tantras spiritually and symbolically, that the hideous rites and the magical nonsense with which they overflow is not to be taken in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Human sacrifice was formally abolished in 1835; however, it has undoubtedly been practised in a limited degree even during later years—at least in Assam.

a literal but in a highly spiritual way. This is evidently to overrate the credulity of European readers; and at any rate the majority of the Tantric sectarians do not appear to have hit upon such an interpretation of their sacred texts.

However, it can only be useful to get an impartial description of the ways and practices of the Śāktas—at least as far as they are known and can be properly described. Mr. Payne, who has probably seen missionary work in India, has made a praiseworthy effort to furnish us with such a description. It would be unjustifiable to suggest that he is an advocate of the Śākta cause for he has his eyes well open to the abominations of their religion. On the other side he seems to think that there may really be found within the Tantras something of value besides the grossly cruel and sensual rites and the jumble of nonsensical and horrifying magic that fill most of their pages. Mr. Payne also points out that some of the finest pieces of Bengali poetry have been inspired by the worship of Kālī, the great Mother Goddess. This may all be quite right, still the present writer can have no doubt that India, and especially Bengal, would have been in a considerably happier and more lofty status were it not for the existence of the Tantras and the debased cults of Śāktism.

The author seems to be somewhat too prone to accept the theory of a Dravidian influence on Indian religion, and he has made no happy choice in taking Professor Slater for his guide in this field of research.<sup>1</sup> It is fairly safe to assert that the Dravidians, wherever they did issue from and whatever were their racial connections, have never occupied the greater part of the Indian peninsula. It seems, however, highly probable that at a fairly remote age they entered the Indus valley through Balūčistān and later on betook themselves—possibly under Aryan pressure—towards the Deccan and the extreme south. Their presence on the eastern coast simply means that the Andhras or Telugus at one time conquered those parts and took up their habitat there; however, there are no definite proofs known to me that they ever penetrated further than the southern frontier of Orissa. That the builders and inhabitants of Mohenjo-Daro were Proto-Dravidians now seems to be a favourite idea, though it can, of course, not be proved at the present state of our researches. Mr. Payne does not, however, seem to have observed the hypothesis of Sir John Marshall that Śakti cults *in nuce* are to be met with already in Mohenjo-Daro.

<sup>1</sup> On Slater's book, cf. Dr. Barnett in *J.R.A.S.*, 1924, p. 485 ff.

It would be useless to discuss terminology on this point. Personally, I feel sure that Mother Goddesses figured largely in the cults of Mohenjo-Daro; Śakti-worship in its essential sense, however, may have originated not only at a much later date but in quite a different part of India.

Upon the entangled questions connected with the various cults of female goddesses much light is undoubtedly shed by the curious work of Mr. Briffault called *The Mothers*, though the opinions of its author are partly rather extravagant and his materials not always quite faultless. That Mother Goddesses are peculiar to the cults of Crete, Asia Major, Syria, Mesopotamia, and India—not to mention other countries—seems beyond doubt. There seems, however, to have been but little place for them within the religions of Northern and Central Asia to which that of the Aryans did no doubt originally belong.

That Śāktism in Bengal has had several revivals during times of political upheavals and general unrest is an interesting observation, and one which is scarcely astonishing to the student of Indian history and religions. It has long been obvious to the present writer that Śāktism and Kālī worship went through a mighty renaissance about 1905 and were intimately connected with the epidemic of political assassinations raging in Bengal and elsewhere during that and the following years. And I may perhaps be excused for quoting a few lines published in a Swedish general history<sup>1</sup> some years ago: "Bengal is the home of horrible and bloody cults of a disgusting nature and intimately connected with the terrible gore-dripping and skull-garlanded goddess Kālī. One of her chief temples is at Calcutta; and the popular hymn *Bande Mātaram* praises her as the deity protecting the holy soil of Bengal from the reign of the foreigners. Kālī has an eternal longing for blood; and certainly nothing could be more pleasing to her than the sacrifice of the blood of the loathed *mlecchas*. To make a disagreeable story short: the numerous murders of Anglo-Indian and Hindu officials, that culminated in 1909 and were generally performed by young Bengali students, were, according to the ideas of the assassins, not only political attentates but also human sacrifices to Kālī."

That *Gaurī* simply means "the yellowish one" and has got nothing to do with the gour should not be doubted; nor is there any shadow

<sup>1</sup> *Norstedts Världshistoria*, xv, 1928, p. 574.



of doubt that *Comorin* is a Portuguese rendering of *Kumārī* (p. 7). On the dismemberment of Sati (p. 7 f.), literature has been quoted in my edition of Fenicio's *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais* (Upsala, 1933), p. 190. That *mudrā* within the series of the *pañca makārāḥ* should ever have meant anything but "mystic gestures" (p. 16, n. 1) is pure invention which is not to be credited. The well-known article "Aghorī" by Crooke in the *ERE.*, i, contains the most vivid description of these filthy and horrible feasts (p. 28). There are, within the work of Mr. Payne, really very few and very slight mistakes or miswritings; however, forms like *dolajātra* (= *dolayātrā*) and some other ones seem rather unnecessary in an otherwise very successful work.

J. C.

L'INDE PROFONDE. Toukaram. Par MICHEL LEDRUS, S.J. pp. 38.  
Louvain : Éditions de l'Aucam, 8 Rue des Récollets, 1933.

This is a short but quite able pamphlet on Tukārām, the saintly Mārāṭha poet of the time of Shivājī, written by a Jesuit Father. The biographical data seem to have been taken over from Abbott's translation of that part of Mahīpati's *Bhaktatīlāmṡu* dealing with Tukārām, while for the extracts from his poetry the author is apparently indebted to the work of Fraser and Marathe. Whether Father Ledrus is himself a Mārāṭhī scholar escapes me. At any rate he has apparently busied himself with Sanskrit; and this makes it a little trying to find him repeating the recurring but faulty translation of the Upanishadic *neti neti* by "not so, not so" ("pas ainsi, pas ainsi"). For *neti* always meant "no, no", and will never mean anything else. To the man who first formed this expression the Supreme Spirit could only be described by means of the pure negation—an idea which is foreign neither to the later development of Hindu religion nor to certain amongst the schoolmen.

J. C.

SAHITYA-RATNAKARA. Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANĠ. pp. xix + 126.  
Madras : Printed at the Diocesan Press, Vepery, 1932.

It is a time-honoured thesis that Sanskrit literature contains very few historical works; and what there is has taken the form of mostly not very entertaining epic poetry. No doubt the Mahābhārata and even parts of the Purāṇas may contain some traces of what was once real history, while the Rāmāyaṇa seems to be entirely

founded upon a series of old folk-tales; there is at least not the slightest reason for suggesting that it contains the story of the spread of Aryanism towards the South, and the apes are certainly not Dravidians. Otherwise there is only the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, which is undoubtedly a historical source of great value, while the *Gauḍavaha*, the works of Padmagupta and Bilhana, and perhaps a few others are historically of very slight importance.

Mr. T. R. Chintamani, a Lecturer at Madras University, however, tells us that there exists in Orissa and in the South a small series of historical poems of which only a few seem to be available in print. One of these is the *Sāhityaratnākara*, composed by a certain Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita during the first half of the seventeenth century. This Yajñanārāyaṇa was the son of Govinda Dīkṣita and a court-poet of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. As Govinda Dīkṣita served the worthless king Acyuta Rāja of Vijayanagar, who died in 1542, he must have been of a fairly great age when his son Yajñanārāyaṇa was born; and we are told in the introduction (p. vi f.) that he remained for a prolonged time a bachelor.

The *Sāhityaratnākara* contains sixteen cantos and ends rather abruptly. It is a sort of panegyric of Acyuta Rāja and Raghunātha Nāyaka. The exploits of Hindu princes have, with few exceptions, not been very grand and exciting, nor could this be said to have been the case with the two rulers glorified in this poem. It is composed according to the old and well-worn rules regulating the *kāvya*; it certainly does not present much of interest nor does it betray any prominent poetical inspiration. However, we ought to feel grateful to Mr. Chintamani and his collaborators for having made this poem, even if it be rather indifferent, available to their fellow-scholars.

J. C.

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THE DOCTRINE OF PRAJÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ AS EXPOSED IN THE ABHISAMAYĀLAṆKARA OF MAITREYA. By E. OBERMILLER. Reprint from *Acta Orientalia*, vol. xi. pp. 1-133. Oslo, 1932.

Dr. Obermiller, a pupil and collaborator of Professor Stcherbatsky, like his *guru* is just as much at home in Sanskrit as in Tibetan, which seems a necessary outfit for being able to work upon the literature of the Mahāyāna and upon Buddhist philosophy in general. A previous bulky work of his<sup>1</sup> contained a translation, with introduction and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, vol. ix, pp. 81-306.

notes, of the *Uttaratantra* of Maitreya. In the present paper he has taken up another work by the same author, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, and dealt with the doctrine of *prajñāpāramitā* as exposed within this book, which in Tibetan tradition enjoys a great fame. Pp. 1-100 contain the real treatise, which is divided up into six chapters, dealing with the literature connected with the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, the different paths (*śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, Mahāyāna path) and the stages of the Hinayāna and of the Bodhisattva, the eight *padārtha*'s and the seventy *artha*'s of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, the concordance of the degrees of the Path with the Subjects of that work, and finally with the author of the work and his system. Then follow about thirty pages containing an Index of Technical Terms in Sanskrit and Tibetan, which is indeed a most useful one.

This work by Dr. Obermiller, like his previous ones, is undoubtedly one of great and lasting merit. Just as are the works by Rosenberg and Stcherbatsky, also those by Obermiller are indispensable to everyone who is busying himself with researches in Buddhist philosophy and its various stages of development. To a scholar who, like the present writer, is unacquainted with Tibetan and only slightly at home in the doctrines of Buddhism they, unfortunately, to a great part, remain books sealed with seven seals.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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THE CRUSADE OF NICOPOLIS. By AZIZ SURİYAL ATİYA. pp. xii + 234.  
London: Methuen & Co., 1934. 10s. 6d.

This monograph on the historically so momentous battle of Nicopolis in 1396, its prelude, its immediate consequences and its importance in medieval history as the last serious crusading enterprise from Christendom against Islam, is without any doubt a most useful contribution to our knowledge of the period. Although there existed already a rather extensive bibliography on the subject, as well in general works as in special studies, the author has been able to make use of many new documentary sources or to profit, in a more correct form, from sources only imperfectly known hitherto. After having given, in his first chapter, a survey of European political conditions at the end of the fourteenth century, the second chapter offers gleanings from the propagandist literature of the same century in Christian countries, which make us desirous of getting acquainted with the more

extensive researches on the subject which he promises to give in a later work. This literature is significant for the general trend of thought that still animated in the later Middle Ages the intellectual centres and at the same time for the knowledge as well as the ignorance of geographical, political, and religious conditions in the Near East. It reveals a great contrast between the Christian and the Muhammadan worlds, as far as in the latter hardly any traces of reasoned propagandist literature—besides the religious traditional obligation of the Holy War—are to be found; the Turkish chronicles of the time justify the Ottoman conquests only by saying that the people living in the conquered territories had bad rulers, which no doubt was the case. This contrast shows the intellectual superiority of the Christians, but at the same time their weakness. The following chapters treat successively of the preparations for the battle, the march of the crusaders, the composition of the hostile armies, and the battle itself, while in chapter vii, *The Aftermath*, is undertaken the laborious work of investigating the difficult negotiations and transactions connected with the raising of ransom for the high Burgundian and other French nobles who had fallen into Turkish captivity. Chapter viii, *Conclusion*, gives an epilogue in which the author points out how the Christian defeat at Nicopolis was only a symptom of the breaking up of the early medieval unity of European Christendom on account of the awakening of national tendencies, a conclusion with which it is difficult not to agree.

Throughout the whole book the battle of Nicopolis has been treated from a point of view of European history, which is very naturally indicated by the fact that the European sources and documents are in an overwhelming majority against the Eastern sources. Some literary and statistical documents are presented in the first six appendices. In addition the work is closed by an extraordinarily extensive bibliography, which comprises many works of general reference (including the Qur'ān), which certainly have been of much use to the author but which have no immediate relation to the subject treated. The more special part of the bibliography appears to be fairly complete; there exists a dissertation on the battle of Nicopolis by Gustav Kling (Berlin, 1906), which seems to have escaped the author's attention. It would perhaps be useful in works of this kind to give in a special chapter a reasoned discussion of the different kinds of sources and their relative value; for many important sources the author has done so in the text itself, but a systematical treatment

might be of greater use to the reader, especially if he is not well conversant with their nature.

In the bibliography the author cites not a few oriental sources (unfortunately with rather many typographical errors as on p. 209: *Tashkiri Zade* for *Tashköprü Zade*). Nevertheless these sources have not come fully to their right, which applies especially to the ancient Ottoman Chronicles, of which the author has only used the anonymous Turkish Chronicle edited in French by Buchon in his Froissart edition, the certainly very important Annales and Pandectes of Leunclavius, and the edition of Urui Bey by Babinger. Some other chronicles of the same kind, however, are since longer or shorter time available, such as "Neshri" (ZDMG., xv), *Ashik Pasha Zade* (ed. Giese, Leipzig, 1928), and another anonymous chronicle (ed. Giese, Breslau, 1922). It is true that these sources do not throw much more light on the facts, but they are not without value, as has been shown by F. Giese, who has discussed the battle of Nicopolis in No. 34, April, 1928, of the *Ephemerides Orientales* of Harrassowitz at Leipzig. It is noteworthy that Giese here comes to the same conclusion as the author as to the date of the battle, n.l. 25th September, 1396 (cf. p. 151). Giese further points out that nowhere is it said that Dogan was commander of the garrison of Nicopolis (cf. p. 61). It is likewise to be doubted if the inhabitants of the town were at Bayezid's time mostly Turkish, as the town had been, until not long before, a Bulgarian town; even nowadays, as the author says on p. 154, 40 per cent of the inhabitants are Bulgarian.

The discussion of the different Turkish troops in the Sultan's army, on p. 71 sqq., leaves place for some remarks. This applies especially to the "Sipahis". It is not certain if at Bayezid's time there were already paid "Sipahis" besides the fief-holders (*timarli* and *za'im*) and their retinue, who, as horsemen, were also called "Sipahis". The question of the Janissaries is treated by the author with much prudence; mainly on the authority of Ducas he comes to the conclusion that at the time the Janissaries were levied only from the Christian prisoners of war; this fact, however, is equally proved by the ancient Ottoman chronicles.

Finally, something may be said on the question of whether Bayezid was the first Ottoman ruler who bore the title of Sultan, discussed in Appendix x (p. 157 sqq.). While we may be thankful to the author for collecting material on this question from a number of Arabic literary and from numismatical sources, it would seem that the solution

of the problem must be sought in another direction. It is quite certain that in Turkey itself the ruler was not called Sultan, but mostly *Khunk'ar*, as appears from the Chronicles. But where the Ottoman rulers needed the use of a more ceremonious titulature, as on coins or in inscriptions, they made use of the Arabic-Persian protocol as known from Seljuk times, where "Sultan" was a very high title, probably since the time of the first Seljuk conqueror of Persia, Toghrol Bek (cf. my article "Sultan" in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*). On the other hand the word "Sultan" denotes in the Arabic literature since the third century of the Hijra any person who has some political authority and this use of the word has been maintained even after, under special conditions, "Sultan" had become a very high title. Hence the frequent occurrence of the word in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and the apparent confusion in the other Arabic sources.

In using the notes, which have been placed at the end of the book, it is slightly inconvenient that there is no reference at the top of the pages to the chapter to which they belong.

J. H. KRAMERS.

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KITĀB AL AWRĀK (Section on Contemporary Poets). By ABU BAKR MUḤAMMAD IBN YAḤYĀ AṢ ṢŪLĪ. Edited by J. HEYWORTH DUNNE. Text and introduction in Arabic. 9½ × 6½. Pp. J + ۲۵۶. London: Luzac & Co., 1934. 10s.

The *Aurāq* of Eṣ Ṣūlī is well-known by name to all students of Arabic literature. The author, who flourished in the tenth century, finished the portion of the book containing the history of the Abbasid Khalifs and the poetry of members of their line and of certain others who were connected by relationship with the Prophet, but died without having completed a final section on other poetry of the Abbasid time. Mr. Heyworth Dunne now publishes the text of this section, taken from a unique manuscript of the twelfth century at Cairo, which appears to represent as much of it as was produced.

The plan which Eṣ Ṣūlī followed in this part of his book was to embody as much as possible of the poetry of the more obscure poets but only a selection of that of those of renown. The work of the latter was generally well known and he himself had taken a prominent part in making it accessible by forming collections. The poems cited are generally accompanied by indications of the persons to whom they

were addressed or the circumstances under which they were composed, and some information about the authors is given, most of it in the form of rather disjointed anecdotes. The work is arranged according to families, all poets who belonged to the same family being brought together, and the families grouped alphabetically under the names of their most prominent member.

The present volume brings under notice about a dozen poets, members of three families of which Abān, Aṣḥja' and Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf stand as the leading representatives. Abān and Aṣḥja' were both associated with the Barmakids and with Hārūn er Rashīd, Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf was one of the viziers of El Ma'mūn. The poetry collected in the book includes a good proportion of eulogies and elegies—the stock-in-trade of those who made their livelihood by poetry—but also many other pieces on a variety of subjects. Some of the poets and their poetry are treated of in other books. El Aghānī, for instance, deals at some length with those who have been named. Mr. Heyworth Dunne has examined this book and several others for the purpose of his edition and shows the result in his footnotes. It appears that something can be added occasionally to the examples of poems given by Eṣ Ṣūlī, but on the other hand he affords a good deal concerning his subjects and their work which is not to be found elsewhere. As an illustration, he cites more than sixty verses of Abān's rendering of *Kalīla and Dimna* in rhyming couplets, whereas El Aghānī, apparently the only other book that records any of this important poem, gives only two. Moreover, the minor poets to whom Eṣ Ṣūlī gives special attention are as a rule noticed in El Aghānī only very slightly if they are not passed over there without mention, and little about them is found in other books. Additions to our knowledge of the Abbasid poetry of the eighth and ninth centuries are particularly welcome, because of the developments in Arabic poetry which were proceeding at the time. Even if Eṣ Ṣūlī did not make such additions his work would be important as one of the earliest authorities for its subject.

Mr. Heyworth Dunne's edition is a good one. The text that he produces is generally satisfactory. The illegibility of the manuscript must have made its establishment particularly difficult, and it is only in parts that he has been able to get help by comparison with other books. He acknowledges the assistance given to him by some of his Egyptian friends in solving problems that presented themselves and doubtless such help must have been very valuable. He has made

a number of excellent emendations, duly recorded in the footnotes, where also he draws attention to several passages which appear to be corrupt, but cannot be restored with certainty. He supplies a good number of useful vowel points and facilitates reading, likewise, by some explanations of difficult words and other comments. In his introduction he gives an account of the Cairo manuscript of the *Kitāb el Aurāq*, and a life of Eṣ Ṣūlī. He supplies an adequate index. His work has evidently been done with much care.

The printing of the book is not always as good as might be desired.

Mr. Heyworth Dunne states that he means to publish the remaining portions of *El Aurāq*. Fragments of the book preserved in various places appear to cover a good proportion of the whole of the original text. The publication is likely to include much new historical matter of value.

R. GUEST.

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NABI. Soziologische Studien zur alttestamentlichen Literatur und Religionsgeschichte. Von ALFRED JEPSEN. pp. xii. + 258. Beck, Muenchen, 1934.

Nabi is used to denote those persons who are called in the English version sons of the prophets. The nabi belonged to the Canaanite religion, as is shown by the story of Wen-Amon, and was unknown to Israel until they settled in Palestine, when they borrowed the institution from the older civilization. In Judah the nabi became part of the state religion and is found working with the priest at the capital as, for example, at the coronation of Solomon. It is suggested that David employed a nabi to get oracles for him from God till he got into his power the ephod with which the priests obtained oracles for him. In Israel, on the other hand, the nabis never got State recognition and usually lived humbly on the alms of the poor. The stories show what the nabi would like to have been, a messenger from God, a miracle worker, one who knew the future and things hidden from the common man. Therefore he possessed *baraka*, to use the Muslim term, and was a blessing to his friends and a danger to his enemies. Elijah and Elisha were not nabis but tradition turned them into nabis. In the stories about Elijah we can trace the development. At first he is the Tishbite, no more than a voice bringing the message of God, later he is made into a "man of God", a nabi, and a miracle-monger. The pre-exilic writing prophets had nothing in common with these men,



though Isaiah has been turned into one by popular legend. As a class they existed till the end of the Old Testament period: Nehemiah was accused of suborning nabīs to proclaim him king, and Haggai and Zechariah were typical representatives of the class. During the centuries the conception of the nabi changed considerably and the contemptuous question "Is Saul also among the prophets?" would have had no meaning at a later date. Much of the history of Israel was composed under the influence of this class.

To review this book thoroughly, examining every reference, would take nearly as long as it took to write. A few points may be picked out. The statement that the centre of the northern kingdom was far from Canaanite influence (p. 169) is extraordinary. 1 Sam. iii, 1 does not say "till then there had been no visions in Israel" (p. 151). This might be a possible translation of part of the verse, if it stood alone; but taken together with the rest, "the word of the Lord was rare," it is impossible. Dr. Jepsen admits that it is hard to reconcile 1 Kings xx with what is known from the Assyrian records. He does not refer to the surprising fact that in much of the chapter the king of Israel has no name. It looks as if a popular tale had been attached clumsily to Ahab; especially as he is nowhere else surrounded by a crowd of Yahwe nabīs.

Dr. Jepsen has written a stimulating, one might even say, a provocative book. It is the fruit of much reading and acute thinking. If the basis of his arguments is often slender, that is inevitable in dealing with the Old Testament. It may be exaggerated to say that his conclusions always contradict those of his predecessors, but at least the note of contradiction is very marked. In places the book is more wordy than is necessary. Even if all the conclusions are not accepted, they will have to be met and answered.

A. S. T.

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KITĀB IḤTILĀF AL-FUQAḤĀ' (das Konstantinopler Fragment). By AT-ṬABARĪ. Ed. JOSEPH SCHACHT. pp. xxiv + 274. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933.

The only thing to criticize in this book is the printing. The list of misprints is too long and it is not exhaustive. P. 216, l. 4, should be من أنت. In addition to minor slips, many letters have dropped and others are smudged. Here criticism stops.

The manuscript is written without points but, as much of the text is known from other books, the task of reading it is not so difficult as would appear. Professor Schacht has done his work as editor thoroughly and with immense labour. The text has been compared with parallel passages and all variants noted in the margin. Much material is crammed into the short introduction, where the relation of this book to its sources is discussed. *Jizya* (p. xv, l. 17) should be *jihād*. It is tempting to suggest الأضياف instead of الأصناف on p. 217, l. 17. The present text of p. 232 (foot) says that the government must employ a *dhimmi* artisan so that he can pay his taxes!

At times language is more literary than legal; four terms are used to denote "of unsound mind", and they are used indiscriminately.

Some examples may be of interest. Abū Ḥanīfa is sometimes illiberal. If an enemy had freed a slave in his own land and then brought him into the land of Islam, the manumission was invalid. Once, at least, he is clearly immoral. In a land of enemies a Muslim may not sell to them with interest if the profit is to their advantage; but if it is to his own he may. He assumes a very efficient customs service or that Muslim law runs in enemy lands when he says that, if an enemy comes into the land of Islam and buys a slave from a Muslim or a *dhimmi* and takes him back to his own land, the slave becomes free.

Al-Shāfi'i taught that captured books were to be translated and, if they dealt with some useful subject like medicine, they were to be sold and the price put into the booty. If they were idolatrous, they were to be defaced but the covers put to some good purpose. One man taught that the tribute should be paid in local money, even if it were of less value than the state coinage. The papyri show that this opinion did not find favour with the government.

All figures given in the books for the land tax seem to make it less than the tithe. Abū Ḥanīfa held that, if the land tax was by *muḳāsama*, half the harvest might be taken as tax, and al-Shāfi'i would have allowed two-thirds to be taken. It may be noted that al-Shāfi'i did not hold that the *dhimmi*, who turned brigand or acted as a spy for the enemies of Islam, had cancelled the covenant with him.

The publication of this book makes it possible to correct *al-Mizān* of al-Sha'rāni in places, but it will not supersede it altogether. Mālik and Abū Thaur gave a horseman two shares in the booty; according to *al-Mizān* they allowed him three shares. But this book says nothing

about the man mounted on a camel. Property stolen or captured from a Muslim, if recaptured by a Muslim army, must be restored to the owner; so Mālik as reported in *al-Mizān*. Al-Ṭabari adds the qualification "if claimed before the distribution of the booty". In *al-Mizān* there is no *kitāb al-jihād* but much of the material is brought under the head of "division of booty".

The system of al-Awzā'i needs such long reports that its disappearance from practical life is not surprising.

A. S. T.

#### A LEXICON OF ACCADIAN PRAYERS IN THE RITUALS OF EXPIATION.

By C. J. MULLO WEIR. pp. xix + 411. Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1934. 21s.

This book provides an edition of the prayers in the form of a lexicon, a systematic arrangement of the grammatical forms, and notes on the etymology of the words. The review deals with the last section only.<sup>1</sup>

A number of words and meanings are common to B. and South Semitic, but do not occur in A. The list of words in Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I, 127, in which *h* becomes *ḥ* must be greatly enlarged. Certain roots common to most Semitic languages occur in B. with peculiar meanings; e.g. *dl* "to praise".

There are a few mistakes. H. *y'd* corresponds to A. *w'd*, not to *wd'*; A. has no *sl* "to rest"; A. *šbš* should be *šws*. Occasionally Dr. Mullo Weir equates roots which are similar in form but quite different in meaning.

A few suggestions may be made.

*aguhhu* "waistband, loincloth", cf. A. *ḥkw*.

*akū* "weak", cf. E. *aky*.

*apkallu* "sage", cf. SA. *'fkl*.

*askuppatu* "threshold", cf. A. *skf*, *uskuffat*.

*baḥulāti*, *ba'ulāti* "mankind", cf. SA. *bkl*. (Brockelmann compares

H. *bḥr*.)

*būlu* "cattle", possibly A. *bhm*.

*dāšu* "act unjustly, oppress", A. *dys*.

*ešēku* "distribute", perhaps A. *wsk*.

*gašāru* "strengthen", cf. A. *jsr*.

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: A. Arabic, B. Babylonian-Assyrian, E. Ethiopic, H. Hebrew, SA. South Arabian.

*saḥmaštu* "violence", probably A. *ḥms*.

*ḥašālu* "crush", cf. A. *ḥusāla* "dross".

*ikkāru* "peasant", cf. A. *'akkār*, H. *'ikkār*.

*kamāsu* "bow down", cf. SA. *kms* (probably) "subdue".

*kasū* "bind", perhaps SA. *kī* "command" (?).

*kašū* "cold", cf. A. *šk*.

*kablītu* "bowels", the connection with A. *kīb* and H. *kēb* is not mentioned.

*kannu* "girdle", E. *knt*.

*le'u* "be capable", A. *l'y* "be slow, hindered". There are cases of a root having opposite meanings in two languages.

*maḥāru* "be in front, meet", A. and SA. *mḥr*.

*malāšu* "pluck out", perhaps A. *mls* "be smooth".

*mašāru* "send away", SA. *mšr*.

*māḥū* "tempest", cf. A. *mḥw*.

*mešrū* "abundance", cf. A. *šrh*.

*na'ādu* "revere", cf. A. *na'ād* "calamity".

*nārtu* "slaughter", A. *nḥr*.

*palsāḥu*, *parsāḥu* "crouch down", A. *fršh*.

*rašū* "grant", A. and SA. *ršw*.

*rušuntu* "mud", cf. A. *rāšib* "clay stopper of a wine jar".

*sapāḥu* "scatter", cf. SA. *sfh* "announce".

*siḥlu* "thorn", cf. A. *'isḥl*.

*šarāḥu* "be strong", cf. E. and SA. *šrh*.

It may be noted that B. did not always keep the emphatic sounds, e.g. *k* sometimes corresponds to *ḵ* in other languages. Also one root may appear in more than one form in B., e.g. *mašā'u* and *misū* both correspond to A. *msh*. This also occurs in SA.

A. S. T.

LEGENDS OF OUR LADY MARY THE PERPETUAL VIRGIN AND HER MOTHER HANNA. pp. 314, pl. 33. 7s. 6d. net.

ONE HUNDRED AND TEN MIRACLES OF OUR LADY MARY. pp. 355, pl. 64. 10s. 6d. net.

Both translated from the Ethiopic by Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1933.

These two volumes are cheap editions of books published some twelve years ago, the Ethiopic texts being omitted and the plates reduced in size. The lives of the Virgin and her mother are practically

translations of familiar apocryphal tales and so are the most interesting miracles. Latin and French parallels are quoted with copious references to the literature on the subject. The tales have a mixed history. One, about a spring which Jesus caused to flow, is evidently a Christian adaptation of an Egyptian legend. Muslim influence is seen in some. There is a trace of theological disputes in the statement that Muhammad was sent to the Arabs only. That it is wicked to be one of "the council of judges" recalls the temper of early Islam. That a good woman can wear only "pure" clothes, such as have not been bought with the price of fornication or other illegal traffic, may come from the same source. So do the horrors of the punishment in the grave. Water that is as sweet as honey and as white as milk suggests the rivers of the Garden. That the Virgin was in the body of Adam as a lustrous pearl and from him passed to the patriarchs recalls the doctrine of the light of Muhammad.

Natural objects such as leaves with holy words on them are common to Muslims and Christians. So is the tale of the man who put the money he owed in a piece of wood, threw it into the sea, and trusted in the Prophet or the Virgin to carry it to his distant creditor. The Virgin gave a thirsty dog drink from her shoe. Saladin pardoned an adulteress for the same kind deed.

The practice of incubation is mentioned and a lame man was not permitted to enter a church. Many of the miracles are immoral. The use of the word *mihrab* in Qur'ān 3, 32 is probably derived from the story that the Virgin as a girl lived in the Temple. The pictures are delightful.

A. S. T.

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM. By SIR MOHAMMAD IQBAL. pp. vii + 192. Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1934. 7s. 6d.

It is hard to do justice to this book because parts provoke criticism while the general purpose secures our sympathy. Someone said that an article for the Quarterly Review had to be written three times: once profoundly; once simply; and once with profundity hidden in simplicity. It is to be feared that this book was written once only. Take this sentence: "It is the application of the principle embodied in this verse to the reporters of the Prophet's traditions out of which were gradually evolved the canons of historical criticism" (p. 133).

The grammar is bad. Rules of criticism are evolved out of reports not out of reporters. The sentence should run: The application of the principle embodied in this verse to the reported traditions of the Prophet gradually evolved the canons of historical criticism. Sir Mohammad says that Christianity (which had originally appeared as a monastic order, p. 139) is hostile to the world while the Qur'ân makes the world a witness to the nature of God and good in itself. If he quotes the Qur'ân, a reviewer may quote the Bible. The refrain to the story of the creation of the world is, "God saw that it was good," the cherubim sang, "The fulness of the whole world is His glory," and Jesus said, "Consider the lilies of the field." On this subject the Qur'ân teaches nothing new.

On p. 68 we read, "I have conceived the Ultimate Reality as an Ego; and I must add now that from the Ultimate Ego only egos can proceed." We want some proof of this second statement; it reminds us of the axiom of the Muslim philosophers that from one only the one can proceed. The Bible provides a useful text for part of this statement: "God made man in His image." On p. 65 this opinion of the Ash'arite thinkers is quoted, "The atom in its essence, therefore, has no magnitude; it has its position which does not involve space. It is by their aggregation that atoms become extended and generate space." One expects some indication that this is nonsense. Again, the Qur'ân says that God is light. Sir Mohammad says:

The teaching of modern physics is that the velocity of light cannot be exceeded and is the same for all observers whatever their own system of movement. Thus, in the world of change, light is the nearest approach to the Absolute. The metaphor of light as applied to God, therefore, must, in view of modern knowledge, be taken to suggest the Absoluteness of God and not His Omnipresence which easily lends itself to a pantheistic interpretation.

No objection can be taken to this pouring of new wine into old bottles; but it must be recognized that the wine is new. Surely, it is a mark of a great man that his words are capable of a wider meaning than he ever anticipated. That the prophet was neither theologian nor philosopher is one of the certain facts of history, and we may be sure that he did not pray, "God! grant me knowledge of the ultimate nature of things" (p. 3).

Sir Mohammad quotes the verdict of Goldziher (the name is spelt wrongly) that the traditions are, on the whole, untrustworthy, and sets against this the verdict of Aghnides (*Mohammedan Theories of Finance*,

p. 59) that those in the canonical collections "are genuine records of the rise and early growth of Islam". He has forgotten that Goldziher's judgment applies only to the traditions as records of the life and opinions of the prophet. He used the traditions to write the story of the rise and early growth of Islam.

Sir Mohammad makes a spirited defence of the laws of inheritance as well adapted to Arabian society; he does not say if they may be altered to suit a totally different society.

The antitheses are too sharply cut. To say that the Qur'ān is anti-classical, in other words, empirical, forgets the work of Aristotle, who taught the observation of nature, and of the physicians, whose work was the basis of all Arabian medicine.

Criticism has been concerned with details and modes of presentation. The book is a fervent attack—in the best spirit of the *jihād*—on unbelievers. Religion is not abandoned to physical science. If the facts of religion do not come under the ordinary rules of science, so much the worse for science; the spiritual man judgeth all things and is judged of none. It is the man that counts, call him soul, self, ego; his life does not consist in the abundance of the things he possesses. Man is not a finished product. He was made a little lower than the angels and what he shall hereafter be is hid from mortal eyes. God breathed His Spirit into man, and it is his duty to put himself at the service of Him who can do for him abundantly far more than he can ask or think. Religion is not the repetition of a creed; it is companionship between God and man and therefore leads to the fellowship of man with man.

Nor is heaven a holiday. Life is one and continuous. Man marches always onward to receive ever fresh illuminations from an Infinite Reality which "every moment appears in a new glory". And the recipient of divine illumination is not merely a passive recipient. Every act of a free ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding.

An inspiring book.

A. S. T.

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PAGAN SURVIVALS IN MOHAMMEDAN CIVILIZATION. By Professor EDWARD WESTERMARCK. pp. viii + 190. London: Macmillan, 1933. 8s. 6d.

If a custom is not part of statutory Islam, Professor Westermarck counts it a pagan survival. He has described many such customs and

has speculated a little on the origin of them. It may be useful to give examples from other lands of some of them and to say something about the theories.

There is no sharp cleavage between the clean and the unclean, the holy and the forbidden. A holy man brings blessing to the house he visits, but the touch of a Jew, who is unclean, may encourage plants to grow. Similarly among the Hebrews, those who worshipped strange gods were slain but the touch of the ark killed Uzzah. The two opposites have the same effect! In the sentence, "They shed in the sacred place blood which it is a sin to shed," no one would guess that the same word represents "sacred" and "which it is a sin to shed". The explanation must be sought in the fact that originally the supernatural was a-moral. It was dangerous, trespass on it brought punishment, and it was highly infectious. One word denoted this dangerous thing. When moral ideas came into being and the supernatural was divided into two, this word was still used for what was dangerous because it was unclean and also for what was dangerous because it was holy. This is clearly seen in Hebrew. Divines debated whether certain books defiled the hands; in other words, were they part of Holy Scripture? If part of the canon, they were holy, and their holiness would come off on one who handled them and must be removed before he could go back to the everyday duties of life where things unclean were common. For the contact of the holy with the unclean might produce an explosion. For the same reason, those who took part in the sacred race round the Ka'ba did so naked, or borrowed clothes from the townspeople of Mecca. If their own garments had been brought into contact with the holy place, they would have been infected with its holiness and useless for daily wear.

The belief that there is blessing in certain animals is found outside Africa. The prophet said: "The devil does not come near one who has a noble horse, or a house where such a horse is." And again: "Wellbeing is tied to the forelock of a horse." He also said: "God put His blessing on the sheep," and "Pray where the sheep lie down." On the other hand, some would not pray where camels were accustomed to camp, for some camels are descended from the jinn. Another tradition runs: "The cock is my friend, the friend of my friend, and the enemy of God's enemy; he guards his house and four others round it." So it is not surprising to find the cock a favourite object of sacrifice. Another tradition is: "If a black dog (or a jinn) come to you while you are eating, throw it something, for it has desires." In other words,



the evil eye will smite you. It is related that 'Uthmān saw a very beautiful boy and said: "Blacken the dimple in his chin." to avert the eye. These may be pagan survivals, but they are not peculiar to north Africa. That sexual intercourse destroys the efficacy of a charm reminds one of those men who removed their seal rings before intercourse or visiting the latrine.

It is curious that in the Mubarram celebrations in Baghdad a Christian is always present. They say that he fought for Husain at Kerbela and he is distinguished by the umbrella he carries.

The custom of killing a sacrifice in the presence of one whose help is wanted is recorded from the Yemen; but the use of the word 'ār (shame) for it seems peculiar to north Africa. An old story shows how this name arose. One who had provoked the caliph's wrath took refuge by the grave of the caliph's son. A friend of the suppliant said, "To break faith with the dead is a shame to the living." This book is practically an extract from the author's larger work *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*.

A. S. T.

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THE DAWN OF CONSCIENCE. By J. H. BREASTED. pp. xxvi. + 431. New York, London: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1934. 12s. 6d.

Egypt saw the dawn of conscience and the history of morals is set against a background of religion. At first the sun was worshipped as a power of nature and then it became the ruling force in the affairs of men, the shepherd of his people. The king at death was lifted to the sky and became one with the sun. The worship of the sun was a State religion and over against it was the popular worship of fertility, the combination of earth and water, of Osiris, who became the god of the dead in the underworld. The dead man was identified with Osiris and enjoyed the "pious" services of his son Horus. Then the two faiths mingled; the sun was brought down to light up the underworld, Osiris was raised to the sky, and all the dead enjoyed the after life in the fields of the sun. The heretic king, Ikhnaton, tried to make the worship of the kindly sun a universal religion and failed.

The earliest known moral judgment, "He who does what is loved, and he who does what is hated; life is given to the peaceful and death is given to the criminal," is dated about 3500 B.C. The words right and wrong do not yet appear. Round about the twenty-seventh century the tombs assert claims like this, "I was one beloved

of his father, praised of his mother, whom his brothers and sisters loved." This family conception of goodness is illustrated by the pictures in the tombs where domestic life is all important. Morals developed in the family. The unbroken history of Egypt in its secluded valley allowed the idea of moral order to grow. "I had these statues made by the sculptor and he was satisfied with the pay I gave him." This is but one sample out of many showing that morals looked beyond the family and were essential if man was to stand in the judgment. A minister was so anxious to avoid even the appearance of evil that he gave judgment against his own kin, though the right was on their side. Centuries later a king said that this was "more than justice." To the same age belong the maxims of Ptahhotep. One of them runs, "When thy fortunes are evil, thy virtues shall be above thy friends." Moral ideas were associated with the sun god rather than with Osiris and now even the king had to be justified to obtain life in the hereafter.

About 2500 B.C. we read, "More acceptable is the virtue of the upright man than the ox of him that doeth iniquity," and a little later, "A man's virtue is his monument; forgotten is the man of evil repute." When the old kingdom fell to pieces pessimism became common, as is shown by such compositions as the Song of the Harper and the Dialogue of the Misanthrope with his Soul. At the end of this period king Amenemhet said,

"I gave to the beggar, I nourished the orphan,

I admitted the insignificant as well as him who was of great account,

But he who ate my food made insurrection;

He to whom I gave my hand, aroused fear therein."

Yet in the Instructions to the Minister it is written, now as for "him who shall do justice before all the people" it is the minister. In the period represented by the Book of the Dead morals gave place to magic.

After the failure of Ikhnaton the old happy content is gone; its place is taken by a feeling of insufficiency and sin. "Punish me not for my many sins. . . . All day I follow after my own dictates as the ox after its fodder."

A short review cannot touch all the striking texts quoted but it must not omit the professor's reminder to man, the moral animal, only at the beginning of his development.

GENERAL WILLIAM EATON. By F. RENNELL RODD. pp. 314. London : Routledge, 1933. 12s. 6d.

William Eaton dreamed a dream of a State in north Africa under American protection. In 1784 the Barbary corsairs captured an American ship. Two years later peace was made with Morocco at a price. When a treaty was made with Algiers in 1795 it had cost 900,000 dollars in subsidies, bribes, and ransoms. America grew tired of buying useless treaties and sent small fleets to the Mediterranean. In Tripoli the reigning Bashaw (to use the current spelling) had deposed his elder brother, who lived in exile at Tunis. Eaton, who was consul at Tunis, thought of exploiting the situation at Tripoli. He would use the exiled Bashaw, who had partisans in the country, rouse the tribes of the south, and invade Tripoli from the east while the fleet attacked the capital. In Egypt he collected a small miscellaneous army. Somehow he contrived to lead it along the desert coastland to Derna, being met half-way by American ships with provisions. He captured Derna and was ready to advance on the town of Tripoli when American ships arrived with news and orders. Peace had been made with Tripoli behind his back and he was ordered to embark with his foreign soldiers. So ended the dream.

Eaton had a policy ; one can hardly say as much for the American Government and its commanders in the Mediterranean. The march along the coast to Derna was a great feat. Perhaps it is not surprising that he did not always get on well with his colleagues. He could write. His dispatches are clear and to the point. An extract from a letter may be allowed, describing his servant :

Born in Gibraltar, is free of London, a convict in Ireland, a burgo-master in Holland, was circumcized in Barbary, was a spy for the devil among the Apostles at the Feast of Pentecost, has the gift of tongues, and has travelled in Europe. And he will undoubtedly be hung in America, for I intend to take him there.

The end is best left untold.

A. S. TRITTON.

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KREST'YANSKAYA DOLYA. *Rūz-i siyāh-i kārgar*, "The labourer's plight". By AHMAD 'ALĪ KHĀN KHUDĀ-DĀDA. Translated from the Persian into Russian by V. TARDOV. pp. 230. Moscow. 1931. 2s. 9d.

The Persian original of this book was printed in Kermānshāh in 1927 and is not easily obtainable nowadays. The story is that of

a Kurdish peasant born in 1300/1882 whose adventures extend over the years of the Persian revolution down to the times of the war (Sayyid Diyā ad-Dīn's cabinet is mentioned on p. 191). The hero's biography is an uninterrupted series of misfortunes and "spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes". Some of the pages read like a melancholy satire but on the whole the novelty of the book chiefly consists in its realistic tendency, a rare phenomenon in Persian literature. It is more of a "social document" than a novel. The style (so far as one can judge of it through the garb of a foreign translation) is simple and unaffected.

The book belongs to the same class of literature as Zayn al-'Ābidīn's *Siyāhat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm-beg*, but differs from it by reason of the lower social position of the observer who has no time to go into the higher problems of policy and administration which leave unaffected the depths of rural life.

The Russian translation has been done by a competent hand and the foot-notes give a correct explanation of technical terms. Some geographical names have been misread, so p. 51 instead of *Chom-Chomal* read: *Chamchamāl* (near Bisutūn) and the Kurdish summer huts made of branches are called *kāpir*, not *kābir*.

V. MINORSKY.

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GRAMMAIRE DU VIEUX-PERSE. A. MEILLET. Deuxième édition entièrement corrigée et augmentée par E. BENVENISTE. Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris. Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931. Frs. 60.00.

In 1915 M. Meillet wrote his *Grammaire du vieux perse* to show *comment . . . la méthode comparative aide à tracer une description* of a little known language (p. xvii). He offered to philologists a most valuable interpretation of the linguistic facts preserved in the Achaemenid inscriptions. The texts had been notably improved by fresh collation since the dictionary of Bartholomae had registered the words, and M. Meillet could bring much of importance from his own independent studies. The result was useful also in indicating the problems which remained to be solved. The first edition, soon exhausted, is now followed by this second edition, revised by M. Benveniste, who has explained the form of his revision (p. xviii) to be the addition of new paragraphs, the modification of most of

the paragraphs, and—what is most important—the incorporation of more recent matter from the recently published inscriptions. Since the publication of the second edition, too, there have been important publications of new inscriptions, and more are to be expected.

Among the problems due to the Old Persian script, there is that of the final and medial  $\overline{\text{𐎠}}$ . It would seem more acceptable if it were recognized that medial  $\overline{\text{𐎠}}$  in *ptiya br m*, and *ptiyavhyiy* stood not, as has usually been read, for *ā*, but was here used, as in initial position, for *a*. We should then have *pati-a-baram*, *pati-a-vahyaiy* (cf. p. 49). It is also desirable to recognize two uses for final  $\overline{\text{𐎠}}$ : (i) to indicate final *-ā*, (ii) to indicate a final vowel *-a*, to distinguish this final vowel from the cases in which a final consonant once existed, though no longer indicated in the Old Pers. script. So *mrtiya* Voc. Sing. *mrtiya*, or Nom. Plur. *mrtiyā* distinct from *mrtiy* Nom. Sing. *mrtiya(h)*, or *a br abara(t)*. It then suffices to admit this in *uta uta*, *hya -ahya* Gen. Sing., beside the defectively written *hy -ahya*, and similarly in *nam* beside *nama* both for *nāma* Neut. Acc. Sing. This can be extended to explain also the case of *avaḥjaniya* *avaḥjanyā(t)* beside *avḥt avahata(h)* with the *a* treated as the final of *ava*. This is preferable to the assumption of two preverbs *ava-ā-*, where the participle, as also later Iranian *ʾrzt*, has only the one preverb *ava-* (cf. pp. 91-3).

The following notes are offered in hope that they may be of service. P. 15: We now know also of the first Cyrus king of Parsumaš (see Weidner, *Archiv f. Orientforschung*, 1931, and Campbell-Thompson, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, 1933). P. 43: Doubts as to the reading *Bābairuš*, in spite of the Pāli *Bāveru-*, are roused by the Gr. *Bābulōn*. The Pāli form is not certainly from the time of Darius, and is possibly from Middle Iranian. It may be noted that, according to the usual transcription, Old Pers. has *Aθurā* (Elamite *Aššura*, Gr. *Assurios*), but in Mid. Iran. it was rather with *-ō-*, as in Arm. *Asorestan*, Pahl. *ʾsvkrstʾn* *\*asōrastān*, N.Pers. *Sūristān*. The Elamite has *bapili*. P. 49: *asabāribiš* rather than *asabāraibiš* is suggested by *uṣabārim*, hence *-bāri-*. P. 50: In meaning *a h āhu* is preterite, hence from *\*āsat*, rather than perfect *\*āsa*. P. 60: *a θ iy*. An uncertainty as between *t* and *θ* is now attested, beside *m<sup>i</sup> t r* and *m<sup>i</sup> θ r*, also in *fr t r m* beside *fr θ r m*. Possibly *a θ iy* means *atī*. P. 72: It is now possible to add the Mid. Iran. (South. Dial.) *vašn*. P. 75, 155: *ar ḥ n m*. My proposal to read *\*ā-ranjanam* (*BSOS.*, vi, 598) seems to me preferable to a derivation from *ary-* "to have worth". M. Benveniste, in

conversation, expressed agreement with this view. P. 80: We have now also a *n a h i t* (see R. G. Kent, *JAOS.*, 54, 51). We should probably read *Anāhīta* with *ī*, to agree with Gr. *Anaeitis*, and N.Pers. *Nāhēd Nāhīd*. P. 76: In the problem of the phonetic values of *b d g*, discussed again by Lommel in his review of this book *OLZ.*, 1934, 184 f., a piece of evidence which seems to be important for *d* is available in the Armenian word *partēz*. As has been recognized, this can be explained as a word borrowed before the Armenian shift of *d* to *t* from an Iran. *pari-daiza-* (not Old Persian). Since the Armenians lacked *ḍ*, they rendered *ḍ* by *ṛ*, certainly in the Parthian period, even after *ṛ* of a preceding syllable, cf. *aroyr* "brass", Sogd. *rōd-*, Bal. *rōd*. It is possible to infer that in *partēz* they were representing a *d*, not *ḍ*. P. 159: The Georgian *gušag-i* translates Pers. *dīda-bān* "watchman" in Visramiani (see O. Wardrop's translation, *Oriental Translation Fund*, n.s. xxiii, p. 17). Prof. Schaefer has recently discussed the word in *Iranica* (1934), p. 5. P. 156: The texts in Schēil, *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, vol. xxiv, make *naučaina-* certain, excluding *naurina-*.

H. W. B.

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ESSAI DE GRAMMAIRE SOGDIENTNE, DEUXIÈME PARTIE, MORPHOLOGIE, SYNTAXE ET GLOSSAIRE. E. BENVENISTE. *Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale*. 1929. Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner. Frs. 75.

R. Gauthiot had completed the study of the phonology of Sogdian, and after his death this was published as the first part of the *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, with an introductory note by M. Meillet. He had been able to use for comparison with the dialect of the Buddhist texts, the Sogdian translations of the Nestorian Lectionary, and the fragments of Manichean texts, published by F. W. K. Müller. The decipherment of the Sogdian Buddhist script was achieved in 1912, so that Gauthiot had worked very rapidly. M. Benveniste undertook to complete the *Essai*. The second volume was published in 1929, after considerable delay in the printing. Important studies which appeared before the printing was finished could happily be referred to. The study of Sogdian being new, important work has appeared each year. New texts have been made accessible by Reichelt, by Lentz (in *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*, von E. Waldschmidt und W. Lentz, 1933), and by Rosenberg.

Every text has brought new information, so that no book could claim to be more than preliminary. Thus important studies by Reichelt have advanced knowledge of the Sogdian verbal system.

The second volume of the *Essai* treats in detail of verb, noun and pronouns, adverbs and conjunctions, with syntax. The major part necessarily retains its value. It is in matters of interpretation of forms that progress has been great. It remains, with all the new material, a valuable book of reference, which has been of great service during the years since it was published. In using it, it is now, however, necessary always to consider what later studies have brought.

In transcription only one sign was ambiguous which represented both *n* and *z* medially and initially. Comparative study has decided most of these cases, as for example 'nw'z'k "all", which had earlier been transcribed 'nw'n'k, but appears correctly in the glossary.

The vocalization, which is an important part of the work, could naturally not claim to be final in all cases. Hence the transcriptions of -'k, 'y, pp. 93-4, cannot all be accepted now. So *nrt'y* is probably *martē* (or *martī*) not *martāy*. Certain suffixes, too, can be now more fully explained. So the -n'k of agent, probably -*anak*, is best treated separately from the -*ān* participle, and the adjective -n'k *ānak* (as in *pw't'n'k butānak* "of Buddha").

In the inflexion it is interesting to note -*skun* in Manichean texts also, in the form *qwndyskun* "is making" quoted by Lentz (Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu in Manichäismus*, p. 40). Here we have the fuller form as in Buddhist Sogdian, beside Christ. Sogd. -*sqn*.

It is now clear from Reichelt's study in the *Studia Indo-Iranica* in honour of W. Geiger, 1931, that the augment played a large part in Buddh. Sogd., not only in 'β' (here p. 43). By a recognition of the augment a different and more satisfactory explanation of the preterites of type *pt'ywšw* than could be given here (pp. 43-44) becomes possible. Similarly, the infinitive in -*t*, -*ty* is certainly to be separated in origin from the participle in -*t* (p. 54).

One etymology may be proposed. On p. 169 *ptk'un-* (misprinted in the text) is connected with the kavis. Could one not rather take it direct from *kav-* "to be crooked, bent"? It is possible to compare Av. *apakava-*, *frakava-*, Pahl. *nikōn*, and to think of Saka *kūra-* "false".

H. W. B.

PAMIR-DIALEKTE I. Materialien zur Kenntnis der Schughni-Gruppe.  
VON WOLFGANG LENTZ. 1933. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &  
Ruprecht. RM. 15.

The materials on the Shughni group of dialects here published were collected by Dr. Lentz as ethnographer and linguist of the Russian-German Alai-Pamir Expedition in 1928. The list of earlier publications on this group is given (p. 109), and to these the present book brings great enrichment. In careful transcription the author has recorded prose texts and songs, and has accompanied them here with an important bibliographical introduction, exhaustive indices of pronouns, numerals, verbs, and a separate index of the other words, all fully provided with references. It is a work not only of value to students of Iranian philology, with its clear picture of the Shughni language as a whole (more than an aggregate of E. Iranian words), but to ethnographers and students of literature and folk-lore. The section (p. 57 f.) on the character of the songs is in this latter respect particularly worthy of notice. Before this book was finally printed, the first Shughni book to be printed in the Latin script reached the author, and he was able to add an interesting notice of it (p. 215 f.). It may be sincerely hoped that the wish of the author of this first book that through it education may be brought within reach of the Shughni people, may be speedily fulfilled. The adaptation of the Latin script is itself of interest.

The first fruit of the result of Dr. Lentz's Pamir studies, costing as all such work does, much labour, is to be followed, and it will be hoped, soon followed by the further materials on Yāzgulāmi, Ishkāshmi, and Wakhi which are promised.

H. W. B.

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
CODICES AVESTICI ET PAHLAVICI BIBLIOTHECAE UNIVERSITATIS  
HAFNIENSIS. Vol. I: The Pahlavi Codices, K 20 and K 20b,  
1931. £12 12s. Vol. II: The Pahlavi Codex, K 26. 1932. £6 6s.

The long deferred project of publishing the Avestan and Pahlavi Codices of the University of Copenhagen in facsimiles has begun to be realized with the publication of these two first volumes. The state of the MSS. had not permitted of their being sent abroad for the use of scholars. It was, therefore, necessary either to visit the Library or to obtain photographs.

In K 20 is contained a series of twenty Avestan and Pahlavi



texts, many of which were not earlier available in facsimile, or even in printed editions. Several of the texts were translated by West in *SBE.*, v, but these translations were useful rather in indicating the contents than in matters of detail. The texts are: (1) Artāk Virāz Nāmak, (2) Mātiyān ī Yavišt ī Friyān, (3) Length of a Man's Shadow, (4) Yašt fragment, (5) Ahraman and Ēšm, (6) Šāyast nē Šāyast, (7) Frahang ī Oīm, (8) Bundahišn, (9) Vahman Yašt, (10) Handarz ī Ōšnār ī dānāk, (11) Mātiyān ī gijastak Ahlāiš, (12) Āturpāt ī Mahraspand's answers to the King, (13) Yašt fragment, (14) Srōš Yašt Haḍōxt, (15) Yasna extracts, (16) The recital of the Yaθā ahū vairiō, (17) Rivāyat in Pahlavi, (18) Čim ī gāsān, (19) Drōn offering, (20) Patit ī xvāt. The second volume contains the two texts Artāk Virāz Nāmak and Yavišt ī Friyān.

Frequent use, since I wrote an earlier notice for the *JRAS.*, 1933, p. 1001, has confirmed how excellently the work of reproduction has been carried out. The MSS. are in almost every case quite clear. It is possible that occasionally an examination of the MS. with magnifying glass would enable doubtful signs to be determined. I think at the moment of K 20, 122, v. 19, where it is impossible to be sure of  on the facsimile. But such cases are not common.

The intention of the University of Copenhagen to make accessible these valuable MSS. cannot be too highly praised. The original orthography is always disguised when a Pahlavi text is printed. With the increasing knowledge of Middle Iranian in the Turfan texts and Sogdian, Pahlavi has left the stage of disappointing guess-work, although it is even now in many passages impossible for the interpreters to agree. These splendid volumes therefore satisfy a want, and it is to be hoped that the later volumes of the series will not be long delayed; in particular, the facsimile of the Dātaštān and the Čitakihā ī Zātspram will be eagerly awaited.

H. W. B.

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ŠĀYAST NĒ ŠĀYAST: A Pahlavi Text on Religious Customs, edited, transliterated, and translated with introduction and notes by JEEHANGIR C. TAVADIA. 1930. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter & Co. RM. 10.

The reviewer has already had an opportunity of publishing a notice of this excellent book in the *JRAS.* Further use of it, together

with the facsimile in the *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici* of the University of Copenhagen, has confirmed the opinion expressed, which a first acquaintanceship had suggested. We have here an up-to-date treatment of a difficult Pahlavi text, full of important information and words. West's earlier translation in the *SBE.*, v (1880) was naturally no more than a preliminary work, which must necessarily become antiquated with the increasing study of Middle Iranian materials. Dr. Tavadia has here offered transliteration, translation, and notes with a glossary of selected terms. His knowledge of modern customs among the Parsis is naturally evident and has produced most profitable results. For the customs of Persia the whole book is of interest. The many difficulties of the text have been successfully overcome.

The following notes may be useful. The word discussed on p. 9, 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀, Parsi-Pers. همکارز, is probably to be read *hamkarzak*, if the reading *klzk karzak* 'flesh' of the Pahlavi Psalter is trustworthy. P. 30: 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀 is used of the head of the young child Zartušt in *DhM.* 614, 17, *tarūk sar ī avē purī x'arr apurnāyak*. P. 86: Similarly, *šan* "hemp" seems to occur beside *pambak* in *Gr.Bd.* 118, 1, *šan ut naδ pambak*. For 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀, *varm* (N.Pers. *barm*) should be read rather than *narm*, see my note in *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 511. P. 93: The word left untranslated in the quotation of *Gr.Bd.* 117, 1 f., is to be read *kardal* "mustard", with *k* beside N.Pers. *khardal*, as Turfan Mid. Iran. (S.) *qyrzng* "crab", beside N.Pers. *kharrāng*. This *kardal* is associated with *kunčūt* in *Gr.Bd.* 93, 11, on account of the oil extracted from it.

H. W. B.

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THE BALL AND THE POLO STICK OR BOOK OF ECSTASY. A translation of the Persian Poem *Jūi u Chaugān* or *Hālnāma* by 'Ārifī, with three unpublished Polo miniatures in colour. By R. S. GREENSHIELDS, I.C.S. (ret.), M.R.A.S., 1932.

This is a literal translation as a companion volume to the text which Mr. Greenshields edited in 1931. It is usefully done, and may be looked upon as a partial commentary to the text. The miniatures here reproduced are most attractive. The reader will, however, naturally get far more by reading the text itself where alone he can follow all the double meanings. It is somewhat of a merit to publish such a text. Scholars are more often drawn off to works of greater importance.

H. W. B.

CONTES, LÉGENDES ET ÉPOPÉES POPULAIRES D'ARMÉNIE. II: Légendes, traduits ou adaptés de l'arménien par FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. Les Joyaux de l'Orient Tome XIV, 1933. Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

M. Macler has here translated from various modern Armenian dialects seven tales, of which six were published in Moscow in 1901 by S. Hakouni, and one by Njdehian [Nždehean] in Tiflis in 1902. They are most interesting examples of Armenian folk-lore with Biblical reminiscences, marvels, and charming pictures of everyday life among Kurds and Armenians. The tale of Khalantar is interspersed with verses, and hence interesting also for its form.

H. W. B.

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ORIENTAL STUDIES IN HONOUR OF CURSETJI ERACHJI PAVRY. Edited by JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY, with a foreword by A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, 1933. Oxford University Press. 50s.

Contributions to this fine volume of studies have come from Japanese, Indian, Parsi, American, and European scholars, who have all succeeded in relating their work in some way to the complex study of things Iranian, their origins, institutions, influences, or evolutions. They deal with history, mythology, religion, folk-lore, architecture, linguistics. The delay in publishing has meant that some of the articles can no longer be considered up to date—during the past four years publications in Iranian and related studies have been numerous—but most of the contributions are probably unaffected and retain their value. The abundance prevents a full treatment. A. T. Olmstead has at last informed the Iranianist what the *ilu Assara ilu Mazaš* means from the Assyriological point of view. This has long been needed, in view of the extensive and sometimes uncritical use made of these words. A. Götze has written on *Šunaššura*, but here Iranian cannot be excluded by the considerations urged by Götze, since Av. *asūna-* may contain *sunā-*, Skt. *śuna-*, and further, the cognate words occur in Iranian, so that absence of the word from the extant Iranian texts would prove nothing. History is represented by the articles of Barthold (insisting on the tolerant relations of Islam and Buddhism in E. Iranian territory), Herzfeld and Lehmann-Haupt (both contributed articles on the date of Zoroaster; it is useful to have the considered opinion of a specialist historian that the two Vištāspas could be identical, although no decisive proof is adduced

even here), Keith (on the home of the Indo-Europeans), Kincaid, Modi, Ogden, Sayce, Wesendonk (on the title "king of kings"). Linguistic problems and religious matters have received most space. They are so many that only a few are named here. A. V. Williams Jackson and Scheftelowitz have contributed Manichean notes (that of Scheftelowitz cautions against earlier interpretations of the Fihrist passage on the parentage of Mānī). The article of Pagliaro on the Fires of Zoroastrianism is of interest. H. Collitz has compared Yama with Saturnus, Bertholet treats of the doctrine of the guardian angel, Shigeru Araki discusses the disparate character of a chapter of the Vidēvdāt. In linguistica, Caland proposed interpretations of Av. *āstūlas* as middle participle, *frača* equivalent to *fra*, *upaštābairiyāi* possibly to \**upastāvarī*. This latter word is also discussed by Schwyzer, who investigates all the possibilities of misreading an older text, and treats also of *vakṃsaoš*. H. Güntert explained Av. *aku-*, *sima-*, and *hāirišē*, R. G. Kent has treated the name *Ahuramazdā*, Kramers explained Av. Gāthic *daēnā* as "community", which, however, hardly convinces. In Pahlavi, Dhabhar has a useful interpretation of the earlier misunderstood *dast passax*, here "hand of punishment". Nyberg has an important translation of and notes on the Krsāsp legend in the Pahl. Riv. Dd., although at times perhaps too much confidence is shown in the text. Benveniste has explained *astax<sup>2</sup>ān* "bone", as a compound, of which the posterior member had earlier not received sufficient attention. Wider prospects are afforded by Margoliouth's article on Mihiyar the Dailamite, by Schwarz on Balkh, S. Konow on the relation of the Sakas to Zoroastrianism, Laufer on the "Persian Wheel", and other papers of interest.

This list alone makes evident the importance of the whole book. It is excellently printed, and but a few misprints have escaped the proof-readers, of which it may be permitted to refer to one: on p. 24 read *spfdho* for *spidho*. One may in conclusion express the wish that the volume may be a source of pleasure to the recipient.

H. W. B.

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THE VALLEYS OF THE ASSASSINS. By FREYA STARK. pp. [5], 365, 22 plates, 3 maps. London: Methuen, 1934. 12s. 6d.

Though entitled *The Valleys of the Assassins*, Miss Stark's book covers, in reality, a good deal more than that particular area. She

describes in addition, not only her discovery of the long-lost Assassin stronghold of Lamiasar, and her travels around the lofty Takht-i-Sulaiman and the adjoining districts of Mazandaran, but also two journeys in Luristan. Her experiences in Luristan are described in the first half of the book.

On her first journey Miss Stark travelled in N.W. Luristan, which still has the attraction of being very imperfectly known. She was very anxious to find some of the Bronze Age graves, in particular, those in which men and horses are said to be buried together, but in this she was disappointed; in many parts the graves had already been rifled, and in others the people were disinclined to dig, sometimes because of religious scruples and sometimes because of their (enforced) respect for the new Persian law of antiquities. Miss Stark nevertheless was able to get one quite interesting skull, and to purchase a number of bronzes. Miss Stark says, in speaking of one of her endeavours to purchase bronzes: "I now had a difficult time, for, with no experience to guide me, I had to estimate every object as it came along and strike a balance between my anxiety to secure it, the necessity of not spoiling my own market, the advisability of not showing that I had any money to speak of with me, and the fact that I had very little."

Miss Stark's second journey was to the mountains of the Pusht-i-Kuh, in search of some hidden treasure which is said to exist in a cave somewhere there. It would be unfair to Miss Stark to give away the "plot", for it makes a good story.

Though many of the tribes-people whom Miss Stark encountered were poverty-stricken, they were as hospitable as their limited means would allow. One of the tribesmen once said to her: "What I have, I give you. What is not here, you cannot have."

When travelling from Qazvin to Alamut, Miss Stark had a better guide than the late Captain Eccles, Mr. J. T. Henderson, and the reviewer had in 1928, for she was able to avoid the route up the river-bed in the Alamut gorge, and to go instead by the ancient track over the ridge to the east of the gorge, of which our guide denied the existence. The famous Rock is, as Miss Stark remarks, a grim place. Of the Castle of Hasan-i-Sabbāh she says: "Nearly everything is ruined beyond the power of imagination to reconstruct"; this is perfectly true, for the late Captain Eccles and the reviewer endeavoured to make a plan of these remains, but they were in so ruinous a state that the task proved impossible.

Lamiasar (of the remains of which a good sketch is given on p. 243) must in its time have been almost as striking as Alamut. It is situated, as Miss Stark remarks, in country about which very little is known, where there are many unidentified sites yet to be discovered in its recesses. It is to be hoped that some day Miss Stark will pay a further visit to those parts and make some more discoveries.

As Miss Stark herself explains, her book was written "for fun", and so much serious archaeological, historical, and geographical data are omitted. Nevertheless, it adds much to our knowledge of these out-of-the-way parts and of the peoples who dwell therein, and the excellent maps will serve to fill in a number of areas that have hitherto been mere blanks.

The book is interestingly and amusingly written, and Miss Stark's descriptions reveal her sympathy with the people she met, and her understanding of them.

L. LOCKHART.

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ASAF A. A. FYZEE : THE ISMAILI LAW OF WILLS. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ . pp. ix + 94.  
London, Bombay, etc. : Humphrey Milford, 1934. 8s. 6d.

"The systematic historical study of Islamic jurisprudence" as Mr. Fyzee rightly says, "is still in its infancy"; his own qualifications for that study (we may add) are excellent. In the *Da'ā'imu-l-Islām*, the law book of an esoteric sect, he has material of exceptional interest and we look forward eagerly to the promised complete translation of which the present thin volume is only an instalment. May we offer a small suggestion for the complete work? It would be a convenience to many readers if the Arabic and English could be printed in parallel columns or pages.

Judging by the present instalment, the distinguishing characteristic of the *Da'ā'imu-l-Islām*, when compared with the better-known works of Islamic lawyers, is its greater religiosity. The *Hedaya*, for instance, thinks it necessary to begin by justifying the legality of wills "although contrary to analogy"; and only refers to the Qur'ān as a second argument in support of its dictum: nor are the *Minhāju-t-tālibīn* or the *Ithna Asharia* authorities (if Baillie's *Imamecca* be a safe guide) very different in their attitude. The *Da'ā'im*, on the other hand, begins with the express text of the Qur'ān and goes on through many pages of mingled political, religious, moral, and esoteric exhortation of considerable eloquence. After all this—which is strictly speaking

not law at all though of value to the student of legal history—comes the purely legal part of the book. This, as Mr. Fyzee rightly points out, is of interest in that it more often agrees with Sunni than with *Ithna Asharia* doctrines.<sup>1</sup>

One or two minor inaccuracies should be corrected when the larger work appears, but do not detract from the merit of Mr. Fyzee's work. The 'Ibadis (p. 5) are not *Shi'i*, and to class them as such is about on a level with calling English Roman Catholics Methodists because they are dissenters from the Established Church. The word "would" in the third line on this page is obviously a misprint for "should". There is no such community as "the Malaks" of Nagpur C.P. (p. 4): the *Atba-i-Malak Badar* community whose affairs came before the Privy Council in *Mohammad Ibrahim v. Commissioner of Income Tax, Nagpur*, 32 Bom. L.R., 1538, is the Mehdi Bagh sect referred to in a footnote on the same page. The word *Malak* is part of the title of the community and of its religious head for the time being, but not of individual members of the sect. We have met Dandi Bohras of distinction who asserted that the word Bohra was of pure Arabic derivation, and Sulaimanis who repudiated the word altogether. These views are probably unsustainable, but they should, it is suggested, receive mention in a legal work. An esoteric sect with an autocratic *dā'i* bears a superficial resemblance to a Hindu caste with an autocratic *guru*; and there are many legal dangers for a Muslim sect in being supposed to be of Hindu origin. In this connection the recent great judgment of Tyabji J. in *Akbarally v. Mahomedally* (1933) 57 B. 551, does much to assert the Islamic liberty of the Daudis.

S. V. FITZGERALD.

कात्यायनस्मृति सारीङ्गार or KĀTYĀYANASMṚTI ON VYAVAHĀRA.

By P. V. KANE. 10 × 6½. pp. xlii + 372. Bombay. Rs. 4.

This is the most complete reconstruction of the lost *dharmaśāstra* of Kātyāyana which has yet appeared, though, as Mr. Kane himself admits, there are considerable gaps. But the value of such a reconstruction as this will not be completely lost even if (as is by no means impossible) a manuscript of the *smṛti* itself should hereafter be

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally Mr. Fyzee speaks of my "repeating the inaccuracy" of that *Ismailis* are governed by *Ithna Asharia* law. If he will look at my book again he will see that I merely mentioned a prevailing opinion but carefully dissociated myself from it.

discovered. In that event we shall have a guide to the principles followed by the *nibāṇḍhakārs* in their citations from the *smṛtis*.

Mr. Kane—one instinctively says Dr. Kane, and it can only be modesty which has kept him from the scarlet gown—is one of those rare scholars who have so completely saturated themselves in the literature of a period that they are able, as it were, to live its life. Anything which he says about the śāstric literature must be received with respect: and he appears to be equally at home in the modern literature of judicial precedent. It is all the more to be regretted that he has committed himself to superficial comparisons with Roman law without first consulting some scholar with a real knowledge of that system.

The author of the “Kātyāyanasmṛti” was obviously no mere visionary sage but a practical lawyer. First-hand acquaintance with the work of the courts and with the manner in which problems present themselves to a lawyer are apparent at many points in his work. Mr. Kane therefore has good grounds for assigning him to a late period in the development of the *smṛti* law. Procedure occupies a large part of the work and in spite of a few archaisms, such as ordeals (in which, indeed, all the *dharma* writers compare unfavourably with the *arthaśāstra*) his procedure is markedly modern in tone and free from mere ritualism.

It is more startling to see Kātyāyana held up to admiration as a champion of women's rights, apparently on the basis of his rules regarding *strīdhan*, rules under the complexity of which generations of Hindu law students have groaned. But complications are seldom associated with enlightened views. True the writer does assert (v. 105-6) a woman's unfettered disposition over *śandayika* (other than gifts of the husband, v. 907): but what a restricted list *śandayika* is! It can seldom mean more than personal ornaments and house furniture. The woman's subjection to her husband, her absorption in him are laid down though not perhaps in such harsh terms as in some of the older śāstras. Her perpetual tutelage is asserted (v. 930), and here again though the language used is not so harsh as Manu's the effect is even more striking:—she can spend for her husband's spiritual benefit without asking anybody's consent: for her own, *whatever she does* must have the permission of father, husband, or son.

Mr. Kane quotes the apt parallel of the English Common Law prior to the Married Women's Property Acts. Probably in śāstric as in English society the actual position of woman was better than



the bare letter of the law would lead one to infer. In any case, English law has had its reformers, let us hope that Hindu law may be equally fortunate.

S. V. F. G.

A HAUSA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY AND ENGLISH-HAUSA VOCABULARY.

Compiled for the Government of Nigeria by the REV. G. P. BARGERY. pp. 1,226. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. Price 25s.

Bargery's Hausa Dictionary is one of the most complete lexicographic representations of an African language. The Hausa language is the expression of an old and high African civilization, which had, before the advent of the European, reached a remarkable development and had through long periods been enriched by influences from North Africa and from the East; in more recent times Islam has pervaded the country and has brought about deep changes in the mental and also the material life of the people. All this has contributed to the enormous richness in vocabulary of Hausa, which draws its word-material from original African negro languages, from the Hamitic stock in the north and east, from Arabic, and in present days also from English.

The user of this Dictionary will soon be under the impression that its author is fully master of the language. The structure of Hausa is complicated, its means of word formation by change of sound or of tone or by adding formative elements are extremely far developed, and only an expert like Mr. Bargery could represent this wealth in linguistic growth so fully as is done in this Dictionary. As far as I see, the author proves to be a reliable guide. He goes to the root of the meaning of a word, then illustrates it through all its various developments, and explains its use in phrases, which in many cases are also of folkloristic or anthropological value. Of high usefulness are the many references from one word to another, which help to clear up meanings and lead the reader into the inner life of the language; thus under the word *kinibibi*, which means "silly, pointless excuses", ninety-seven words are given which bear relation to *kinibibi*: by looking up these words the reader will gain a most interesting insight into the character, the social valuations, and the customs of the people. Still larger is the number of references under *k'ato* "huge": here the reader's attention is directed to about 150 words which have a similar, yet in

no case the identical meaning. These cross-references to so-called synonyms are the greatest help for any one who wants to understand the life and function of a language, its ways and means of expression and its resources in word-building.

The Dictionary is not limited to one dialect, though the pronunciation adopted seems to be based on the speech-form used in Kano. Most of the work was done in Kano and Katsina, but the native staff of helpers also included Hausas of Sokoto, Zaria, and other places, and the author made visits to Daura, Gumel, Hadejia, and to the French territory north of Nigeria, including Gobir.

Mr. Bargery uses two orthographies, a broad one with a narrow one added in brackets. This is very wise from a practical point of view, it makes the book equally useful for the practical man and the scientific investigator. His representation of sounds will meet with general agreement, since in the narrow transcription all essential sounds are given their own symbols. The phonetic introduction is somewhat short, attention is drawn to a number of dialectal variations, but these do not seem to be complete. So e.g. the fact might have been mentioned that a word like *bakwai* "seven", is often pronounced *bokoi*, in fact, this is the only pronunciation I have heard (although I should admit that my experience in Hausa is limited to the coast region); likewise *tafi* is very frequently heard as *tefi*, and similar forms of vowel-assimilation are frequent. The consonant *k* is before *i* and *e* so much palatalized that at least in some dialects it becomes a palatal *t*. *k'*, *t'*, *ts'*, *c'*, and *s'* occur as ejective sounds, that is to say, are followed by a glottal stop. Of these *k'* and *t'* seem to be original, while *ts'*, *c'*, and *s'* are dialectal variants of *t'*. According to some authors the language has also an ejective *p'*. Prietze mentions it, for instance, in *p'alp'ela*, *falfela* "a bird", a word not found in Bargery's book. This ought to be further investigated. The same is true of the implosives *'b* and *'d*; here the question would be whether a glottal stop is connected with the formation of these sounds; the implosive *'b* in Duala and other Cameroon languages seems to be different from the corresponding sound in Hausa.

Bargery is the first author who has fully realized the importance of tone in Hausa. The general view was that Hausa had stress accent only, but no tones. Bargery shows convincingly that though Hausa is not a tone language in the same sense as Yoruba, Ewe, Twi, etc., yet it uses semantic as well as grammatical tones, and that a correct pronunciation of the language is utterly impossible without observing

the intonation. This is a real progress and gives Hausa quite a new feature. The tones are carefully marked in the narrow transcription and also in the grammatical introduction. On the other hand, stress is also there, but the author leaves it unmarked. The relation between tone and stress is another problem, which calls for a continued study of this important language.

Hausa is also of interest from an historical point of view. Though one may hesitate to call it a Hamitic language without qualification, yet it has definite Hamitic features, and, in a study published by W. Vincyhl in the African section of the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* (Berlin, 1934) the relations between Hausa and ancient Egyptian are dealt with; the results of this study appear to be important, they show not only words and grammatical formations which both languages have in common, but also the existence of rules according to which sounds have changed.

For all these studies Bargery's Dictionary provides a sure starting-point, and at the same time it will be equally indispensable for all those who have to learn the language. The author as well as the Government of Nigeria, who financed the compilation and the publication of the book, may well be congratulated on their achievement.

D. WESTERMANN.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### NOTE ON THE WORD *CHIAO*

A certain amount of work has been done on the history of Chinese conjunctions and particles, but very little on the history of Chinese vocabulary in general. I am going to deal here with the word *chiao* 微. In early texts, the Confucian classics, the "philosophers" (with the exception of *Lieh Tzŭ*) in the *Tso Chuan*, the *Kuo Yü*, etc., this character is always read in the first tone, and has the meaning "to seek". But not "to seek" in general. Almost always it means to seek a blessing from Heaven, to bring upon oneself a heavenly reward. Less often it means to bring upon oneself a curse, to "let oneself in for" a disaster or punishment. In current literary Chinese the word has, however, a quite different sense. It is read in the departing tone, and functions as a noun, meaning "limit", "boundary", "goal", and so by metaphorical extension the "issue" of an event. The two earliest examples of this substantival sense occur in *Lieh Tzŭ*<sup>1</sup> and in the opening clauses of the *Tao Tê Ching*. *Lieh Tzŭ*, it is generally admitted, is certainly not earlier than the second half of the third century B.C. The *Tao Tê Ching* belongs, according to my view (which is also that of China's foremost scholar, Kn Chieh-kang), to the same period. This substantival sense occurs again in the *Chan Kuo Ts'ê*,<sup>2</sup> which dates from the beginning of the second century B.C. Here we find the expression *chiao-t'ing* 微亭 "a guard post at the frontier". Now in *Huai-nan Tzŭ*<sup>3</sup> this same expression is written 郊亭, which leads us to the conclusion that 微 in its sense "limit", "boundary", "frontier" is simply a phonetic equivalent used to express a particular sense of 郊 "frontier". One may compare the use of 綴 for 紃 (to wind thread or rope).

These considerations help us to understand a difficult passage in the *Analecis*.<sup>4</sup> 惡微以爲知者. 惡不孫以爲勇者. 惡訐以爲直者. It is clear that the last two clauses mean "I hate those who mistake disobedience for courage. I hate those who mistake indiscretion for frankness". Knowing that *chiao* means "to seek" in ancient texts, and not realizing that it only means "to seek" in a very limited, technical, ritual sense, the commentators have taken the first clause to mean "I hate those who mistake seeking for wisdom"; "seeking" being unconvincingly explained as meaning

<sup>1</sup> i, 11.

<sup>2</sup> viii, 10.

<sup>3</sup> End of ch. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> xvii, 24.

“prying into other people’s affairs”. But the sense required by the context is “I hate those who mistake cunning for wisdom”. The word intended is quite clearly 狡 “cunning”, “sly”, “specious”. I submit that just as 狡 has a doublet 纖, so 狡 originally had a doublet 徽, which became obsolete. Puzzled by 徽, the scribes turned it into 微.

There is an old variant reading 統, which, though erroneous, points in the right direction.<sup>1</sup>

A. WALEY.

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[The following note on a Kanarese MS. in the Marsden Collection has been sent us by the Rev. Leo Saldanha, S.J., of Bajpe, South Kanara, India.—EDITOR.]

On my recent visit in October, 1933, to the School of Oriental Studies I was requested to see two manuscripts of the William Marsden Collection, Nos. 34 and 37 in order to class them according to the language in which they were written. The first MS., No. 34, is a folio volume of about 700 pages, neatly written in Dravidian Kanarese characters, and I could easily read it and decipher the language though nearly 200 years old. Its language is pure Kanarese spoken in the missions of Raichur, Mudgal (Bijapur whose Sultan supported a mission by the Jesuits of Goa),<sup>2</sup> Dharwar, Bellary, Mysore, North and South Kanara, which have as their vernacular the Kannada or the Dravidian Kanarese language which has its own script. By Dravidian Kanarese I do not mean either Mahrathi or Konkani or Kanari or the Pramana language as understood by the Portuguese or Goan contemporaries of Fr. Thomas Stephens, but I mean that Dravidian language called Karnataka—Kannada, or the present Kanarese Dravidian language which is spoken by the people in the missions stated above. No author is mentioned nor the date of its compilation. From reading its contents, I find the following:—

I. Its name is “Satya Upadesha”, i.e. Teaching of Truth, namely, Truths of Christian Religion. The page of the cover has on it a detailed calendar stating the days of Catholic devotion and practices of piety to be observed. The first section of the volume consists entirely of

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Odes*, No. 215 (ii, vii, 1, Legge, p. 386), 彼交匪敷。萬福來求。For 交 a citation in the *Han Shu* (xxvii B, fol. 3 verso) gives 徽, which is obviously right: “They ask for blessing without arrogance, and ten thousand blessings come . . .” 徽 is here, as frequently in old texts, for 微.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Colonel Meadows Taylor, *Story of My Own Life*.

sermons or instructions (*prasangas*) on Christian truths. It has six parts: (1) Creed, (2) Our Father, (3) Commandments of God and the Church, (4) Sacraments, (5) Virtues and Vices, (6) Christian's daily exercise.

The second section has as its title Sacred Pearls (*Divya Muthu*), instructions on Christian perfection. They are 104 in number.

The third section has the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ with a chapter on the practice of devotion on the Sacred Passion from sunset of Thursday to Friday afternoon peculiar to the Kanarese Christians.

The fourth section contains a life of the Mother of God (*Dera Mateya Charitre*), Blessed Virgin Mary.

The fifth section contains lives of some saints (*Archasistara ngapak jnananghi*):—

1. St. Stanislaus Kostka, a novice of the Society of Jesus.
2. St. Clement, Pope and Martyr (*Archa Santappara Charitre*).
3. St. Juliana, Virgin and Martyr (*Archa Julianammara Charitre*).
4. St. Laetitia (*Archa Letisyammara Charitre*).
5. St. Cecilia, Virgin and Martyr (*Archa Ceciliammara Charitre*).
6. St. Agnes, Virgin and Martyr (*Archa Agnesammara Charitre*).
7. St. Theodora, Virgin and Martyr (*Archa Devadanammara Charitre*).

Taking it as a whole, I find that the volume is a complete exposition of Christian truths, Christian morals, Christian perfection—a veritable mine of religious instruction and a *multum in parvo*.

In Volume III, Part I, pp. 144-145 of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, the learned Jesuit writer of the article "The Marsden MSS. and Indian mission Bibliography", the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., says: "It would be interesting to know whether the folio volume of the Marsden MSS. entered here under our No. 34 represents the five volumes of de Almeida's *Jardim dos Pastores*. If it does, an effort should be made on the Goa side to have the complete series republished. We need scarcely add that Konkani is often spoken of in old accounts as Kanarese."

On comparing as he suggests on p. 144 the contents of this folio volume with the contents of vol. i of *Jardim dos Pastores* (of Fr. Miguel de Almeida, S.J., as stated in the *Examiner*, Bombay, 22nd July to 19th August, 1922) also found in the Marsden Library, London, I find that (1) *Jardim dos Pastores*, vol. i, contains directions for the *pastors of souls* (missionaries) whereas "Satya Upadesha"

has a series of instructions directed to the faithful. (2) The former is written in *Konkani* language and in Latin characters; the latter is written in Dravidian *Kanarese* characters and in the Dravidian *Kanarese* language. (3) The former begins (besides duties of pastors) with discourses for Christmas Day, discourses on Grace and birth of Christ, whereas the latter begins with discourses on God and His Existence and Attributes at the outset. (4) The first volume of the former completes the discourses (48) with Eternal Life including the passion of Our Lord (10th discourse), on Quinquagesima Sunday, whereas the latter has six sections (of which the third is on the passion) exposing serially all the Christian truths and morals. (5) The former is a series of Sunday sermons in order of the ecclesiastical year, but the latter is a complete exposition of Christian truths without following the order of Sundays.

From this I conclude that *Jardim dos Pastores* is quite distinct from "Satya Upadesha" both in language and script, scope and treatment, and has nothing in common with the former of which it is not a translation. From what I could gather, till now, about "Satya Upadesha", I conclude that (a) it is a work of a Catholic writer, (b) who was a Jesuit missionary among Dravidian *Kanarese* people, (c) it is a book of instruction probably put in the hands of catechists among remote Christian congregations. The book is well worth the trouble and expenses of republication, cost what it may.

II. The other MS., No. 37, of the same collection is a small pamphlet in *Kanarese* language and character containing a short exposition of Christian Doctrine for neophytes and children, in catechetical form of question and answer (dialogue) between a catechist or the missionary and his neophyte pupil, for initiation into Christian truths and practices. It is a pious treatise suggesting several pious practices and prayers (*mantras*) evidently of Catholic origin and containing invocations (*pratinas*), a kind of litany as Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., remarks. As the matter of this MS. tallies fully with that of MS. 30 in the same collection in Nagari characters and Mahratta language, the former is practically a translation of the latter, and must have been composed by the Jesuits of the Goa province. As the latter is in the same handwriting as that of the manuscripts of the *Adipurana* and the *Devapurana*, both of which are Fr. Stephens' works, I conclude that the author of the Mahratti MS., No. 30, which was subsequently translated into Dravidian *Kanarese* (the MS. No. 37) must be the same as that of the *Christian Purana*.



## SUMMARY OF A THESIS FOR DEGREE OF PH.D.

### PAÑJĀBĪ SŪFĪ POETS

BY LAJWANTI RAMA KRISHNA, 1934

The title of the thesis denotes the Sūfī poets who wrote in the Pañjābī language, and not those who merely belonged to the Pañjāb. The period dealt with is A.D. 1460 to 1900.

Before entering into an account of the poets and their poetry we have in an introductory chapter briefly sketched Sūfīsm outside India, followed by a description of its growth and development in the Pañjāb. Here we have also classified different trends of Sūfī thought into separate schools. The verse-forms, the technical terms, and other peculiarities of Pañjābī Sūfī poetry have been fully explained.

The following few chapters have been devoted to life-histories and to the discussion at length of the works of the outstanding poets representing various schools. In these chapters a few specimens from each poet's verse are transliterated and literally translated. The poets are Ibrāhīm Farīd, Mādho Lāl Husain, Sultān Bāhū, Bullhe Shāh, Alī Haidar, Fard Faqīr, Hāshim Shāh, and Karam Ali.

In the chapter that follows, are discussed some Sūfis who, though unknown to the public, appear to have been good poets. A few examples, to illustrate their mystic ideas, and taken from the extant portions of their manuscripts, are given.

The last chapter deals with those Sūfī poets who, from a literary view-point, were of little importance.

Throughout this dissertation we have clearly indicated the sources of our information for the life accounts, the works, and mystic ideas of the poets. All verse quotations are taken from books, the authenticity of which is established either by finds of manuscripts or by unanimous acceptance of them by Pañjābīs of every denomination. Information gathered from guardians of shrines and the minstrels attached to them, the descendants of the poets and the learned, has been referred to as such.

A bibliography of books, journals, and pamphlets consulted or quoted is appended.

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